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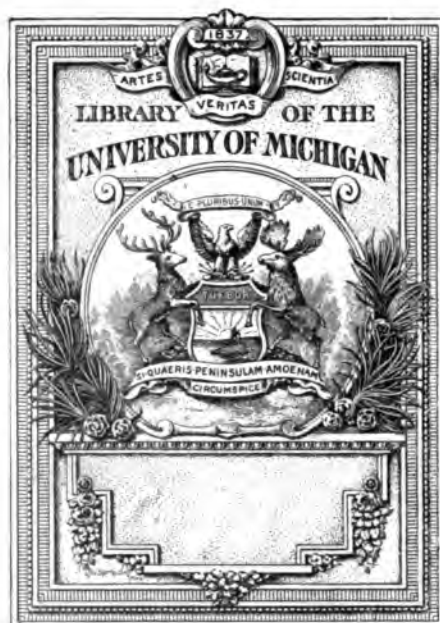
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**THE**  
**ANNUAL REGISTER**  
**1894**

ALL THE VOLUMES OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE

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REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME

AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1894

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1895



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# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1894.

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ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The Compromise on the Local Government Bill—Debate in Committee—The Featherstone Inquiry—The Horncastle Election—Mr. A. J. Balfour at Manchester—The Local Government Bill read a Second Time by the Lords—Attitude of the Liberal Unionists—Meeting of the Conservative Peers—The Employers' Liability Bill in the Lords—Lord Dudley's Amendment—First Rumour of Mr. Gladstone's Retirement—Mr. Chamberlain at the Edgbaston Conservative Club—The Local Government Bill in Committee—Lord Salisbury's Defeat—Meeting of the National Liberal Federation—Scotch Fisheries Bill—Conflict between the Two Houses as to Employers' Liability Bill—Mr. Cobb's Amendment—The Local Government Bill and the Lords' Amendment—Further Struggle between the Two Houses—The Employers' Liability Bill Withdrawn—The Lords' Amendment in House of Commons—The Liberal Unionists and the Parish Councils Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Last Speeches—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—Lord Rosebery appointed Prime Minister—Attitude of the Liberal Unionists—Government and the Anarchists.

THE session which had lasted with little intermission for eleven months had not come to a close when the new year opened. Parties were too evenly balanced to admit the application of drastic measures, and the leaders on each side were preparing to agree to a compromise. The less responsible members, however, were not so ready to abandon the struggle for victory, and some Radicals, at the risk of sacrificing the whole Local Government Bill, plainly declared their preference for a stronger course. Nevertheless in the interval between the last sitting of the old year and the first in the new year, the Government reconsidered their position, and after some negotiations the terms of a compromise were settled between the two front benches. The Government agreed that two members, in

addition to the chairman and vice-chairman, might be co-opted by every board of guardians, and that any fund held for the maintenance or repair of a parish room erected by the subscriptions of a single denomination during the last forty years should come within the definition "ecclesiastical charity." The Opposition on their side accepted the principle of compulsory hiring for allotments, the Government agreeing that not more than one acre out of the four which, under Mr. Fowler's new clause, might be allotted to one person, should be arable. The Government also consented to accept amendments providing that old permanent pasture when hired for the purpose of allotments should not be broken up; that the minimum period for compulsory hire should be fourteen years instead of seven; that injustice should not be done to landowners by way of severance; and that on the reversion of an allotment to the landlord the tenant should have no title to compensation from him for improvements.

The original demand of the front Opposition bench in regard to the acreage of allotments was that one acre should be the limit for pasture as well as for arable land. This the Government refused to entertain, it being suggested as an alternative that the limit should be put at four acres for pasture and two acres for arable.

The Radicals and Nonconformists loudly protested against their desertion by the Government, whilst the Metropolitan Conservative members complained bitterly of the way in which the poor law clauses affecting the London unions were to be passed without full discussion.

At the first meeting of the House (Jan. 3) the result of these negotiations at once became apparent. The President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*) proposed a new sub-section to clause 19 of the Local Government Bill, allowing boards of guardians to elect their chairman and vice-chairman from outside the elected body. Sir M. Hicks-Beach (*Bristol, W.*) thereupon gave notice of his intention to move that a board of guardians should have power to add by co-option two other non-elective members to the board from the outside. Mr. Fowler at once promised to give the proposal the fullest consideration, and with the exception of a short squabble over the question, ultimately decided in the affirmative, whether women elected to preside over District Councils should *ipso facto*, like men, become justices of the peace, the Government reaped full advantage of the compromise and cleared away many sheets of amendments which had been set down for diffuse discussion. On the following day (Jan. 4), after passing the clause transferring certain licensing duties from the justices to the District Councils, the committee took up the poor law portion of the bill. On the question whether this should be applied to London and the county boroughs, Mr. Talbot (*Oxford University*) moved to

omit the sub-section, an amendment which, it was asserted, was contrary to the compromise. At length the sub-section was carried by 118 to 50 votes, a significant testimony to the waning interest of both sides. At the next two sittings of the House the progress was still more rapid, the Government consenting to several minor amendments without going to a division. On clause 31, dealing with the machinery relating to parochial elections, Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge University*) pointed out that if the clause passed in the shape in which it then stood there could be no Parish Council called into existence until April, 1895, because the parish register could not be formed until the revising barrister sat in the autumn of the present year. This led to a considerable discussion, in the course of which the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Fowler) explained that when the bill was originally introduced it was hoped that it would be passed by the month of August, in which case the register would have been revised at the ordinary time, and the measure brought into operation in the month of April next. But circumstances had since altered, and it was now the month of January, and he promised at a later period to bring forward a temporary provision to meet the difficulty which undoubtedly existed, which provision the Government now had under consideration. Ultimately the clause was agreed to. Other clauses were also passed, or postponed, with but slight discussion, but there was considerable discussion on clause 45, which dealt with the audit of the accounts of the Parish and District Councils. One of the points raised was as to whether the audit should be yearly or half-yearly, and the Government supported a half-yearly audit on the ground that it would better further the interests of economy and efficiency. Such an audit was, however, resisted by some members because in their opinion it would lead to the employment by the Government of an army of auditors who would have to deal in many cases with very small amounts, and the suggestion was made by Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) that a great deal of expense would be saved by adopting some arrangement for a local audit. However, Mr. Fowler insisted on a Government audit, because of the abuses which had arisen under the other system. An amendment moved (Jan. 4) by Mr. Storey (*Sunderland*), to take the auditing of Parish Council accounts out of the hands of the Local Government Board and to place it in those of the local authorities, was opposed by Mr. Fowler, who, in proof of the necessity of having some Government control over the accounts, pointed out that during the last twelve months the auditing staff of the Local Government Board had disallowed 3,500 cases of improper and illegal expenditure by local authorities, including among others a sum paid by a highway board for killing foxes. He stated, moreover, in reply to an objection raised as to the expense of a Government audit, that where the

amount of expenditure was under 20*l.* the cost of the official audit would only be 5*s.* Mr. Balfour was in favour of a Government audit. After some further discussion, and the insertion of some small amendments, the clause was added to the bill. On the question of the annual retirement of one-third of the board of guardians (Jan. 4), Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucester*) opposed the provisions, especially in the case of London, and insisted upon the triennial retirement of the whole board, whilst Mr. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*) supported the Government proposal as necessary for securing continuity of administration. Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) thereupon suggested that a relaxation of the hard and fast rule should be left to the Local Government Board, and ultimately the clause was made to read that one-third of the guardians "may" instead of "shall" retire annually. The discussion on the remaining clauses (some few of which were again postponed) was brief and of no great importance, and when progress was reported all the clauses of the bill, except those which had been postponed and the new clauses, had been disposed of, a consummation which was loudly cheered.

The discussion of the postponed clauses of the bill proceeded (Jan. 5) with equal smoothness, Mr. Fowler explaining, in reference to the operation of the bill, that all existing local authorities were to be continued in authority until the first election under the bill had taken place; and that the "appointed day," or day for the election, should be not April 15, as was originally proposed, but December 8, as soon as the registration, which would be accelerated, was complete. Parliament would be asked to pass a short act for accelerating the registration, and for appointing as many additional revising barristers as might be deemed necessary. Changes were made in the other postponed clauses to carry out pledges which had been given by the Government in the course of the discussions upon the bill, and then the new clauses were attacked. Mr. Fowler moved one of great length, dealing with the duties and powers of the County Councils with respect to areas and boundaries, and after considerable discussion it was agreed to with certain amendments. The clause giving the franchise to married women was also debated for some time, but ultimately agreed to, Mr. Fowler being prevented by the forms of the House from carrying out his pledge to extend it so as to make it apply to Town Councils and other local bodies not affected by the bill. Other new clauses to carry out ministerial pledges were also discussed and agreed to. There was, however, more protracted discussion (Jan. 8) over the new clause dealing with allotments, submitted by Mr. Fowler as part of the compromise between the two front benches. The President of the Local Government Board proposed that when a Parish Council was unable to hire land for allotments "on reasonable terms," the Local Government Board might make an order authorising compulsory

hiring for a period of not less than fourteen years, and that when compulsorily hired they should not exceed four acres of pasture, or one acre of arable and three of pasture, land. This led to a long discussion, in which Mr. Channing (*Northamptonshire, E.*) deplored the way in which the proposal had been crippled by the compromise, while Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) entered a last protest against compulsory hiring altogether, his own feeling being entirely in favour of voluntary arrangements. For this he was bantered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt), who insisted that the Government would take their stand on the proposal, inasmuch as buying the land meant dear allotments, but hiring it meant cheap ones. Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) thought hired allotments would not be beneficial to the agricultural labourer, but Mr. Joseph Arch (*Norfolk, N.W.*), an agricultural labourer himself, declared that the labourer preferred hired ones, and he was so hopeful of the prospect held out by that proposal of the Government that he predicted that in a quarter of a century the workhouses might all be pulled down. Mr. Jeffreys (*Hants, N.*), a Conservative, on the other hand, thought the allotments would be of little use unless the Government would advance money to erect buildings on them; and after some further discussion the clause was read a second time, and the rest of the sitting was spent in various attempts to amend it in matters of detail.

On the last day of the committee (Jan. 9) a slight change was made, with the consent of the Opposition, in the allotments clause, a provision being inserted that pasture land let out in allotments might be broken up by the tenant if he obtained the written approval of the landlord. Some time was spent in an attempt to satisfactorily define "an ecclesiastical charity," and ultimately the whole of the new clauses and schedules of the bill passed through committee. On the report stage (Jan. 11) a clause was passed forbidding the use for Parish Council or guardian meetings of premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors, "except in cases where no other suitable room is available for such meeting, either free or at a reasonable cost." A further clause moved by Mr. H. Hobhouse (*Somersetshire, E.*) enacted that the Parish Council should not be entitled to incur any expenditure involving a rate of more than 3d. in the pound without the consent of the parish meeting. On the following day the remainder of the clauses were passed, and the bill was read a third time, and sent to the House of Lords one week before the time originally fixed by the compromise.

The only other subject of general interest which occupied the House of Commons was the report of the Featherstone Colliery Commission. The Labour members were anxious to censure the conduct of the soldiers who had fired upon the rioters, and at the same time to obtain money compensation for

the families of those who had been killed or injured. Mr. Keir Hardie (*West Ham*), however, who had been unsparing in his attacks upon the Home Office for the use of soldiers, was not, as on a previous occasion, in his place to confront the Home Secretary. Mr. Burns (*Battersea*) contented himself with a plea for compensation, which Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*) conceded as a matter of compassion, not of legal right. It may have been that the Socialists were for the moment satisfied with the more important and bloodless victory they had gained on the question of the hours of labour in Government workshops. The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) announced that the results of a careful inquiry had convinced his colleagues that a reduction to forty-eight hours' work per week in the Ordnance factories would be beneficial to both the work and the men; and that no reduction of wages would be made in consequence of the change. It was subsequently intimated that a similar reform would be introduced into the Government dockyards and other departments. Whether this concession was wholly the result of conviction, or merely a bid for the Labour vote at the ensuing election, the Labour leaders had no cause to inquire. They had obtained for those whose interests they especially had at heart an appreciable boon, which the trade unions might be trusted to extort from the private employers of labour.

If any lesson was to be drawn from the election for the Horncastle division of Lincolnshire, it was that the agricultural voters at least were slow to appreciate the prospective benefits of the Parish Councils Bill, and careless of the benefits in the matter of reduced hours of labour granted to their artisan brethren. The Liberal candidate, Mr. Torr, had doubtless offended the leaders of the Liberationist sect by his strong views on concurrent endowment, but the polling showed no evidence that the Lincolnshire Nonconformists were appreciably affected by their candidate's personal opinions. Mr. Torr slightly increased the Liberal vote as compared with the numbers polled at the general election, 3,744 votes as against 3,700 in 1892. On the other hand the Conservative candidate, Lord Willoughby d'Everby, the son of one of the chief landowners in the division, polled 4,582 votes as compared with 4,438. The election, however, can scarcely be said to have been significant of anything more than the absurdity of the assertion frequently made by Radical speakers of the increasing unpopularity of the larger landowners.

The House of Commons immediately after the third reading of the Local Government Bill adjourned for three weeks in order to allow the House of Lords to deal with the various measures sent up for their consideration. Before separating, some ninety members of the Lower House, all belonging to the advanced Radical section, signed a memorial to the Chancellor of the Exchequer urging him to prepare a "Demo-

cratic Budget," of which a graduated income tax, graduated death duties, and the taxation of "land values," should be the chief features. Sir Wm. Harcourt, in acknowledging the memorial "representing such a weight of opinion," promised that it should receive the most careful and respectful consideration, but declined further to commit himself as to his intentions.

The undue prolongation of the Parliamentary session naturally prevented members visiting their constituents, and leaders expounding their party principles. Nevertheless, in the short interval of rest which followed on the passing of the Government bills through the House of Commons, Sir Henry James on behalf of the Liberal Unionists, and Mr. A. J. Balfour as chief of the Conservatives, were able to place their views before the public. The former, addressing his constituents at Bury (Jan. 17), urged with great force the degrading effect produced upon the House of Commons by the Irish party, which, without taking any personal interest in bills for Great Britain, voted for all Mr. Gladstone's proposals by way of paying the equivalent for Irish Home Rule. He showed by the speeches of the Irish leaders that they recognised the necessity of postponing an appeal to the country on the question of Home Rule until sufficient English measures had been passed, until concession had been made to every faddist and every particularist in the hope that his vote at the next general election might be secured on every point, except that of Home Rule, which was to be carefully kept out of sight of the English voters. The long session he declared had been barren and waste, because the Government, instead of acting as statesmen, had acted as electioneering agents.

Mr. Balfour's series of speeches to his constituents at Manchester lasted over three days and dealt with a much wider range of subjects. His first address (Jan. 22) referred almost exclusively to national defence, which he refused to regard as a party question. He greatly regretted the action of the Government in treating Lord George Hamilton's motion, at the close of the previous year, as an attack on the Administration, and declared that he would give a hearty support to any measure, no matter by whom proposed, which would prevent our naval supremacy on the high seas from being undermined. He held it to be a great mistake to regard this country as safe, if it were safe only from the landing of a hostile force. It would not, he contended, be safe for a moment if our great import and export trade were imperilled: "To me it seems that of all the empires in the world, the British Empire has the least defensible frontier." He dwelt with pleasure on the friendliness of foreign States and statesmen, but pointed out how unpopular this country was with the French people as distinguished from French statesmen, how easily we might be forced into an attitude of serious and sudden hostility. With regard to the best means of meeting this danger, Mr. Balfour



inclined towards the creation of a single head responsible for the national defence, instead of the mutually jealous chiefs of the Army and Navy, who, notwithstanding their complete dependence on each other, were often found in eager rivalry, especially when one service thought itself starved in order to meet the demands of the other. With regard to the actual position of affairs, Mr. Balfour declared that there could be no question that the Russians and French were going ahead of this country in building ships, and that in the eighteen months during which the present Government had been in office a precious interval had been lost which no amount of hurrying could make good, and a slackening off of the ship-building programme: "But I hope" he added, "and I do more than hope, I feel a confident belief that they will see how grave is the national peril into which they are running, and that we shall find them as active as their predecessors in bringing up the Navy to its proper degree of strength as compared with any possible combination of foreign powers it may have to meet."

In his second speech to his constituents (Jan. 23), Mr. Balfour dealt more especially with subjects of domestic legislation, and endeavoured to show that here again it was more advantageous to place outside the pale of party politics, questions which affected the well-being of the people at large.

When the Government undertook to introduce an Employers' Liability Bill he looked upon their attempt with something more than judicial impartiality. He regarded it with warm favour, and wished them God-speed in their undertaking. The bill could not from the nature of the case deal with all the accidents which he should have liked to see compensated. It could only deal with some of the accidents which came close to our hearts. But the Government had made it a far less complete measure than it might have been, and certainly they need not have opposed a scheme under which compensation could have been granted in some cases where they could have been dealt with voluntarily by machinery not provided by the bill. "For instance, under the arrangements that at present existed, the London and North-Western Railway employees got ten times as much as they could get under the Government bill. If these, then, were the advantages of the voluntary position, ought they to give it up unless some disadvantage could be proved? There must be half a million of our operative population who were passionately attached to these voluntary arrangements, who would not give them up until they were absolutely obliged by the legislative action of the British Parliament, and who meant to fight for them to the last. Ought we to be content with a bill so imperfect as the Government measure without allowing voluntary arrangements to supplement it? If they were not to be allowed to supplement it, let them have a system of universal insurance."

Passing on from this plea in favour of the assumed intentions of the House of Lords, Mr. Balfour dwelt for a short time on the solidarity of capital and labour, which bound every class together by indissoluble ties. He looked forward, he said, without alarm to the working classes using the great political machine which they already could control. The only rock on which he feared the industrial ship might split, was that either the leaders of the working classes or other classes might conceive that their interests were to lie, not in increasing the general prosperity of the community, but in ousting those whom they erroneously considered to be rivals. A shallower industrial philosophy could not be conceived; if there was one truth that he saw more clearly than another, it was that these eternal controversies between capital and labour were ruinous to both, and that if we were worthy of our name as a great nation of practical industrialists some scheme must be devised by which the edge and the bitterness of these disputes might be taken off, and that every class in the community, to whatever interest they might belong, might feel that their best happiness was served by promoting that of the whole.

In his third speech (Jan. 24) Mr. Balfour reverted to the well-worn theme of the service rendered to the country by the House of Lords in rejecting a revolutionary bill like the Irish Home Rule Bill, which had passed through the House of Commons only by the free use of "the guillotine." Mr. Balfour declared that by its action the House of Lords had made itself the guardian of English liberties, and expressed his conviction that the electors, when they could get the chance, would endorse its proceedings.

Sir William Harcourt, who also found it advisable to make a public pronouncement from the other side, very naturally dissented from Mr. Balfour's conclusion, and vehemently asserted that the country would repudiate the action of the Lords, but he held out no hope of putting that crucial question to the test. His speech was one of exuberant confidence in himself and his colleagues, thickly strewn with compliments to their supporters, Irish as well as English, who had stood by them so steadfastly for the past twelve months. After a few words assuring his audience that the Government would not be found wanting in their determination to retain for the British Navy its supremacy, Sir William Harcourt said that during the past year they had been ceaselessly occupied in fighting for Liberalism, and defeating the machinations of the minority. The bitterness of the Opposition was the natural result of the disappointment of their hopes, for they had been confident that the Government would not last three months, and that the Home Rule Bill would never pass the House of Commons. Their weapons were obstruction and destruction. The Government had dealt with one, and when the time came they would deal with the other. Speaking of the legislation achieved

during the past session, and mentioning the treatment of the Parish Councils Bill by the Opposition, Sir W. Harcourt drew an amusing picture of the ardent Tory suitor professing the most devoted admiration for the simple Parish Council maiden, and yet hoping after all for a breach of promise. The great struggle was over the allotments, for to some minds the idea of an independent peasantry was a detestable one. In spite of all obstacles the Irish and British legislation brought forward was passed by the House of Commons, and by majorities larger than they could ordinarily command. This was done by hard work, loyalty, and unity, by what the Unionists called the distracted party, the slavish crowd, and the base and degraded Administration. There was no foundation, he declared, for the statement made by Sir Henry James that the Home Rule Bill had been dropped. That assertion was the direct reverse of truth. Referring to coming measures, the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of the Local Veto Bill, and said it had not been dropped either, nor had they abandoned the other legislation foreshadowed in the Newcastle programme, and declared that it was quite true that the Government did hold themselves to be "commission agents" for carrying out the Newcastle programme and were proud to be such commission agents. Speaking of the policy of the Upper House, he said we had too long been a peer-ridden nation, and the time was at hand when the issue as to whether the Commons or the Lords should prevail must be tried, and he had no doubt about the result. He however protested against the idea of the House of Lords being able to force a popular referendum whenever they found themselves differing from the House of Commons, and declared that the Government would take its own time and its own methods for obtaining a popular approval of its conduct and policy.

Mr. Balfour's reply to this speech was not long postponed, and he chose for its delivery the town of Leicester (Feb. 3), the most typical stronghold of Radical opinions. His reception by upwards of 4,000 persons was most cordial, and showed that even in Leicester Unionist opinions had a firm hold on a large section of the electors. Mr. Balfour began by referring to the steady growth of sober constitutional views in the great urban constituencies of England and Wales, which used to be the strongholds of the Liberal party, and said the explanation was that the Liberalism and Radicalism of to-day were not the Liberalism and Radicalism of a generation ago. The old Radicalism, he said, despite its narrowness and other defects, was a logical, manly, and robust creed, but the new Radicalism was compounded of sentiment, intolerance, and disregard alike for liberty and property when they came into conflict with the wishes of the majority. He proceeded to defend the revision of legislation in a Second Chamber, freedom of discussion in the House of Commons, and an appeal to the constituencies before any important measure became law, as three doctrines which were

formerly upheld by Liberals, but to all these the new Radicalism, as expounded by Sir William Harcourt, was opposed. It was to Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Harcourt that we chiefly owed it that the House of Lords was regarded as the only bulwark between the English and Scottish people, and the tyrannical actions of an irresponsible Ministry. Mr. Balfour discussed the attitude of the Opposition towards the Parish Councils Bill, contending that neither they nor the supporters of the Government had the slightest objection to it in principle, but that neither party had the least admiration for its details. He ended by anticipating that the Government, when they next appealed to the country, would get an answer which would for ever expunge Home Rule from among the items of their authorised programme.

Several other members of both Houses took advantage of the short break in the Parliamentary session to address their constituents or friends, but they followed the cue given by their leaders and threw no fresh light upon political or social questions.

Public interest, moreover, had by this time centred upon the House of Lords, where the Local Government (Parish Councils) Bill was read a second time (Jan. 25) without opposition, after a few remarks by Lords Ripon and Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire, it being known beforehand that the real struggle would take place over the details of the measure. The chief aim, therefore, of the Marquess of Ripon, who moved the second reading, was to minimise its importance and sphere of action. He explained that the measure was intended to complete and supplement the act passed by the late Ministry, which, by establishing County Councils, had stimulated the desire entertained throughout the country for the reform of our other local institutions, which were now in a most anomalous and chaotic condition. That object it sought to attain by reorganising the parish, creating in every rural parish a parish meeting, and setting up in parishes of a certain population Parish Councils, while the smallest parishes might be grouped together under one Parish Council with their own consent. He explained the various powers and functions which it was proposed to confide to the Parish Councils in regard to open spaces, rights of way, compulsory hiring of land for allotments, non-ecclesiastical charities, and other matters, remarking that the Parish Council would, in fact, be the executive of the parish just as a Town Council now was the executive of a borough. The bill would next establish District Councils, to which would be committed the duties of rural sanitary authorities, highway authorities, and boards of guardians. Those bodies, he added, would be popularly elected by ballot, and he asserted that the poor law itself was left unaltered by the bill, the only change proposed to be made in that respect relating to the mode of electing the guardians. After describing

the special provisions of the measure which dealt with the case of the metropolis, Lord Ripon recommended the bill as one which would gradually effect a large and valuable improvement in our present very defective system of local government.

Lord Salisbury, while intimating that no opposition would be offered on his side to the second reading, desired to indicate some of the points in which the bill departed from the precedent set up by the act of 1888 and would require very careful consideration in committee. The institution of Parish Councils would, on the whole, be advantageous, but he thought that the benefits which the labouring classes had been led to anticipate from their establishment were enormously exaggerated. He did not see why it was necessary to deal at all with the question of charities in the bill, and he held that it was not only unwise, but a distinct breach of faith on the part of the Government to take away from ecclesiastical officers the charities which they had for many generations administered by the will of the founders. The bill as it stood would, moreover, strike a heavy blow at that spirit of beneficence which had done so much in the past for the relief of the rural population. The power sought to be given to Parish Councils to acquire land otherwise than by agreement called for very careful examination. The person who would suffer most severely from that arrangement would be the unfortunate tenant farmer, who might be cruelly deprived of any bit of his land that the labourers took a fancy to. The only check proposed to be put upon that proceeding was that the decision was to be left, not to a court or a judge, but to an officer of the Local Government Board. The purity and integrity of our Civil Service stood very high, but they ought to take warning from the great scandals which had been fatal to the reputations of even distinguished politicians in France, and he must earnestly oppose any proposal which would practically convey a function of the judicial bench to any men, however honourable, whose official existence depended on the will of the chief of a department, who was after all a party politician. Coming next to the part of the measure that dealt with the poor law, he complained that the Government had in a jaded Parliament, at the fag end of a protracted session, rashly sought to disturb the legislation adopted sixty years ago for the correction of universally-felt evils, after an inquiry by a commission extending over three years. It was said that the bill proposed no change in the policy of the poor law, but by the disestablishment of the *ex-officio* guardians, the abolition of the plural vote, and the adoption of the ballot, an absolute transfer of power would be effected by which the class who paid the rates would be left entirely in the minority owing to the system of compounding. He therefore hoped that the House would so amend the bill as to prevent the ruin of the new poor law of 1834—one of the highest achievements of modern legislation. That law might now require some modi-

fication to adapt it to modern needs ; but that end ought not to be sought by reckless, headlong methods dictated by a small Radical clique, and enforced by the Nationalist janissaries of the Ministry.

The exact attitude which the Liberal Unionists would assume with reference to the bill was the source of considerable curiosity, for it was obvious that the opposition to the bill in the Upper House would be more direct than it had been in the Commons, and that it consequently became more important that the Liberal Unionists should not too closely ally themselves with those who were overtly hostile to the measure. The Duke of Devonshire was, however, careful to give very little indication of his future course of action in committee. He dwelt on the great importance of maintaining that sound administration of the poor law which had proved so beneficial to the country, and he ascribed its successful results very much to the variety of interests which were now represented in its management. He thought, therefore, it would have been wise and statesmanlike, before asking them to adopt for the purposes of the poor law the principle of one man one vote and the practical transfer of its administration from the few to the many, to have tried to devise some means of bringing home to the many a sense of their responsibility for that administration. If their lordships, by any amendment of the bill, could induce the Government and also the other House to give some further consideration to the principles involved in the creation of District Councils and in the areas in which their powers would be exercised, they might do something to guard against dangers which both parties recognised and to facilitate the working of a measure which, he hoped, would effect a real improvement in the system of local government.

On the following day (Jan. 26) Lord Salisbury called together the Conservative peers, and discussed with them the line he proposed to follow with regard to the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill. The meeting was not attended by the Liberal Unionists, but their attitude was clearly indicated in a letter written by the Duke of Devonshire. The amendments introduced by the House of Lords into the Employers' Liability Bill had not been accepted by the Government (*Annual Register*, 1893, pp. 267-283) and their supporters in the Lower House. Lord Salisbury therefore began by explaining the grounds on which he thought, after consultation with his colleagues and with other authorities, the action of the House of Lords should be based with respect to the Employers' Liability Bill. He could not in honour reconcile himself to throwing over the members of the insurance societies, who had made very strong representations to him in favour of "contracting out" under proper conditions. It did not appear that any advantage would be gained in reconciling the Government or any other opponents of Lord Dudley's

clause by cutting it down to the limits of Mr. McLaren's amendment, and as a matter of principle Lord Dudley's amendment was very much to be preferred, though some modification in wording might be desirable. This announcement was very warmly received by the meeting. Passing on to the question of the Local Government Bill, Lord Salisbury said that while he did not think that under the circumstances he could recommend the total elimination of the poor law clauses from the bill, he thought that they were legitimate matter for amendment, especially with the view of obviating the evils which had been pointed out by several speakers in the debate of yesterday. The clause dealing with the compulsory taking of land demanded considerable amendment in the interest both of the ratepayers and especially of the tenant farmers, and the question of the compound householder was one of extreme importance; but there were points capable of adjustment, and his belief was that it would be possible to send back to the House of Commons a really useful and workable measure. A long discussion, of which the details were not made public, ensued, and practically Lord Salisbury's suggestions were endorsed with certain modifications in a more Conservative, or as others might have said in a more reactionary, spirit than they were made, and without reference to the feelings and probable demands of the Liberal Unionist peers. On the following day the latter held a meeting by themselves presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, but no report of their proceedings transpired. The decisions at which they arrived could only be gathered from the votes they subsequently gave.

On the Employers' Liability Bill the issue between the two Houses was clear enough. Lord Dudley's amendment, which the Commons had rejected, was to reserve to the workman individual freedom to contract himself out of the operation of the bill, or to accept such benefits as it would entail. In the House of Commons, Mr. W. McLaren after a good deal of hesitation had proposed a clause which would allow the workmen of certain large companies, notably the London and North-Western Railway, this freedom of choice. The Earl of Dudley proposed to extend this liberty to all workmen under certain safeguards and restrictions.

At the outset of the proceedings in the House of Lords (Jan. 29) the Duke of Devonshire suggested that it would be desirable, in order to reach the main issue, if the Government would intimate their views on Lord Dudley's amendment, which had been modified so as to meet certain objections taken in the other House. In his somewhat curt reply, Lord Ripon, who was in charge of the bill, made no attempt to conciliate his opponents. He could hold out no hope that the modified form of Lord Dudley's amendment would lead to the acceptance of the contracting-out clause inserted by the House of Lords during the passage of the bill through committee. The issue

was therefore plain; the House of Commons standing by the demands of the new trade unionism, whilst the House of Lords upheld the doctrine of individual freedom. Lord Salisbury, in the short speech in which he defended this doctrine, maintained that the proposal of the Government would deprive working men of the freedom of contract which they now enjoyed as Englishmen, and would diminish the solid advantages they now derived from voluntary insurance societies. It would also create a permanent cause of strife between them and their employers, while it would benefit nobody but those who discourage independent agreements between workmen and their employers. The refusal of the Government even to give a reason for the somewhat overbearing course that they had pursued proved that they were not acting on their own instincts, but as the victims of a dire necessity and the slaves of a cruel organisation.

Opposition from this quarter was anticipated, and possibly the unflinching attitude with which the majority of the peers decided to maintain their opinions was expected; but the Government were not prepared to find themselves deserted on so critical an occasion by two recently created peers, one the special friend and follower of Mr. Gladstone, and the other a life-long Radical and one of the leaders of the Progressive party in the London County Council. The former, Lord Stanmore, based his refusal to vote with the Ministry on the ground that no cause had been shown for the abrogation of contracts which had been freely entered into between employers and employed for their mutual benefit, whilst Lord Farrer pointed out that the result of the prohibition would be to drive every employer into an outside accident insurance company. Every workman's claim would then be opposed to the utmost, because the company's sole object and duty to its shareholders would be to earn profits in order to pay dividends. Lord Ripon in his reply avoided dealing with these criticisms from his own side of the House and contented himself with maintaining the necessity in the public interest of restraining the practice of contracting out of the act. He repeated, what had been asserted again and again during the debates in both Houses by the supporters of the bill, that it would in no way prevent the continuance or formation of insurance funds, but he brought forward no fresh arguments or evidence except some vague words spoken by the chairman of the London and Brighton Railway at a meeting of that company. A division was then taken, and the Lords were found to insist upon their amendment recognising the workman's right to judge for himself by 125 to 22 votes.

Lord Camperdown then moved the first of a series of amendments designed to meet objections taken to the contracting-out clause as sent down by their lordships to the Commons. The amendment provided that any workman should be free to release himself from any agreement with his



employer for insurance against injury by giving due notice. The amendment was carried without a division, after a short conversation; as was also another amendment requiring the employer's contribution to the insurance fund to amount to not less than one-third instead of one-fourth.

Next, Lord Dudley in view of certain criticisms which his amendment in its original form had called forth proposed to modify it in several respects. In the first place he added words which would secure an automatic guarantee that the insurance funds started by the employers should be sufficient for their purpose, by restoring to the injured workman his right of action at law if the fund he had subscribed to was insufficient to pay the promised compensation. Another proviso directed the Board of Trade to refuse to certify insurance funds in the case of small workshops or where the men were constantly changed, and even in the case of large workshops with a regular staff the contracting-out clause was only to be applied with the sanction of the Board of Trade and of two-thirds of the workmen employed. Lord Dudley expressed the hope that a settlement would be arrived at by which a bill of considerable public utility might pass into law unhampered by restrictions that would injure the workman and impair the friendly relations between him and his employer. Lord Ripon, however, could hold out no hope that the Government would accept the clause even in its amended form, or that it would afford a satisfactory solution of the question at issue. The bill was then referred back to the Commons for their final decision.

In the short interval between the final expression of the Peers' views on the Employers' Liability Bill and their detailed criticism of the Parish Councils Bill, two important political events have to be chronicled—the first news of Mr. Gladstone's impending resignation, and Mr. Chamberlain's first appearance as the guest of the Junior Conservative Club in his own native city. The rumour of the first-named event appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (Jan. 31), and, notwithstanding the apparent explicitness of the statement, it would have been dismissed as without foundation, but for the curiously-worded disclaimer which it received from Biarritz, where Mr. Gladstone was taking a short holiday. According to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Gladstone had "finally decided to resign office almost immediately," and that this decision "was due to a sense of his advanced age and to the great strain of the late arduous session." The Premier was said to be "deeply disappointed at the rejection of the Home Rule Bill and at the opposition which the Parish Councils Bill had encountered. Domestic pressure had, moreover, not been without considerable influence in determining his mind at last."

The latter passage had reference to the state of Mr. Gladstone's eyesight, which, for some time, had been a source of anxiety to his family, especially as he had refused to take any

precautions which involved an even partial withdrawal from public business. His colleagues in the Cabinet, as well as his intimate friends, therefore received the statement of his impending resignation with absolute incredulity. On the following day, however, Sir Algernon West, who had accompanied the Prime Minister to Biarritz, was authorised to send the following contradiction, which, if it did not actually confirm the original statement, convinced most people that some important change was imminent in the political world: "The statement that Mr. Gladstone has definitely decided, or has decided at all, on resigning office is untrue. It is true that for many months past his age and the condition of his sight and hearing have in his judgment made relief from public cares desirable, and that accordingly his tenure of office has been at any moment liable to interruption from these causes, in their nature permanent. It remains exactly as it has been. He is ignorant of the course which events, important to the nation, may take even during the remainder of the present session, and he has not said or done anything which could in any degree restrain his absolute freedom and that of his colleagues with regard to the performance of arduous duties now lying, or likely to lie, before them."

How far the *Pall Mall Gazette* was justified in its announcement the future was to show. Notwithstanding the gloss put upon the foregoing letter by the Gladstonian organs, which absolutely declined to admit the likelihood of the rumour, the *Pall Mall Gazette* maintained the substantial accuracy of its information, and it was only when silence on the part of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues and henchmen took the place of the denials with which they had at first met the news, that the public gradually recognised that Mr. Gladstone had at length conveyed to them some hints as to his intended course of action.

Mr. Chamberlain's appearance at the Edgbaston Conservative Club was preceded by a speech to a mixed audience at the Stourbridge Town Hall (Jan. 29), in the course of which he said many unpleasant things about the Government, and its ways of transacting the business of the country. He defended the Unionists against the charge of obstruction and taunted his opponents with attending in their places only to register the edicts of Mr. Gladstone. He asserted that the claim made by the Liberals to be the champions of free education was wholly illusory. As late as 1885, Mr. Gladstone, who had never given the least support to the efforts of the National Education League, spoke of free education as remote from practical politics. Three years afterwards when the Conservatives brought it forward and carried it, the Gladstonians claimed to be its sole inventors and patentees. Turning from this question to the barrenness of the actual session, Mr. Chamberlain contended that the real cause of the difficulty was the

want of good faith displayed by the Government. They had won the elections by large promises of British legislation, but all these had been put aside for a scheme of Home Rule of the cardinal point of which the electors had been kept in ignorance. When this bill had been rejected by the House of Lords, the Liberals attempted to get up an agitation against the House of Lords, but they had not been able to get further than the sending out of a circular which only excited the ridicule or amusement of those who read it.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the Edgbaston Conservative Club (Jan. 30) was, however, less aggressive and more personally interesting. It was, in fact, a confession of his new faith, intended to emphasise his belief in the permanence of the Unionist party, and his conviction of the need of a strong National party, above all sectional or party aims, for the welfare and even for the safety of the United Kingdom. He wished for a party "sensible of the responsibilities of the empire, mindful of the traditions of a great governing race and determined to hand down to future generations the great inheritance of a world-wide dominion." Mr. Chamberlain further defined his attitude towards his former colleagues and their new policy. He had joined Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in 1885 because he had believed his policy to be one of decentralisation; he had quitted it in 1886 when he discovered it to be a policy of disintegration. Since then the gulf between him and them had been ever widening. The new Radicals were, he said, "never satisfied with making anybody happy now, unless they made somebody else unhappy. Their love for Home Rule is only surpassed by their hatred of the Protestant and British minority in Ulster. Their interest in temperance is conditional on their being able to ruin the publicans. Their advocacy of compensation to workmen is tempered by their desire to do some injury to the employer. And even their love, their affection for the Parish Councils Bill is conditional on their hostility to the Church." This, Mr. Chamberlain contended, was not true Radicalism, which should aim at cementing the ties between the people of the three kingdoms, not at relaxing them, and should stimulate national sympathies and not sectional antipathies. This speech naturally provoked much hostile criticism from the organs of the Gladstonian party, and among the charges most loudly made and most shrilly asserted was that by his present course of action Mr. Chamberlain was guilty of ingratitude to Mr. Gladstone. This charge was obviously unfounded in every sense, for Mr. Chamberlain, in 1880, had been practically forced into the Cabinet by public opinion, and because Sir Charles Dilke, to whom the one Radical seat in it was offered, understood the strength of Mr. Chamberlain's position better than his leader. The real reason of the bitterness with which Mr. Chamberlain was attacked was the recognition of his talents as a debater, of his powers as

a speaker, and of his astuteness as a tactician. The Radicals felt that they had in him lost their most powerful leader, and knew that in their ranks there was no one to replace him, and lead them to the realisation of those objects on which they had set their hearts.

Meanwhile the House of Lords had been considering in committee the clauses of the Local Government Bill, and subjecting its words and meaning to very considerable modifications. The Earl of Onslow (Feb. 1) moved an amendment to the first clause, striking out the provision which gave a Parish Council to every parish with a population over 200, and substituting for it a provision entitling a parish to a council where the population was 500 or more. The Earl of Kimberley expressed regret that the very first amendment proposed should be one which the Government were altogether unable to accept, but the Marquess of Salisbury insisted that a limit of 200 of population was far too small, that the question of expense had to be considered, and that as there would only be about twenty-five electors among a population of 200, it would be absurd to set up all the machinery of a Parish Council for so small a body. Eventually, after a discussion which lasted about an hour, the House divided, and the amendment, which was supported by the Duke of Devonshire and the Liberal Unionists, was carried by 137 votes against 60. On the second clause, which related to the parish meeting, Lord Balfour of Burleigh proposed to get rid of the lodger and service franchises so far as parish meetings were concerned, and to confine those meetings to persons who were "financially responsible," especially as the administration of the poor law was to be handed over to the Parish Councils, and a great temptation would be placed in the hands of the electors if the poor law was to be administered by those who did not directly contribute to the rates. Such a course would certainly tend to promote extravagant expenditure. The Government naturally opposed the amendment, but it was vigorously supported by the Marquess of Salisbury, who showed that no analogy was to be drawn between these voters and the voters on the Parliamentary register. The Parliamentary elector was concerned not only with the spending of rates, but with the spending of taxes, and with a large number of interests not measurable by money, in which all sections of the community had a very considerable share. It was therefore reasonable that all sections of the community should have a share in Parliamentary elections. But these parochial institutions were quite a different matter, and existed for the purpose of spending rates, and nothing else. The securities and safeguards for the economical expenditure of the rates were all to be thrown overboard, and he asked what would be thought if the directors of a bank were to be chosen from those who did not care whether it sank or swam? The Bishop of Chester supported the amendment, but did not endorse all the views which had

been put forward in its favour, and the Duke of Devonshire opposed it. He reminded the Opposition that when the same amendment was before the House of Commons it was supported by a very considerable proportion of the Conservative party, and that if passed it would effectually exclude a large class and disfranchise the service voters who in many districts were practically the whole agricultural population. However, on a division the amendment was carried by 112 votes against 89, but immediately afterwards the Earl of Selborne, on a consequential amendment, joined in the appeal to the Opposition not to persevere, whereupon Lord Balfour, though still unconvinced, consented to postpone the further dealing with the question until the clause relating to the compound householder came on, or until the report stage. A number of amendments which came to nothing were then proposed in succession—all of them being negatived or withdrawn after brief discussion. Among these the Earl of Onslow proposed to give a vote at the parish meeting to the authorised agents of every corporation or company chargeable to the poor rate; the Bishop of Salisbury proposed to introduce the cumulative vote; Lord Onslow proposed to compel the parish meeting to assemble twice instead of once a year; and Viscount Galway proposed to exclude “illiterates” from voting. On clause 3 an amendment was agreed to omitting the provision that parish councillors might live within three miles of the parish, and a proposal to make the district councillor or councillors of the parish *ex officio* parish councillors was resisted by the Government, but carried by 60 votes against 55—the smallness of the majority provoking some amusement. On the fourth clause, relating to the use of schoolrooms, the Earl of Selborne moved an amendment to prevent the schoolrooms from being used for meetings in reference to allotments, or candidature, or the administration of funds connected with the parish, and to allow them only to be used for Parish and District Council meetings and for parochial purposes. The Earl of Kimberley opposed the amendment, pointing out that if allotment and other meetings were not to be held in the schoolroom they would be driven to the public-house, and then the discussion became somewhat warm, several peers insisting that because a school received a grant from the State that was no sufficient reason why all sorts of public use should be made of the schoolroom, which in many cases had been erected by particular bodies for specific purposes. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Herschell) warmly declared that it was “a mere pretext” to contend that the schools would be used for purposes which would interfere with education, and he pointed out that a strong feeling existed that such rooms were used “with partiality.” He warned their lordships that if they passed the amendment it “would not tend to the popularity of the voluntary schools.” Lord Salisbury protested against this as “a menace,” and declared that there were some people who

did not care how much they interfered with education provided they "got a party vote out of it." He denounced the notion that "parish councillors and their friends could not be trusted to meet in a public-house without making beasts of themselves," as "a mere piece of Puritanical hypocrisy." After some further discussion the amendment was carried by 148 votes against 28. Clause 5, dealing with the appointment of overseers, was rapidly passed, and the discussions on clauses 6, 7, and 8 led to nothing of particular importance beyond the fact that on clause 8 amendments were carried giving the Parish Council power to deal with the regulation and improvement of commons and preventing them from dealing with closed churchyards.

On the following day the debate was resumed, and the whole night was occupied in the consideration of the allotment clauses. On clause 9 the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham moved an amendment to substitute the County Council for the District Council as the body to which the Parish Council should appeal when it desired to take land compulsorily, and, after a brief discussion, this was agreed to without a division. It was also resolved, on the motion of the Earl of Denbigh, that allotments should only be taken for inhabitants of the parish in which they were situated. The Marquess of Salisbury then moved an amendment to omit from the clause the provision that any order made for allotments should not require confirmation by Parliament, and in doing this he dealt with a whole series of amendments which he had placed upon the paper, explaining that they were all part of one policy. He urged that the Government had not sufficiently considered how much the interest of the tenant farmer depended upon a just and equitable administration of this power of granting allotments, and what serious apprehensions had been caused by the enactments to which the House of Commons had given its assent. He had received a number of communications pointing out the great dangers which the tenant farmers would run, and appealing for additional security. Land could not be taken on any large scale from one occupier and given to another without seriously affecting the interests of the occupier from whom it was taken, and he reminded their lordships that a farm was not like a cake from which you could "cut out a bit without affecting the remainder." Stock-keeping farmers would be ruined if their meadow land were appropriated; dairy farmers would not only have their farms but their buildings rendered useless, and the appropriation of the home fields of a farm would have most disastrous results, at a time when the profits of agriculture had been fined down to the smallest point. He protested further against leaving the decision as to allotments in the hands of a Local Government inspector, who in the first place was incompetent, because he knew nothing of the subject, and in the second place had his official existence and promotion dependent

upon the sole will of the politician who happened to be at the head of his department. In many parts of the country the Parish Councils would consist of only five members, and three agricultural labourers might form the majority. It was not extravagant to think that a farmer might be so unpopular that these three men might have a very considerable prejudice against him, and wherever the farmers and their neighbours were not in good accord, the Parish Council would be hardly a fair body to which to entrust the whole decision of the farmer's future. The Earl of Kimberley contended that Lord Salisbury's speech was directed against the whole policy of allotments, and that if his amendments were insisted on these provisions of the bill would be a dead letter. There was a long discussion, in which the Lord Chancellor and others tried to show that the Gladstonians were the only friends of the agricultural labourer; but for this they were sharply taken to task by the Earl of Harrowby, who fired off a whole volley of measures which the late Government had passed in the interests of the labourers. Ultimately the amendment was carried by 150 votes against 54, five bishops voting in the minority with the Government. The Duke of Richmond moved the omission of the provision that in determining the amount of compensation the fact that the purchase was compulsory should not be taken into account, and this was carried by 114 against 21. After this Lord Salisbury was allowed to have pretty much his own way, under protest but without divisions, and accordingly it was decided that the costs to be paid under disputes as to allotments should be costs as between solicitor and client, and not as subject to taxation; that allotments hired compulsorily should not be held for less than fourteen nor more than twenty-one years; and that compensation should be given for any injury or inconvenience caused to the management of a farm or the occupation of the dwelling-house belonging to it, and for improvements made by the occupier under the Agricultural Holdings Act or under any local custom. By 104 votes against 18 the provision declaring that any compensation given for depreciation caused by cutting allotments out of a farm should be arranged for as part of the rent was struck out, and another provision was substituted providing that the selling value of the property should be fixed, and the rent awarded should be at the rate of 3 per cent. on that value. Other minor changes were also made, most of them on the motion of Lord Salisbury, and a proposal submitted by Lord de Ramsey that allotment-holders should not be permitted to sublet or subdivide was carried by 126 against 42. The provision that the landlord of compulsorily hired land should not be required to pay compensation for improvements was struck out, and there was substituted for it another provision, leaving it to be settled by arbitration what should be paid by the landlord as compensation for improvements, or what, on the other hand, should be paid by the

Parish Council for depreciation. It was also determined that no compulsory hiring of land should entitle the hirer to minerals, surface minerals, or mineral rights. When the question was put that "the clause as amended stand part of the bill," the Duke of Devonshire appealed to the Government to accept the changes which had been made in the clause, and to try them experimentally, but the Government, through the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, declined altogether to consider such an appeal.

On the third night (Feb. 5) the debate ranged over a variety of topics, but the interest chiefly centred on the question of the administration of local charities, a point on which the Government had shown many strange shiftings of opinion when the matter was under discussion in the House of Commons. A proposal made by the Earl of Harrowby to provide that the 3*d.* rate which is to be levied by the Parish Councils should include the cost of putting into operation any permissive acts which they might adopt was discussed, and then postponed to the report stage, and the Marquess of Salisbury next proposed to omit the provision that the expenses of the Parish Council and of the parish meeting, including the expenses of any poll, should be paid out of the poor rate. He pointed out that the compound householder paid no rates, and that if he voted for an increase of the rates he voted for what he would not pay, and for an expenditure which he would not feel. The bill provided for the hiring of allotments, and there was absolutely no limit to the hiring by voluntary agreement. It might happen that the 3*d.* rate provided by the bill would soon run out, and yet the hiring of land go on, the Parish Council undertaking to pay a certain rent for fourteen years, and looking to be reimbursed by the agricultural labourers to whom the land was let in small quantities. But there was no security that the agricultural labourers would go on occupying the land, and the agricultural population was constantly shifting. There might at first be a considerable number of agricultural labourers each anxious to have his "three acres and a cow," but bad seasons and low prices might come, and the cow might be lost, and the allotment given up. Then the parish would be liable for the rent, without any prospect of reimbursement. Against that source of expenditure and extravagance the bill gave no protection whatever, and a considerable burden might be incurred with great embarrassment to the ratepayers. The remedy lay, not in restriction, but in taking care that the Parish Councils themselves should have a motive for economy—in other words, that they should pay their rates. The "tendency to extravagance haunted all public bodies," and could only be checked by the strongest and strictest sense of economy. The Earl of Kimberley declared that the amendment proposed to make a new and special rate, and that that was a direct infringement of the privileges of the House of Commons, and he asked why the



compound householder was only to be abolished in the rural districts? Why was there this distrust of the rural population in comparison with the artisan population in the towns? Why was this stigma to be attached to the agricultural labourer, who was quite as much to be trusted as the artisan in towns? The Earl of Cranbrook denied that a new rate would be created by the amendment; the rate was created by the bill itself; the only question was from what source it should be obtained. On a division the amendment was carried by 120 votes against 53. On the 14th clause, which dealt with the treatment of charities, the Earl of Selborne moved an amendment striking out the provision which excluded churchwardens from the trusteeship of charities which were not "ecclesiastical," and he asked why churchwardens should be excluded. To this the Earl of Kimberley responded by asking why they should be included, and he urged that the change was necessary as a concession to the Nonconformists. But Lord Selborne replied that the churchwardens should be included because it was the will of the founders of the charities, and the Archbishop of Canterbury added that it was because the Church was responsible for the whole of the poor of a parish, which no Nonconformist was or had ever claimed to be. On a division the amendment was carried by 110 votes against 27. The Marquess of Salisbury next moved the omission of Mr. Cobb's sub-section, allowing the trustees of a charity to be swamped by the appointment or election of a majority of representative trustees. He pointed out that it was never intended that a Parish Council should be the master of these trusts, and that most of these charities were given from religious motives, and by people who never supposed that any intention of "spoliating their bequests" would ever be entertained. If such spoliation were carried out, a great injustice would be inflicted on the Church of England. The proposal of the bill was a piece of bad faith, and could only discourage future gifts, a result which would be most injurious to the interests of the poor. He attributed the existence of the provision to the "mutiny of a section of the followers of the Government," or in other words to "a Parliamentary clique whose objects were nothing else but simple hostility to the Church," and he expressed surprise that so discreditable a provision should ever have found its way into a ministerial measure. The Lord Chancellor denied that the sub-section had been inserted out of any hostility to the Church or to the charities—it had been put in because charities were better administered when there was a large elected representation on the managing body. That was the opinion of the Charity Commission and of Parliamentary committees. In the course of the subsequent discussion the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his willingness to "go to Cæsar," or in other words to the Charity Commissioners, who had given their decisions on charities with wisdom and fairness, but he denounced the

sub-section as "outrageous." The Earl of Denbigh suggested that the amendment might be modified, as there was no objection to the representative element on charitable trusts provided it was not in a majority, but the Marquess of Salisbury pointed out, to the great amusement of the House, that he himself had no objection to the representative element within due bounds, but that it was not always possible to give, as many charities had the incumbent for sole trustee, and it would be difficult to elect representatives who should be equal, say, to "one-third of a minister." On a division the sub-section was omitted by 80 votes against 19. The Bishop of Ripon proposed an amendment to permit certain doles to be applied for old-age pensions and the care of the sick, and the Earl of Kimberley promised to give favourable consideration to the suggestion before the report stage, whereupon the amendment was withdrawn. Several clauses were then rapidly disposed of; but on clause 20, which dealt with the administration of the poor law, the Duke of Richmond moved to omit the provision abolishing *ex officio* guardians. The Marquess of Salisbury recommended the withdrawal of the motion, and, in a sarcastic speech, pointed out that the *ex officio* guardians were magistrates, and that there might arise a Lord Chancellor who might appoint magistrates from political or other considerations of a very doubtful kind, who would not command the confidence of the public. The Lord Chancellor was very angry at this home thrust, and, while expressing satisfaction that Lord Salisbury could be found supporting any part of the bill, asked if magistrates were always to belong to one political party.

The next sitting (Feb. 6) was noteworthy for the secession of the Liberal Unionists from their Conservative allies, on the question of the composition of the Parish and District Councils, and the subsequent adhesion of the Conservatives to the more liberal policy. Before this crisis arose the Earl of Harrowby moved an amendment to make those members of a County Council who were duly qualified *ex officio* poor-law guardians. This was opposed, however, by the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquess of Salisbury declared that he could not support it, on the ground that the question had been settled on the previous night, and that it was unwise to reopen it; but on a division the amendment was carried by 109 votes against 36, Lord Salisbury and several other Conservative peers walking into the enclosed space around the throne while the division was in progress in order to avoid voting. An amendment moved by Earl Cadogan, to permit the appointment of nominated poor-law guardians, after a lengthened and interesting debate, was carried by 122 against 44, the Duke of Devonshire, the Archbishop of York, and one other prelate on this occasion retiring in like manner. Then came the most important amendment, and the most important result of the night.

The Earl of Onslow proposed to insert a new sub-section in the 20th clause with the object of providing that no compound householder or person who was not assessed to the poor rate, and who had not personally paid his rates, should be allowed to attend a parish meeting or vote as a parochial elector, and this amendment was resisted by Lord Kimberley, who declared it to be absolutely impracticable, for there was no machinery in existence for ascertaining whether a man had or had not paid his rates. The Duke of Devonshire also opposed the amendment in a long and earnest speech, in which he threshed out the whole subject, discussed the respective privileges of the two Houses of Parliament, and condemned as altogether unpractical and impolitic an attempt to enforce so wide a measure of disfranchisement. This speech produced a marked effect upon the Conservative peers, and soon afterwards the Marquess of Salisbury rose and candidly confessed that in face of the position taken up by the duke it was useless to persevere with the amendment. The duke, he said, had entirely abandoned the hope of modifying the provision in the bill and of protecting the ratepayers from the danger and loss which might be the result of this legislation, and had not held out a very smiling prospect as to the future state of things in the country. Practically by this measure and the principles embodied in it, the landlord and the ratepayer must remit their natural powers of defence. The law for the future would not protect them, but would expose them to the danger of a very large and, in some respects, almost unlimited contribution levied by persons who had no interest whatever in making that contribution equitable. The duke had pointed out that the persons who would impose the rate were themselves cottagers of the landlords, and that the landlords, if pushed into a corner, had the means of punishment in their own hands, for they might raise the rent or get rid of the cottager. But, considering the area over which the bill would extend, how heavy the punishment would be in relation to the offence, and the bitterness that would be caused, such a course hardly held out any prospect of continuing those peaceful, friendly relations which had hitherto existed in country districts between the owner of cottage property and those who inhabited the cottages. It would be "a kind of civil war with the gloves on," and much suffering, contention, strife, and bitterness would be the result. However, after the speech of the duke, it was very doubtful whether the ratepayers could be protected, for though that House had a majority, it was hardly a majority sufficient under the circumstances to cope with opposition elsewhere. Lord Onslow thereupon withdrew the amendment, believing it to be useless to persevere in face of the opposition of the Duke of Devonshire, as the proposal would not receive the support of the Unionist leader and his friends in another place. An attempt was subsequently made

by Lord Balfour of Burleigh to exclude London from the provisions of the bill, but Lord Kimberley could see no reason for not attempting to reform the metropolitan vestries as well as those of other urban districts. All that the Government proposed to do was to assimilate the franchise to that for the election of District Councils in other localities, to abolish the qualification required for vestry-men, and to apply to the Corrupt Practices and Ballot Acts. Lord Salisbury complained that the idea to include London was not in the original draft of the bill, but had been sprung upon the House of Commons unawares, and before the people of London had had any chance of examining the proposals. Lord Balfour's amendment was then carried by 107 to 26 votes.

Although the attitude taken up by the Liberal Unionist peers foreshadowed a decided retreat from the position which the Conservatives wished to assume in their coming conflict with the ministerial majority in the House of Commons, the committee stage of the Parish Councils Bill was prolonged for another day. The only point of interest which was debated with any eagerness on the last day (Feb. 8) arose on the Duke of Richmond's motion to omit clause 54, which prohibited the meeting of Parish or District Councils and of Boards of Guardians in houses licensed for the sale of drink. Such a restriction, he maintained, would cut into the root of the professions of the Government that they trusted the people. The Archbishop of York, however, supported the clause because of the strong feeling among the working classes that public houses were unsuitable for such meetings. On the other hand the Marquess of Salisbury approved the omission of the clause because its insertion in the bill was "a grave insult" to the class of men who were to be elected to the councils. While every other body might and did meet in public houses, the councillors and guardians were selected for special brand as people who were particularly liable to succumb to temptation. In many cases the licensed house was the only place in the parish suitable for a meeting, for the use of the school-house was often inconvenient. The Earl of Kimberley retorted that in the opinion of many of the working classes it was not the insertion of the clause but its omission which would be regarded as a grave insult, and he urged that what was wanted was that the meetings should be orderly, respectable, and well conducted. The amendment was ultimately withdrawn, but eventually the Earl of Selborne carried by 63 votes against 17 an amendment to protect what were known as "social parish rooms" for the control by councils.

The proceedings on the report stage (Feb. 12) were somewhat more noteworthy. The Earl of Selborne proposed a series of amendments having for their object to disqualify persons elected on Parish Councils or Boards of Guardians unless they were personally rated for poor relief, and another

series of amendments proposed by the Earl of Morley, to make a Parliamentary committee of both Houses a final Court of Appeal in disputed questions of allotments, was carried after considerable discussion by 110 to 55 against the Government. On the other hand the Government, by 65 to 61, defeated an attempt made by the Earl of Onslow to limit the power of Parish Councils over the water supply, the Conservative leaders declining to support the proposal.

The last stage—the third reading of the bill (Feb. 13)—was allowed to pass with a few hopeful words from one side, and many warnings from the other. The Earl of Wemyss began by moving its re-committal in order that the poor-law clauses might be struck out of it. He predicted that great evils would follow the passage of these clauses, and reminded his hearers that when a similar sort of scheme, carried by M. Louis Blanc in 1848, was put in operation in France, the result was a revolution. The Earl of Kimberley opposed the motion, as he could not suppose that the country would revert to the evils of indiscriminate poor relief, and could not share in the apprehensions of Lord Wemyss that “blood would flow down the streets” as the result of passing the clauses. As to the compound householder, he insisted that when the Parliamentary franchise was given to the compounder it was impossible to refuse to trust him in regard to parochial affairs. He expected much good as the result of the working of the poor-law clauses. After some remarks from Earl Fortescue, the Marquess of Salisbury protested against the fallacy which underlay Lord Kimberley’s views, and once more insisted that the enormous mixture of classes and interests of all kinds which went to make up the Parliamentary franchise formed no guide as to what ought to be done in the small area of the parish, and handing over to a small body of parishioners the discretion as to what money should be raised and what money spent. While approving of the bill generally, he was afraid that great extravagance and great burdens on the ratepayers would result from some of its provisions. He believed the ratepayer had been left wholly without defence, and that great burdens would be thrown upon the owners and occupiers of the land. He regretted that it was not in the power of the House to remedy the evils of compounding, which threatened the security and the honest working of the bill.

The bill, as amended, was shortly afterwards read a third time, and sent back to the Commons for their consideration.

If the Radical supporters of the Ministry were secretly doubtful of the issue of the struggle between the two Houses, they were at least confident of capturing the National Liberal Federation, which was to hold its annual conference at Portsmouth. By rights the meeting should have taken place in the previous autumn, but the too recent rejection of the Irish Home Rule Bill, and the passive acquiescence of the electors,

had warned the managers of the Liberal Federation that the moment was inopportune for the manufacture of theoretical thunderbolts. The proceedings at Portsmouth were doubtless intended to prove the strength as well as the unity of the Liberal party, and its adherence not only to the Newcastle programme, but to the order in which the promised boons should be distributed.

The first day (Feb. 12) was spent in discussing the proposal that election agents should be certificated before being employed, and in the evening a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Church in Wales was passed, after a protracted meeting where no arguments were urged in opposition. On the following day (Feb. 14) the first important meeting was held, at which Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland, Vice-President of the Council, attended on behalf of the Government, and reviewed and defended at some length their various achievements since they took office. He severely criticised the action of the House of Lords, and with regard to the Parish Councils Bill declared that the course of the Government was clear, they would negative all the Lords' amendments, a somewhat rash prophecy, which events were to show was as foolish as it was uncalled for. The declaration, however, was quite to the taste of the delegates, who readily passed resolutions expressive of confidence in the Government, and recognising a new era in politics by its admirable administrative achievements.

The closing day of the proceedings was marked by the visit of Sir Wm. Harcourt, who found himself called to make a speech of complete satisfaction in the present, and of humblest confidence in the future, on the day after the Government had obtained a majority of two upon a crucial question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was fully equal to the demands made upon his rhetoric, and in a brilliant though rather boisterous speech he predicted that the Liberal party were about to enter upon a great struggle from which they would come out successful. He defended the Radical "caucus" as invented by Mr. Chamberlain and worked by Mr. Schnadhurst; championed the new Radicalism against the criticism of Mr. Balfour, and ridiculed smartly the National party which Mr. Chamberlain wished to form. Turning to the more immediate question of the hour, the conflict between the two Houses of Parliament, Sir Wm. Harcourt pointedly emphasised Mr. Acland's declaration with regard to the amendments on the Parish Councils Bill, concluding his speech with the following words:—

"Gentlemen, we shall reject these amendments which have no object but to defeat the bill. We shall send them to the place from which they came. Let them reject the bill as they please; they will one day have to render an account for it. You will ask how this will end. It will end as it has always ended. The House of Lords has never yielded willingly to

any great reform, but when the people have chosen they have always yielded. When the House of Lords is thoroughly alarmed on the state of the public mind, when it is convinced that the country will stand no more nonsense, then it gives way, but not before. It is our business, it is your business to convince the Lords that the nation means to have no more of this sort of thing. Patience, determination, courage, plain speaking, strong action, and you will find that these obstructives will have to move on in 1894 as they did in 1884 and in 1832, and many times before. Make it your business each and all of you, and the business of these country organisations, to enlighten the public mind on this issue. The process of education has already begun. The last fortnight's work in the House of Lords has marvellously opened the eyes of the people and advanced public opinion. Give them rope enough. Let us have a few more such fortnights. Let the handwriting on the wall be clear so that those who run may read; let it burn into the minds and consciences of the people that it is not upon one question, or upon two questions, or upon three questions, but upon all questions that the House of Lords is the champion of all abuses and the enemy of all reform. Let the object-lessons be many, let the moral be flagrant, let us send them up bill after bill—all these bills that you see on the walls around you. Let them maul, and mangle, and mutilate, and defeat them, 'for it is their nature to'; and then, when the cup is full and the time is ripe, the verdict of the people shall be taken on the general issue, and they shall determine once for all whether the whisper of faction is to prevail over the will of the people."

Meanwhile the House of Commons had reassembled after its short adjournment and at once took up the bills which had been sent down with the Lords' amendments. The first taken was the Scotch Fisheries Bill (Feb. 12), which had passed through the Commons by the most cynical lobbying, and without even the pretence of honest discussion. The House of Lords did its best to make a thoroughly bad bill at least harmless, and to put some restraint upon the strange zeal of the Secretary for Scotland for his own constituents and his disregard for other districts. The chief interest lay in the different treatment of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The bill proposed to levy a rate, not exceeding a penny in the pound, on all Scotch seaboard counties for the purposes of the Fishery Board. Under this arrangement Glasgow was exempted whilst Edinburgh was included. Staunch Radicals like Dr. Farquharson (*West Aberdeenshire*) and Mr. Herbert Paul (*Edinburgh, S.*) protested against this form of protectionism, under which persons engaged wholly in agricultural pursuits or town traders were rated in order to foster an industry in which their only interest was that of consumers. Sir George Trevelyan in defending the action of the Government gave several reasons,

more or less specious, for including Edinburgh, but was discreetly silent upon those which had induced the exclusion of Glasgow from the rate, but after some further discussion and notwithstanding the secession of some of the regular supporters of the Government, the clause, slightly modified, was replaced in the bill, and at the end of the debate it was found that the Government had accepted forty of the amendments introduced by the House of Lords and disagreed with the remaining six.

On the discussion of the Lords' amendment to the Employers' Liability Bill a keener conflict arose, the result of which was looked forward to with much anxiety by the ministerial whips. Mr. W. B. McLaren during the passage of the bill through the House of Commons had proffered (Nov. 10, 1893) a reasonable amendment, allowing existing mutual insurance societies of which contracting out was a condition, to continue on their present basis. This proposal had been resisted by the Government and rejected by a majority of 18. In the House of Lords the Earl of Dudley had widened the scope of Mr. McLaren's proposal, and instead of limiting it to the London and North-Western Railway and one or two more existing companies, he not only proposed to allow mutual insurance to existing societies, but permitted it to new societies formed after the passing of the act. The support which Mr. McLaren obtained for his proposal did not apparently encourage him to proceed with it when Lord Dudley's amendment came on for discussion, and the task of finding some compromise was left to Mr. H. P. Cobb (*Rugby, Warwickshire*), who moved an amendment with the object of suspending the operation of the bill for a period of three years in regard to the members of mutual insurance societies which were at present in existence. He felt sure that if the bill were to pass in the form in which it left this House the directors of the London and North-Western Railway Company would withdraw their subscription to the insurance fund, and the men would lose from 15,000*l.* to 17,000*l.* a year. If, however, the operation of the bill could be postponed for three years, he believed the directors of that and other companies would, at the expiration of that time, reconsider their position and resolve to continue their subscriptions.

This proposal was seconded by another consistent supporter of the Government, Mr. F. Lockwood, Q.C. (*York City*), who was ready to accept the measure in its altered form rather than run the risk of losing it altogether. This was not the policy of the Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith), who had entirely adopted the views of the trade unions, or had succumbed to the pressure they had been able to bring to bear on the Government. He, therefore, at once rose to explain the attitude of his colleagues and their reason for supporting Mr. Cobb's amendment. It was that there should be no permanent exemption of any body of workmen from the scope of the general law by private arrangements between them and their employers. With re-



gard to the present amendment, he did not deny that he should have preferred to see the bill passed in the form in which it left this House. At the same time, when this proposal to give a time limit to existing funds was first brought to his notice he felt that it might afford a reasonable basis for an arrangement. If a breathing space were afforded for the employers and employed to realise their relations to one another under the new law, the danger of subscriptions being hastily withdrawn might altogether disappear; and from that point of view alone the Government were disposed to advise the House to accept the amendment.

This strange version of the rights of individual judgment and personal liberty gave Mr. Balfour an opportunity for a brilliant attack upon Mr. Cobb's position. If there were any value whatever in the liberty to contract out of the act under the condition embodied in Lord Dudley's amendment, the object in view could in no sense and in no measure be attained by Mr. Cobb's amendment. If the bill involved a considerably greater sacrifice on the part of the masters they would have a motive for reconsidering the privileges hitherto accorded to their men, and he was afraid they would be induced to pursue the course which the London and North-Western Company had distinctly asserted that they meant to take. It would be sheer insanity for members of this House, while professing outwardly and with the lips to value these associations, deliberately to take a course which would work with fatal effect on existing insurance funds, while it would prevent for all time the construction and embodiment of associations of a similar character in other parts of the country. He would resist to the best of his power this illusory attempt at compromise, and would do what he could to prevent the House from adopting a policy which must have an injurious effect on the future interests of the working classes.

Nor did the amendment please Mr. W. McLaren (*Crewe, Cheshire*), who regarded societies such as that of the London and North-Western Railway as much too valuable to be risked at the end of three years. He was still in favour of his own solution of the difficulty, and refused to contemplate the possibility of future benefit societies becoming as valuable as those which he was prepared to protect. The Labour members were somewhat divided in their views. Mr. S. Woods (*Ince, Lancashire*) believed that the 50,000 or 60,000 miners whom he represented would prefer that the bill should be lost rather than that the compromise contained in the amendment should be agreed to. He believed, however, that it was not the question of contracting out, but the abolition of the doctrine of common employment was the main reason for the strong objections which had been raised against the bill in many quarters. Mr. Fenwick (*Wansbeck, Northumberland*), on the other hand, said he would rather accept the bill with a time

limit than wreck it entirely. Mr. Burns (*Battersea*) asserted that the bulk of the workmen throughout the country were united in their opposition to the principle of contracting out and were equally opposed to giving an extension of time to the mutual insurance societies. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would stand by their measure even if it were lost, but Mr. J. H. Wilson (*Middlesborough*) declared he was decidedly in favour of the amendment, but at the same time he was confident that the majority of the workmen in the country were opposed to the principle of contracting out. Mr. Chamberlain, who had been absent when Mr. McLaren's amendment had been originally discussed, spoke at some length on the unsatisfactory issue placed before the House. The Government had clearly shown that they did not like Mr. Cobb's amendment, but he did not know whether they cared for the bill itself, or only regarded it as a counter in the political game. For many reasons, which he explained at length, and as the result of his own experience, he hoped that the House would agree in principle to the clause as it had been amended by the Lords. The House soon afterwards divided, and Mr. Cobb's amendment was carried by a majority of two, 215 to 213 votes.

This result was as much a surprise as a disappointment to the Government, for they had allowed it to be understood that beyond the three years' delay they would make no concession to the Lords. They therefore looked to be strongly supported in the policy upon which they had taken their stand. On the other hand the division was naturally hailed with enthusiastic cheers from the Opposition side, but in fact the falling off from the Government was due to the fortuitous agreement of two groups of discontented Liberals. Nine of these voted against the amendment; some because they were hostile to the limitation of the contracting-out period to three years, and others because they objected to any compromise whatever.

It was Mr. McLaren's wish that he and Mr. Seton-Karr (*St. Helen's*) should act as tellers against Mr. Cobb's amendment, but the matter was overruled by the Unionist leaders. Had this suggestion been adopted the division would have resulted in a tie, for Dr. Clark (*Caithness-shire*), who was opposed to any compromise and intended to vote against the amendment, voted with the Government when he heard the Conservative Whips named as tellers.

In the subsequent division on the question that the House disagree with that part of the Lords' amendment which permitted "contracting out" in future mutual insurance societies, the Government had a majority of 22, obtaining the support of two Conservatives and the abstention of three others, Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge University*), Sir Albert Rollit (*Islington, S.*), and Mr. J. G. Butcher (*York City*), as well as of Sir Henry James (*Bury*), but two Gladstonians, Sir B. Hingley (*Worcestershire*,

N.) and Mr. Bryn Roberts (*Eifion, Carnarvonshire*), voted with the Opposition as they had done in the previous division.

Lord Dudley, whose amendment had been thus submitted to a test which had strained the allegiance of the Liberal party to the utmost, was not disposed to abandon the struggle. On the day after the division he went down to Crewe to address a large meeting of those whose interests were most closely affected by the restrictions of the bill. He readily admitted that the bill was an undoubted improvement on the existing state of the law, but it contained two defects. In the first place, it left untouched the great majority of accidents constantly occurring; and in the second place, it tended to destroy the only means by which those cases could be provided for. As a matter of fact, ninety per cent. of the accidents which disastrously affected the lives and limbs of the working population were utterly unprovided for by the measure. Until a measure of universal compensation was admitted to be within the range of practical politics they must turn to some method of private arrangement such as that in existence on the London and North-Western Railway Company. It was by such private arrangements that vexatious and expensive litigation was avoided, and the relations between employers and employed placed upon a cordial and friendly footing. If, therefore, these funds provided such benefits to those concerned, it was the obvious duty of any Government to protect and encourage them by every means in their power. But that was exactly what the present Government had not done. On the contrary, by excluding from their bill this clause they had endeavoured to strike a vital blow at their very existence. What the result of the previous night's division in the House of Commons would be he hardly liked to forecast. It was impossible that the House of Lords could recognise an amendment carried by a majority of two.

The discussion in the House of Commons of the Lords' amendments to the Parish Councils Bill was preceded by an important meeting of the Liberal Unionist party at Devonshire House (Feb. 15), at which a general opinion was expressed that they should abstain from any opposition which might endanger the passing of the bill. They concurred that many of the amendments introduced by the Lords were inexpedient, and that they should hold themselves open to any reasonable offer of compromise made by the Government. These views were fully reflected in the debates in the House later in the day, and in many cases the Government majorities owed their importance to the support of the Liberal Unionists.

The amendments considered on the first night (Feb. 15) were not, with one exception, of great importance. Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*), the minister in charge of the bill, first moved that the House should disagree with the Lords' amendment raising from 200 to 500 the population limit of parishes in

which Parish Councils were to be compulsorily established. Sir Wm. Harcourt (*Derby*) supported this proposal on the curious ground that in the smaller parishes pressure would be brought to prevent the creation of councils. Mr. Balfour thereupon promptly pointed out that another clause of the bill actually provided that still smaller parishes with from 100 to 200 inhabitants were allowed the option which it was proposed to deny to the larger ones. The point, however, was not one of argument but of voting, and the Lords' amendment was disagreed with by 260 to 191 votes.

The proposal to make the personal payment of rates a condition for membership of a Parish Council was scarcely tenable after the abandonment of the principle by the House of Lords even in the case of electors for the District Councils. Mr. Balfour suggested that it was not worth while to divide against the motion of disagreement. Mr. Chamberlain and the Liberal Unionists generally voted with the ministers against the omission of the proviso allowing persons living within three miles of the parish to be councillors, and this was disagreed with by 283 against 167. The provision inserted by the House of Lords that district councillors elected for the parish should have seats on the Parish Council was resisted by Mr. Fowler as introducing the principle of *ex officio* membership, which the Government repudiated, and which the Lords had substantially given up. No division was challenged either on this point or on most of the Lords' amendments relating to the use of schoolrooms, which were all disagreed with, that requiring a seven days' notice being rejected by 208 against 105. The most important matter arose on the amendments to the provisions as to the compulsory purchase of land for small holdings. Mr. H. Fowler, in reference to the first of a series of amendments relating to the compulsory purchase of land for allotments, explained that the proposal of the Government was to enable the Local Government Board to make a final order for putting the compulsory powers in force, after full inquiry into each case. He asked the House to disagree with Lord Morley's amendment providing that in the ultimate appeal application should be made to Parliament for compulsory powers. Mr. Chamberlain, while thinking it was too late to endeavour to change the opinion of the Government, said he intended to vote for the first of the Lords' amendments, because he believed the County Council was a much better body than the District Council for dealing with this matter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government must refuse all the proposals embodied in the Lords' amendments, because they believed that the object of those amendments was to make the obtaining of allotments difficult, if not impossible. After a long and discursive conversation a division was taken on the substitution of the County Council for the District Council and was rejected by 232 against 185 votes.

The greater part of another evening (Feb. 16) was occupied with this allotment question. Lord Morley's amendment, which provided that where land was compulsorily taken for this purpose the application should be to the County Council by the Parish Council, with an appeal to the Local Government Board, whose provisional orders should in cases of dispute require confirmation by Parliament, was disagreed to without a division, after an interesting discussion. The real object in view was, as Mr. Balfour put it, "cheap justice," and the chief point at issue between members was whether this rare commodity was more likely to be had by employing the mechanism of the bill, the mechanism devised by Lord Morley, or some other alternative. While the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House that the practical choice before them at the moment was the choice between the proposal of the Government and the proposal of the Lords, he dropped some significant words to the effect that the suggestions supported by Sir Julian Goldsmid and others, in favour of nominating the County Council as the authority to whom the reference should be made, were well worthy of consideration. Some difference of opinion as to the suitability of this body for such functions was shown in the debate, Mr. Long (*West Derby, Liverpool*) and Mr. Lowther (*Isle of Thanet, Kent*) expressing a distinct preference for the Local Government Board, but, on the whole, the appointment of the County Councils for this purpose was generally accepted as the best solution, and eventually Mr. Fowler's motion was accepted without challenge. Divisions, however, were taken on two amendments enabling the owner of land compulsorily taken to call upon the arbiter to fix the selling value and relating to the payment of compensation to the tenant of such lands, and in both instances the Lords' proposals were disagreed to by large majorities. On the other hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer accepted an amendment providing that a single arbitrator should have power to determine as to the amount of compensation payable by the landlord for improvements or by the Parish Council for depreciation, and a further amendment empowering the landlord to resume land for mining purposes on payment of compensation, and on proof to the County Council that the resumption is, in fact, for such purposes. The end of the sitting was enlivened by a question as to the privileges of the House raised by Mr. Fowler on two amendments which related to the means of providing money for defraying the expenses of the parish meeting. Mr. Fowler urged that in substance the Lords' amendments raised a new tax and violated in this way the established privileges of the House of Commons. The Speaker had no hesitation in pronouncing this view to be correct, and declared that had the President of the Local Government Board not risen to call attention to the action of the Lords, he, as guardian of the privileges of the Commons, would have felt it incumbent

upon him to ask the House to pass over the amendments in question.

This brought the debate to a close for that night, but it was found that two more evenings were required before all the Lords' amendments could be disposed of. An entire evening was given up to the discussion of the administration of parochial charities, the Lords having shown a special regard for the interests of the clergy and churchwardens. By clause 14 the Government had proposed that where, in the case of a non-ecclesiastical charity, the churchwardens were, either alone or jointly with other persons, trustees of any parochial charity, such number of the councillors of the parish or other persons, not exceeding the number of the churchwarden trustees, as the Parish Council might appoint shall be trustees in their place.

This provision had been struck out by the House of Lords, and Mr. Fowler proposed to re-introduce it, although, as urged by the Opposition, it imposed upon office-bearers of the Church of England a disqualification which it did not attach to those of any other religious denomination, and was an indirect way of putting a stigma on churchwardens. In reply to these objections Sir Wm. Harcourt insisted that churchwardens had an ecclesiastical as well as a secular capacity. In their ecclesiastical capacity they would in the future remain exactly as they were at present, but the Government maintained that they were not the proper persons, as churchwardens, to administer non-ecclesiastical charities, although personally they might be appointed trustees of such charities by the Parish Council. In the end the clause was replaced by 209 to 157 votes.

The next point on which a debate arose was on the Lords' amendment reducing the number of trustees of non-ecclesiastical charities to be appointed by the Parish Council or meeting to one-third of the whole. Mr. Rathbone (*Carnarvonshire, N.*), a strong supporter of the Government, suggested as a compromise that one half of the trustees should be elected and the other half appointed by the existing trustees. He asserted from his long experience of local affairs that on the ground of public policy the proposal would "not only fail to aid but would put increasing and very serious obstacles in the way of reform." This view seemed to meet with considerable approval, but Mr. Gladstone, who had hitherto remained an impassive spectator of the debates, intervened, remarking that the proposal which the Lords sought to dislodge was carried in the Commons by a majority of 61, or nearly double the normal Government majority, and he defended the action of the Government in accepting Mr. Cobb's amendment, which was the sub-section that the Lords rejected, in favour of a majority of the trustees being elective. He believed Mr. Cobb's amendment was the expression of the unbiased sense of the majority of the representatives of the people upon a question which deeply interested the people; and he objected

to the nomination of persons whose main duty would be to redress what was called an excess of the elective principle. Every ecclesiastical element had been carefully fenced off, and the people of the parish ought to have the dominant control over parochial charities. Sir M. Hicks-Beach (*Bristol, W.*) defended the Lords' amendment against the sophistical rhetoric of the Prime Minister, declaring that Mr. Cobb's sub-section, which the Lords expunged, was the result of a back-stairs intrigue with the Government.

He was followed on the same side by Mr. Chamberlain, who opposed the Government proposal on the ground that it would coerce the Parish Council and would not give free play to the elective principle. This assertion the Chancellor of the Exchequer strongly denied, asserting that the Government scheme gave predominance to the elective principle without altogether destroying the connection with ancient trusts. After some further discussion Mr. Fowler's motion was adopted by 215 to 165 votes.

The next struggle took place over the application of the bill to London, which had been very inadequately discussed when the bill was originally before the House. The Lords had taken advantage of this neglect to strike out the provision extending to the metropolis. Mr. Fowler now moved its re-insertion, explaining that it would only place the London vestries and local bodies on the same footing as similar bodies in other parts of the country. Mr. Fisher (*Fulham*) on behalf of the metropolitan Conservatives objected to London being treated in this slovenly and piecemeal manner, and observed that the provision had been inserted in the bill for electioneering purposes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer taunted the London Conservative members with not opposing this proposal in committee, or on the report stage, simply because they knew it was thoroughly acceptable to all their constituencies. Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) complained that so important a clause had been tacked on to a bill which really had nothing to do with the metropolis. The Government did not so much desire to reform London vestries as to find a ground of quarrel with the House of Lords. The effect of this particular provision would not be of such a nature as to make it worth while to imperil the whole bill on account of it. The Government would cheerfully throw over the agricultural labourers and the rest of the bill if they could only entice members on the Opposition side to wreck the measure on this account, but these members did not intend to oblige them. It was, however, clear that the Liberal Unionists were not prepared to oppose the clause. Mr. Chamberlain, while approving this small instalment of reform, thought it would have been better to postpone the question until the Government could consider whether there should be any vestries at all. This particular reform was theoretically right, but its practical result would be

nil. Sir J. Lubbock (*London University*) also said he was not prepared to oppose the suggestions of the Government, though he regretted that the metropolitan members had not had more time to consider them. Further opposition was thus useless and Mr. H. Fowler's motion was agreed to without a division.

The interest in the concluding discussion (Feb. 20) of the Lords' amendments was altogether eclipsed by the action of the Government at an earlier period of the evening. Mr. Fowler consented to a slight modification of clause 32, by the insertion of words subjecting the Local Government Board to the advice of the Charity Commissioners before issuing any order in respect of any charity concerned, and he further adopted the Lords' amendment of clause 42, dealing with persons appearing in both the ownership and occupation lists as voters in the same parish. The President of the Local Government Board, however, refused to accept an amendment by which the accounts of the Parish Councils were to show "all outstanding liabilities," on the ground that the auditor could only deal with actual payments. Moreover, he urged that the expenditure of the councils being limited to 6*d.* in the pound, the danger of going wrong was very slight. The question was argued with some pertinacity by Mr. Goschen and others, but eventually the Lords' amendment was rejected by 144 to 67 votes.

The attempt of the Lords to protect the "endowments" as well as the management of elementary schools was also rejected, and, finally, on clause 69 (construction of the act) Mr. Fowler moved to disagree with an amendment which provided that the expression "ecclesiastical charity" should include "buildings not held in trust for the residence or relief of poor or sick persons therein, or productive of income distributable for the benefit of such persons, which, or the ownership, trusteeship, management, or control of which, is by its legal constitution vested in ministers or officers for the time being of any particular church or denomination, either alone or jointly with other persons." He pointed out that this was an extension of the ecclesiastical charities. These buildings could only be dealt with where they were used for secular purposes; if they were used for religious purposes the Parish Councils would have no control over them.

After a protest on behalf of parish rooms built by churchmen for secular purposes in connection with the church, the Lords' amendment was excised, and the proceedings closed with the appointment of a committee to draw up reasons for the Commons' disagreement with certain of the Lords' amendments.

In the meanwhile the other "non-contentious" bill, on which the Government depended to show that the session so unduly prolonged was not altogether barren, was passing through a critical period.



Before reaching these, however, the Sea Fisheries Regulation (Scotland) Bill had to be disposed of. Lord Playfair, who had charge of the bill, whilst admitting that the Government did not regard the inclusion of Edinburgh for the purpose of assessment as a vital part of the bill, urged the House not to insist upon its amendment, empowering the Secretary for Scotland, by order, to apportion and divide the sea-board counties into eight fishery districts; and Lord Playfair now moved that the House should not insist upon its amendment, but should agree to the insertion of words providing for the apportioning and dividing into districts of the sea-board counties "as specified in a schedule to be appended to the bill, with the burghs included therein." He explained that the inclusion of Edinburgh in the bill, although much opposed in some quarters, was in accordance with the precedent of the English act, while under no definition of a sea-board county could Glasgow be properly included.

Earl Camperdown denied that there was any analogy between the English act, which was optional in its character, and the present bill, which embodied the principle of universal compulsion so dear to the Government, while it would also rate communities for purposes with which they had no concern whatever. He also complained strongly of the arbitrary and unfair manner in which it was proposed to tax certain counties, while others, which returned members of the Ministry to Parliament, were exempted.

This view, which was supported by several other Scotch peers, was endorsed by the House by 72 to 23. The only other important discussion arose on the rating power to be exercised by the district fishery committees, whom the Lords wished to expunge and the Commons to retain. Lord Playfair suggested as a compromise that the rating power should be retained, but, when the assessment was declared excessive, that an appeal should be made to the Secretary for Scotland. The Marquess of Huntly, however, on behalf of his fellow-countrymen declared that the new clause was viewed with still greater aversion in Scotland than the original one, and ultimately Lord Playfair's motion was rejected by 60 to 20 votes. This was practically the *coup de grace* to their unfortunate and mismanaged measure. When the House of Commons next met (Feb. 19), the Secretary for Scotland (Sir George Trevelyan) announced that the changes made by the House of Lords in the bill had rendered it altogether useless for the purposes for which it was introduced, and therefore the Government did not intend to proceed further with it.

On the same evening (Feb. 19) the House of Lords once more had before it the Employers' Liability Bill, on which Mr. Cobb's amendment, carried by a majority of two, had been grafted. The Marquess of Ripon, on behalf of the Government, explained that the Commons' amendment, moved by an inde-

pendent member of the House, proposed that contracting out should be allowed for the limited period of three years in order that the directors of the London and North-Western Railway Company and all others concerned in existing insurance societies might have time to review their position and to estimate the probable effect of the bill on their operations.

Lord Dudley hoped the House would not accept the illogical and most unsatisfactory amendment which the Commons had passed by a very small majority. The concession of three years' respite was of no value whatever to those connected with the insurance societies, as it only postponed the inevitable result.

Earl Cowper maintained Lord Dudley's amendment was approved by the more independent working men, who wished to be protected from the tyranny of trade union leaders, and the Earl of Denbigh asserted that, in taking up this attitude towards the amendment, the Government showed that they were more anxious to make a quarrel with the House of Lords than to confer a benefit on the working classes. In order to show that there was a pretty general agreement of opinion among the peers they rejected Mr. Cobb's amendment by 137 votes to 23. On other points the Government acting on behalf of the majority in the House of Commons was prepared, if not altogether to agree with the Lords' amendments, at least to make very considerable concessions in their sense. Lord Ripon, however, protested against the idea that those who wished to hand over the supervision and application of the bill to the Board of Trade or other Government department, could at the same time put themselves forward as the champions of the absolute freedom of contract. He concluded by warning the majority of the House that if they insisted upon maintaining the principle of permitting contracting out in regard to future societies, they would strike at the root of the bill, and make a more serious breach in the provisions intended for the protection of workmen in the case of accidents. The majority of the House, however, undismayed by the warnings of the Government spokesman, hardened their hearts against the demands of the new trade unionism and maintained their original decision.

The bill was thus once more remitted to the House of Commons, where a dramatic reception was being prepared for it by its authors. An urgent "red whip" had been addressed to the ministerial supporters to be present on the occasion, and to take part in a great critical division. It was openly announced beforehand that Mr. Gladstone would adopt the highest tone towards the House of Lords, and would show to his followers and the country at large of what unbending stuff the Cabinet was composed. The form in which the notice appeared in the "votes" was that Mr. Gladstone would move that the Lords' reasons and the Lords' amendments to the Commons' amend-

ments on the Lords' amendments on the Employers' Liability Bill should be "set aside." It was in this way that the Government proposed to assist once more the House of Commons to pronounce upon the question of "contracting out" before finally abandoning the bill. It was further understood that Mr. Gladstone would speak at some length in justification of the attitude of the Government towards the House of Lords, and some of the more advanced ministerial supporters in the House and the press hoped and believed that he would take advantage of the opportunity to lash the Upper Chamber with his most fervid eloquence. Had the Lords modified Lord Dudley's amendment so as to exclude from its operation insurance companies not already in existence, Mr. McLaren and his friends would probably have returned to their original position, and thrown in their lot with the Opposition, but as the Lords insisted upon their amendment in its entirety, the hesitating Liberals found themselves free to vote with their party. These tactics were admirably conceived to procure a full party majority on what was practically a vote of want of confidence. Unfortunately it was found impossible to carry out their cleverly devised scheme. When the authorities of the House came to be consulted it was discovered that the procedure suggested was not in conformity with the rules and usages of the House, as motions to "lay aside" the Lords' amendments were reserved for cases where the Commons' privileges had been infringed. The necessary change of front had been concealed from the rank and file of the Government supporters, who enthusiastically cheered their leader on rising (Feb. 20), but after Mr. Gladstone's first few words it was obvious that the great oratorical effect on which his followers had been reckoning was not to be produced, but dwindled away to a simple motion that the order for the consideration of the Lords' amendment should be discharged, and the bill consequently dropped. In a long but by no means effective speech, Mr. Gladstone expressed his wish to raise by his motion a clear and simple issue, assuming evidently that the Opposition would object to the bill being withdrawn on the ground of a disagreement on a single clause. There was a good maxim, he said, that half a loaf was better than no bread, but it was inapplicable in the present instance, inasmuch as the amendment adopted by the Lords could not be considered apart from its general bearing on the whole framework and substance of the bill. His firm belief was that among the working classes there was an extremely large and perhaps an enormous preponderance of opinion adverse to the amendment. For these reasons the Government strongly recommended the House to decline to recede from the position they had taken up, and to refuse to consider the amendment introduced in the House of Lords.

This cleverly laid scheme to provoke a division in which the Ministry could count upon a full majority was most cruelly laid

bare by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. A. J. Balfour), who at once rose in answer to Mr. Gladstone's implied challenge. He was, he said, at a loss to understand why the Prime Minister had delivered an address which was merely a restatement, and not a powerful one, of the arguments with which they had become familiar in the numerous debates on this subject. The Government apparently now proposed to throw away at least three-fourths of the loaf because they could not get the whole of it. No doubt every Government was the best judge of its own incompetency, and if they thought that nine-tenths of their work was worthless it was not for members of the Opposition side to contradict them. As the Government were going to commit this act of infanticide, which he did not mean to resist, they ought not to go afterwards to the country and say, "What a beautiful bill it was that we destroyed!" They ought not to praise the virtues of their offspring at the very moment when they were cutting its throat. The Prime Minister had treated the amendment as if it were a poison which tainted the whole measure. The taint was the taint of liberty, and the poison was the poison of freedom. It was clear that the Government thought it better that the Liberal party should have a bone of contention with the other House than that the workmen of this country should have their position ameliorated.

It was a little unfortunate that the task of replying to Mr. Balfour should have fallen on the Home Secretary, for although at times a powerful speaker he had not acquired the position of a ready debater. Mr. Asquith, dealing with Mr. Balfour's concluding challenge to take in the usual way the opinion of the working man on the question, began by saying that the Government were prepared to take the opinion of the country, but not just then, having as they considered other duties as a legislative assembly. With regard to the course of the Opposition he was glad to find that after full deliberation the leader of the Unionist party was going to join with the supporters of the Government in a unanimous vote of condemnation of the proceedings of the Lords. After such a declaration the prolongation of the debate would be useless. In the opinion of a large majority of the working classes the clause inserted by the Lords would place the independence and liberty of the working men at the mercy of the worst class of employers, and would enable the latter to take away from the men the very benefits which, if the bill had passed in its original form, would undoubtedly have been conferred. The leader of the Opposition had spoken of this as a case of legislative infanticide, but the bill would be killed, not by the Government, but by those who had crippled and mutilated it. The Government declined to recognise in the bill as amended by the Lords their own offspring, or to acknowledge any of the responsibilities of parentage.

A speech based on such a fallacious argument naturally

exposed its author to a somewhat merciless criticism from Mr. Chamberlain, who, brushing away the cobwebs so industriously spun by Mr. Asquith, brought back the debate to the real question, which was whether the Government should be allowed to withdraw their own bill, and whether it was any part of the duty of the Unionists to prevent this act of infanticide by staying the parents' avenging hand. It was not the business of the Opposition to stand between the Government and the decision which had been arrived at, and they must refuse to take any responsibility in the matter. As a matter of fact no fewer than 99 per cent. of the workmen of the country would remain untouched by the Lords' amendment, and would be in a position to enjoy at once all the other advantages of the bill. Adverting to the true reason for the action of the Government, Mr. Chamberlain expressed his conviction that, in spite of the alleged opinion of the friendly societies, and in spite of the opinion of the trade unionist leaders, the people of this country were not going to rise in their wrath against the House of Lords because the peers had sought to preserve the liberty of action of 1 per cent. of the working classes.

When Mr. Chamberlain sat down the Opposition, with the exception of half a dozen members, walked out of the House. These joined with Mr. McLaren (*Crewe, Cheshire*), who boldly complained that the Government was not making the slightest effort with the bill, declaring he would divide the House if he could find a co-teller. This office was promptly accepted by Mr. Seton-Karr (*St. Helen's*) and six others were found to join them to protest against 225 who supported the policy of the Government, and the bill was consequently killed by its own authors.

The withdrawal of a bill deemed so necessary by the Government that the session had been protracted in an unprecedented manner for its discussion was loudly condemned by many of the ordinary Government supporters. On the other hand the more violent and petulant among them were not less annoyed at the tame way in which the resistance of the House of Lords was treated by Mr. Gladstone. As a mere bit of party tactics, however, it was recognised to be the worst policy to attempt to raise a cry against the House of Lords on a question which had only passed by a majority of two, but this was no justification for destroying a bill which was recognised to be one of wide-reaching benefit, because one clause did not please a particular section of trade unionists, whom Mr. Asquith desired to conciliate.

The Ministry, however, might have justified their line of action, if motives of policy had not restrained them, by pointing out the very slight support they had received from the trade unions themselves. It was not until the bill had been finally withdrawn, and all hope of its revival gone, that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress expressed

itself (Feb. 27) with any definiteness. In a manifesto bearing the signatures of the responsible officers of that body it was declared that the contracting-out clause rendered the bill worthless, and that it was the work of a body of "irresponsible legislators who have rendered insecure your lives and limbs, when toiling from day to day to enrich them and the nation." The workmen were therefore asked to demonstrate in Hyde Park against "a privileged class which could make a mockery of the most extended suffrage." This curious after-thought of the body charged to watch over trade interests suggested to most people that the "demonstration" called was rather party-political than social, and was in reality got up by the wire-pullers, who had their own objects in view, of which the chief was a crusade against the House of Lords, and were in fact indifferent to the contracting-out clause except as a political weapon.

There remained still the Local Government or Parish Councils Bill, on which the last word had not been said by either House. It stood in a different position to the Employers' Liability Bill, inasmuch as the Liberal Unionists had long pronounced in favour of Parish Councils, and in both Houses had shown by their votes that they were prepared to support the Government in all moderate demands. At a meeting of that party held at Devonshire House (Feb. 15) there had been evidence of a strong reaction against the inflexible Toryism displayed by Lord Salisbury on the report stage of the bill. Had this meeting been held earlier it might possibly have prevented the public advertisement of the differences which marked the two sections of the Unionist party. As it was, it seemed to the outside world merely a display of strategy on the part of Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire, each manœuvring to make his own surrender less conspicuous, and each desirous to make political capital for his own partisans at the next elections.

When, therefore, the House of Lords met (Feb. 23) to consider the action of the Commons on their amendments to the Local Government Bill there was a manifest desire not to resent too plainly the wholesale rejection of those amendments by the Lower House. Upon two points, the administration of local charities, and the allotments question, the Liberal Unionist peers joined hands with their Conservative allies, but they were at the same time anxious not to give the Government any legitimate excuse for abandoning the bill as they had done in the case of the other "non-contentious" measure of the session. In drawing up their reasons for disagreement with the House of Lords, the committee of the Commons had expressed its views on the allotments question in very plain terms: "Because the procedure for acquiring land by means of provisional orders confirmed by Parliament is dilatory and expensive. Because the custom of making an additional allowance for

compulsory purchase has no statutory sanction, and because it is equitable that when land is not taken for purposes of private profit the owner should have full compensation for property taken and rights affected, and nothing more. Because the argument for not granting an additional allowance for compulsory hiring is even stronger than in the case of purchase."

On the charities' question the Lords occupied a stronger ground, for Lord Salisbury had only asked his colleagues to stand by Mr. Fowler's original proposal as explained by that minister when moving the second reading of the bill, and before he had consented to take up Mr. Cobb's resolution.

The situation, therefore, looked a critical one, and before entering upon the consideration of the Commons' amendments the leaders of the two sections of the Unionists explained their views to their respective followers, and reviewed the position of the House towards the measure. The Duke of Devonshire, who opened the discussion, drew a distinction between the functions the Peers had to discharge in regard to bills sent up from the other House. The first of those functions was that of suggesting such amendments in bills as might improve their working and correct their defects. In respect to the present bill they had done no more than their duty in introducing amendments having that object; but whether they should insist on those amendments after what had occurred in the other House was a question not so much of principle as of expediency, and it would, he thought, be imprudent by insisting on them to risk the loss of the bill. The other and more important function of their House was to stand forward as a barrier against the passing of measures which were disapproved in principle, not only by a majority in that House, but even by a majority in the country itself. Their rejection of the Home Rule Bill was a case in point, and that rejection had been accepted by a large body of the people, while it had hardly elicited a protest even from those who were in favour of the measure. The House of Lords might again be called upon to perform a similar act of public duty; and it was of the utmost importance, therefore, that they should now do nothing which might impair their strength for the successful fulfilment of that grave function. In his view there were few points of principle in controversy between them and the other House in connection with the bill.

It was hardly likely that the Conservative leader would silently assent to these views of the duties of the House of Peers, but Lord Salisbury's aim was to minimise as far as possible the differences which existed between the two sections, usually united in opposition to the existing Government. He therefore expressed the fear that a rigid interpretation of the canon laid down by the Duke of Devonshire might on some occasion be interpreted in a manner that would absolutely deprive the House of the power of amending any bill sent up to them. Every amendment of the least importance which

they had made in the bill had been rejected by the Commons, and, therefore, if that case was to form a precedent, if they wished their objections to a bill to have any effect in the future they could only do so by opposing its second reading. He and his friends desired to see the main proposals of the bill become law, and they had for that end waived their objections to the poor-law clauses and also to the rating clauses; but he was not prepared to sacrifice everything even for that object. They were now introducing a tremendous change in the land tenure of this country, and they were bound to see that the tribunal which determined whether a man's land was to be taken compulsorily or not was one that could be trusted. The bill further made a wholly unexampled and uncalled-for invasion of the charities of the country, and he wished to safeguard the interests which might suffer from any neglect on their part. He agreed, however, with the main drift of the Duke of Devonshire's suggestion that they ought not to insist on those of their amendments which were intended to make the bill a good and smoothly-workable measure, and that it might now be better to pass the bill with its imperfections on its head, leaving its defects to be remedied by future legislation.

After a few words of assent by Lord Kimberley to the general principle of the Duke of Devonshire's views on the functions of the Peers, the former moved that they should not insist on their amendment, raising the population limit of parishes to have Parish Councils from 200 to 500. Lord Salisbury expressed his readiness to accede to this substitution with the proviso that in such cases the parish meeting might, if it wished, pass a resolution to have no Parish Council. Lord Kimberley opposed this initial expression of the wishes of a parish, but was defeated by 89 to 76 votes.

The Duke of Devonshire next moved an amendment to clause 9, as amended by the House of Commons, providing that the County Council should cause a copy of any order made by it for the acquisition of land, otherwise than by agreement, to be served in the prescribed manner, together with a statement that the order would become final, and have the effect of an Act of Parliament, unless a memorial was presented to the Local Government Board; that if a memorial was presented, the Board should hold a local public inquiry, and afterwards either confirm or disallow the order; the order if confirmed to become final and have the effect of an Act of Parliament. He did not attach so much importance as some of his fellow-peers did to a Parliamentary inquiry in those cases, but he held it to be essential that before land was taken for allotments there should be a public inquiry after due notice. Lord Kimberley approved of the part of the amendment which provided that the order should be subject to confirmation of the Local Government Board, but not subject to confirmation by Parliament. He, however, preferred the proposals of the Government, and,



though he would not now divide, he must reserve his judgment as to the amendment. Lord Salisbury said, although he retained his preference for an appeal to Parliament, he would not press the matter further, as he found there existed a considerable body of opinion in favour of the intervention of the County Council with a subsequent appeal to the Local Government Board.

After some further discussion, the amendment was agreed to without a division, and another in regard to the procedure for hiring land for allotments was carried by 85 to 18 votes.

Lord Salisbury next moved to amend the Commons' amendment to clause 10 by inserting the words "the arbitrators in fixing rent, or other compensation, shall take into consideration any damage likely to be incurred during the term of hiring by the owner in consequence of his being prevented from applying the land to a more profitable use, or by the occupier by reason of his being hindered in his business as a farmer in respect to other lands by the loss of the land proposed to be taken."

The amendment, which was opposed by Lord Ripon, was agreed to without a division.

Lord Salisbury next moved—in the clause relating to non-ecclesiastical parochial charities—to reinstate Mr. Fowler's proposal, *viz.*, that the elective trustees of these charities should not exceed one-third of the whole body, instead of Mr. Cobb's amendment giving the elective trustees an absolute majority. Mr. Fowler had himself avowed that his proposal was made with care and forethought; but it had been suddenly departed from by the Government, in defiance of their pledges, in order to gratify their Radical supporters. Lord Kimberley denied that any pledge had been violated in that case, and maintained that the principle of giving the elective trustees a majority in the management of parochial charities was a sound one.

Lord Belper, by way of compromise, proposed that the word "may" should be substituted for "shall" in the clause, so as to make it optional and not compulsory on the Parish Council to appoint a certain number of trustees.

After a long discussion in which the lawyers and ecclesiastics took the chief part, the Duke of Devonshire appealed to the Government to say whether they would accept Lord Belper's suggestion, expressing at the same time some doubt whether the clause was one of vital importance. Lord Kimberley replied that he would not divide against Lord Belper's amendment, but that he must take the views of the House on Lord Salisbury's, with the result that it was carried by 72 to 33 against the Government.

The Lords next assented to the inclusion of the London vestries in the operation of the bill, with the proviso that at meetings of the vestries, dealing with the affairs of the Church, the incumbent if present should be chairman; and the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, by 21 to 18, defined an "ecclesiastical charity" as including any building which had been erected within forty years before the passing of the act for the use of any particular denomination. A few other small amendments were accepted by the Government, but no further opposition was made to the clauses of the bill as it had been returned from the Commons, to whom it was now once again returned for their final decision.

The situation was in every way critical, for the choice seemed to lie between abandoning the position taken up by the party leaders at the Portsmouth Congress, or sacrificing the one remaining bill of the long session of 1893. Mr. Gladstone's own position was not more satisfactory. He had been seriously taken to task by his own closest adherents in the press for withdrawing so meekly the Employers' Liability Bill, and for not thundering against the Lords, who had thus withstood the will of the trade unions. But the trade unions made no sign of indignation, although the bill had been in jeopardy for weeks, and the leader of the Government might reasonably doubt whether a similar deception might not await him were he to hold out against any concessions to the Upper House. After two days' interval of reflection, and a meeting of the Cabinet, prudent counsels prevailed, and when the House met (Feb. 26), although there was a protracted debate, it was found that the Government was prepared to accept two of the amendments to which the Peers attached the most importance, one dealing with the compulsory purchase and hiring of land, the other referring to the appointment of trustees of parochial charities.

The course which the debate took was in many ways instructive, as it somewhat weakened the case of those Radicals who had found mouthpieces for their wrath against the House of Lords in Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Acland. According to these no concessions were to be made to the other branch of the Legislature, which was to act, not according to its own judgment, but at the bidding of the majority, however small, of the House of Commons. The result of these tactics had been the loss of the Employers' Liability Bill, but by a policy of concession, on the acknowledged basis of "give and take," the Local Government Bill was ultimately saved.

Mr. H. Fowler, in reference to the first amendment, said the Government originally proposed that the limit of population above which the establishment of a Parish Council should be compulsory should be 200. The Lords subsequently altered the figure to 500, but the House of Commons, on reconsidering the question, determined by a large majority to adhere to their original proposal. The Lords did not persist with their amendment, but they now sent down another providing that parishes with a population between 200 and 500 might pass a resolution to the effect that

they would not have a Parish Council. The result of this amendment, if agreed to, would be that such parishes, after having Parish Councils, would be able to pass resolutions in order to get rid of them. The difference between these two proposals was very minute and inappreciable, and he must ask the House again to adhere to the figure of 200 and to disagree with the Lords' amendment.

Mr. Balfour regretted the decision at which the Government had arrived, and observed that the House of Lords had not shown itself in dealing with this bill unduly anxious to force their opinions upon the House of Commons, or to do anything which would give a legitimate excuse to any man to say that they had contributed, even in the smallest degree, to destroy the measure. When they were starting a new experiment of this kind in the rural parishes it would be as well to conciliate all sections of opinion among those who were to administer the act, and to give greater elasticity to the machinery which they were putting in motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer called attention to the attitude assumed upon this question by the majority of the House of Commons and the majority of the House of Lords respectively. An amendment which was practically the same as that now under consideration was rejected in the House by a majority that was double the normal majority of the Government, whereas in the other House Lord Salisbury secured only a majority of 13, or a tenth part of his normal majority. The Government could not possibly accept an amendment which had been so weakly supported in the House of Peers.

Mr. Chamberlain thought they had reached a stage in the consideration of this bill when such an appeal as had been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the grounds of expediency and Parliamentary tactics, was entitled to some weight. He regretted, however, the decision at which the Government had arrived. Hitherto he had always voted for some such amendment as that which was now before the House, believing that it would greatly smooth the working of the bill. But as the Government refused to accept the amendment, it did not seem to him worth while to carry the controversy any further.

After some further discussion, from which it was evident that the point at issue was rather technical than real, the motion to disagree with the Lords' amendment was carried by 212 to 161 votes.

Mr. H. Fowler said that when clause 9, conferring powers for the purchase of land for allotments, was under discussion in the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire presented a scheme providing that the application of the ratepayers for allotments should be made direct to the County Council, against whose order an appeal might be made to the Local Government Board. As this scheme met in the main the requirements of

the Government they would accept it, though they felt it their duty to propose some amendments to the clause. Most of these were drafting amendments, but one, of a more substantial character, would give to both sides a right of appeal to the Local Government Board. After some discussion the clause inserted by the Lords was, as amended, agreed to without a division.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government were unable to assent to the proposal of the Lords that the hiring of land should be placed on the same footing as the purchase of land in respect of procedure. The Government must insist on their proposal that Parish Councils wishing to hire land should go direct to the Local Government Board for authority, and he therefore moved that the House should disagree with the Lords' amendment. Mr. Balfour dissented from the view of the Government, and said their proposal had given rise to much uneasiness lest land should be taken under the hiring procedure for private instead of public purposes. Every assurance ought to be given with reference to the tribunal and the machinery to be employed for hiring land. He felt so strongly on the question that he intended to vote against the Government.

At this juncture the Radical revolt, headed by Mr. Storey (*Sunderland*) and Mr. Strachey (*Somersetshire, S.*), and supported by such staunch Gladstonians as Mr. Everett (*Woodbridge, Suffolk*) and Mr. Illingworth (*Bradford, W.*), caused the Government to modify their original views, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed his proposal to be negatived without a division, and the Lords' amendment to stand.

On the last point on which discussion arose the Opposition got a portion of what they demanded in a more circuitous way. Mr. Gladstone moved that the House should disagree with the Lords' amendment which proposed that only one-third, instead of a majority, of the trustees of parochial charities should be elected by the Parish Council. He deprecated prolonged discussion on the amendment, though admitting that the matter was important. While exceptionally large majorities had supported the view of the Government in the Commons several peers, who were usually adverse to the Government in the Upper House, had voted with them on this question. Mr. Balfour pointed out that the proposal of the Lords was that originally brought forward by the President of the Local Government Board. The Commons had received a solemn assurance that a particular policy would be pursued in connection with these charities, but the pledges of the Government had not been fulfilled. Mr. Chamberlain suggested that the provision should be optional, as the point was one for a compromise between the two Houses. After further debate a division was taken, and Mr. Gladstone's motion was carried by 196 to 139; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer at once rose to say that the

Government would now consent to make it optional for the parish to elect a majority of the charity trustees. He therefore moved the necessary verbal alteration, and Mr. Balfour on behalf of the Opposition said that although they had a right to expect a closer adherence to Mr. Fowler's original undertaking, yet the amendment was such an improvement that he would not oppose it.

Once more the bill had to be returned to the Lords to see how far they were disposed to ratify the concessions which had been made in their name, and to what extent they were able to support their allies in the Lower House. On the first point, that of the limit of population of parishes in which the establishment of Parish Councils should be compulsory, the Lords waived their objections to small villages, and the limit was fixed at 200. Thereupon Lord Salisbury proposed that the population limit should be 300 as originally adopted by the Government themselves, and notwithstanding Lord Kimberley's protest the larger limit was carried by a narrow majority, 66 to 55 votes. A slight restriction on the compulsory acquisition of land, by bringing to the knowledge of Parliament any order over-ruling the decision of the County Council, was accepted by Lord Kimberley, and words were inserted providing that thirty-five years should be the maximum and fourteen years the minimum term of hiring land under the act.

Lord Salisbury then dealt with the amendments and alterations introduced by the Commons into the clause relating to parochial charities. The mere substitution of "may" for "shall" in the Commons' amendment he regarded as a very doubtful improvement, as the trustees were to be appointed for three years, and if the Parish Council were at liberty to appoint or not appoint, a lasting heritage of strife would be bequeathed to very many parishes. The party that was in favour of the old trustees would be in constant conflict with the adverse party, seeking to oust them from mere caprice or still more objectionable motives; while the whole administration of the charity, during the interval between the different elections, would be coloured by electoral considerations. That evil would be checked by requiring that there should be no appointment of trustees except with the approval of the Charity Commissioners. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would consider his proposal favourably and not impose on that House the necessity of resisting more resolutely a change which would hand over to permanent conflict the charities of all parishes where differences of opinion existed.

Lord Kimberley said that this proposal struck a very heavy blow indeed at the provisions of the bill, as it would place the power of the parishioners to appoint trustees entirely at the discretion of the Charity Commissioners. Nothing would be more unpopular or more obnoxious to the agricultural labourers than such an arrangement; and he earnestly appealed to his

colleagues not to reject the clause as sent up to them, which, he pointed out, was supported by the high authority of Mr. Chamberlain. He did not share Lord Salisbury's apprehension of terrible dissensions arising from the election of trustees by the ratepayers, but thought that the introduction of a little life into the villages which had been so long stagnant would prove wholesome.

Appeals of this sort were as little likely to have effect in the House of Lords as Lord Salisbury's arguments to have weight in the House of Commons, and after some further discussion the motion was carried against the Government by 83 to 51 votes, and the remaining amendments were promptly disposed of in accordance with the Government's wishes.

Still the bill remained in a state of suspended animation, and had once more to be sent back to the Commons. The struggle had to some extent become a personal one between the leaders of the two parties, each of whom wielded majorities in the chambers in which they respectively sat. But at this time each had learnt the extent of the other's intention of yielding, and the final debate in the House was, except for one consideration, a mere formality. That consideration was an important one. It was guessed by many though believed by few that it would be Mr. Gladstone's last speech as Prime Minister, and perhaps his last in Parliament, his first having been delivered just sixty-one years before, Feb. 21, 1833. For this reason there was a keen desire to hear his farewell words, but those who anticipated any personal allusions were doomed to disappointment.

On rising (March 1) to deal with the Lords' latest expression of their views Mr. Gladstone said the usual course was to take the amendments *seriatim*, but on this occasion the Government had found it necessary to arrive at a decision upon them as a whole. Two amendments had been made in regard to which the Government strongly dissented from the House of Lords—so strongly, indeed, that they could in no circumstances be a party to a final arrangement for incorporating them in the law of the country beyond the reach of future alteration. The first thing that occurred to himself and his colleagues was that the sending, the re-sending, and the again re-sending of this particular bill between the two Houses was an operation which had continued long enough. They had therefore resolved to adopt a decisive course and to accept the Lords' amendments under protest, with the hope that on an early opportunity they might be reversed and effaced. The first amendment touched the question between a population of 200 and a population of 300 as a qualification for a Parish Council. In raising the number of the population the House of Lords had been ill-advised, but the second amendment was of a still more serious character. This House had frankly adopted the principle that the management of local charities should be vested in the

representatives of the parish community. To hand over to the Charity Commissioners the business of deciding whether the controlling influence in the management of those charities was to be given to the parish community would be to transfer to the Commissioners a duty which it behoved Parliament, and Parliament alone, to deal with. Still the amendments were limited to particular portions of the measure, and did not interfere with the great principles of local government to which the bill would give effect. In these circumstances the Government had arrived at the conclusion that it would not be well to wreck the whole work of the session. They had therefore reluctantly determined to withdraw their opposition to the Lords' amendments, but to withdraw it under protest, while asserting that they looked forward to an early reversal of the unfortunate decision which had been arrived at by the other House. "The question," continued Mr. Gladstone, "is whether the judgment of the House of Lords is not merely to modify but is to annihilate the whole work of the House of Commons—work which has been performed at an amount and sacrifice of time, labour, and convenience, totally unprecedented. Well, sir, we have not been anxious—I believe I speak for my colleagues; I know I speak my own convictions—we have not been desirous to precipitate or unduly to accentuate a crisis. We have been desirous to save something from the wreck of the session's work. We feel that this bill is a bill of such value that upon the whole, great as we admit the objections to be to the acceptance of these amendments, the objections are still greater and weightier to a course which would lead to the rejection of the bill. We are compelled to accompany that acceptance with the sorrowful declaration that the differences, not of a temporary or casual nature merely, but differences of conviction, differences of prepossession, differences of mental habit, and differences of fundamental tendency between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, appeared to have reached a development in the present year such as to create a state of things of which we are compelled to say that, in our judgment, it cannot continue. Sir, I do not wish to use hard words which are easily employed and as easily retorted. It is a game that two can play at—but without using hard words, without presuming to judge of motives, without desiring or venturing to allege imputations, I have felt it a duty to state what appear to me to be indisputable facts. The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 of people, and a deliberative assembly occupied by many men of virtue, by many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue. The issue has been postponed, long postponed, I rejoice to say. It has been postponed in many cases to a considerable degree by that discretion, circumspection, and reserve in the use of

enormous privileges which the House of Lords on various occasions in my recollection, in the time of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen and other periods, have shown. But I am afraid, sir, that the epoch, the age of that reserve and circumspection may have gone by. I will not abandon all hope of it, but I must say of the present, I do not like to say that the situation is intolerable, because that is a hard and may seem a dictatorial word; but I think hon. gentlemen opposite must feel as I feel that in some way or other a solution will have to be found for this tremendous contrariety and incessant conflict upon matters of high principle and profound importance between the representatives of the people and those who fill a nominated chamber. It is not with the House of Commons to pronounce a judgment on this subject. The House of Commons is itself a party in the case. I have no difficulty in pronouncing a judgment on behalf of the Ministry in the issues that have been raised throughout this year between the two Houses. We take frankly, fully, and finally the side of the House of Commons. The House of Commons could not be a final judge in its own case, and I am by no means anxious to precipitate proceedings of that kind, however they may be invited by an impatience most natural in the circumstances of the case. No doubt, sir, there is a higher authority than the House of Commons. It is the authority of the nation which must in the last resort decide. Happily, we know that we all of us are sufficiently trained in the habits of constitutional freedom to regard that issue as absolutely final upon one and upon all alike of every one of these subjects. The time when that judgment is to be invited and the circumstances under which it is to be invited, of course, constitute a question of the gravest character and one which the Executive Government of the day can alone consider and decide. My duty terminates by calling the attention of the House to the fact, which it is really impossible to set aside, that in considering these amendments, limited as their scope may seem to some to be, we are considering a part, an essential and inseparable part, of a question enormously large, a question which has become profoundly acute, which will demand a settlement and must receive at an early date that settlement from the highest authority."

Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the Opposition, which represented public opinion almost as strongly as the Ministerialists, congratulated the Government on the decision at which they had arrived. It would, he thought, have been grotesquely absurd to abandon a bill of such magnitude for no other reason than that in one corner of one clause the Lords had reintroduced, in a very qualified form, an original provision of the measure. The second part of the Prime Minister's speech was nothing less than a declaration of war against the ancient constitution of these realms. The idea of starting an agitation against the House of Lords because the Peers wished to refer the question



of trustees to the Charity Commissioners was really so humorous that nobody but the Chancellor of the Exchequer could fittingly deal with it on a platform. Unquestionably, however, the summary rejection of the Home Rule Bill was an act of the House of Lords which proved that they valued the part they were called upon to play in the constitution of the country. That really was an important piece of legislative or anti-legislative work; but were the Government going to denounce the Lords for it to the country? If they did they would not get very large audiences. He believed that the action of the Lords during the last year and a half had brought home to the minds of the great masses of Englishmen and Scotchmen the fact that their interests were not safe in the hands of a party majority unless that majority were controlled by another assembly whenever the interests of the country had been betrayed. Those who still believed in the ancient constitution of these realms looked forward without dismay to the fight, and were not perturbed by obscure threats. For his own part he wished for nothing better than to see hon. gentlemen opposite attempting to stir up the country on the issue whether the House of Lords was right or wrong in safeguarding the interests of the majority of Englishmen and Scotchmen by exercising its power of veto over the Home Rule proposals of the Government.

After some remarks by Lord Randolph Churchill on the useful services of the Upper House, the Lords' amendment with reference to the population limit (300) was agreed to without a division. On that relating to the trustees of parochial charities, Mr. Storey (*Sunderland*) was anxious to show that his sturdy Radicalism was unaffected by the arrangement between the two front benches, holding that the parochial charities ought to be wholly under the control of the representatives of the parish. In this view he found 37 supporters against 273, who either supported the Government or were anxious to finally close the discussion on the bill. All questions being now settled to the apparently general dissatisfaction of all who had taken part in the protracted debates, the bill finally passed, and the prolonged session of 1893, after lasting thirteen months, was formally (March 3) prorogued.

Mr. Gladstone's approaching retirement from the Premiership was now publicly admitted, and the correctness of the statement which six weeks previously had been vehemently denied was established. The secret had been well kept, even from the Prime Minister's own colleagues, at all events for some time after his return to resume the interrupted work of the session. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had carefully avoided stating the real cause of Mr. Gladstone's sudden decision; but the London correspondent of the *New York Tribune* was able to give (Feb. 4) details of a more precise nature, the accuracy of which were never challenged, although when they first reached London (Feb. 17) attracted but slight attention. The paragraph ran as follows :—

“ Mr. Gladstone's general health and his vitality are little short of miraculous. Still for the leadership of the House of Commons, and especially for purposes of debate, good hearing is desirable, and his hearing is no longer good. He does not always collect with entire accuracy what is said, and therefore does not always meet the points raised. There is a graver matter, and that is the condition of his eyesight. His own reference to it, which might well have been omitted, has called out a great deal of comment hitherto suppressed—not unkindly, but still unpleasant. The real facts are known to few. Just after he left London for Biarritz I heard—not directly, but from a source I think trustworthy—what took place. Mr. Gladstone, or perhaps one of the family, sent for Dr. Granger, of Chester, a physician who is also an oculist. It was Dr. Granger who attended him at the time when the gingerbread-nut was thrown at him, and struck and slightly injured one eye. Now that Sir Andrew Clark is gone, Dr. Granger probably knows more of Mr. Gladstone's constitutional peculiarities than anybody else. He saw him at his house in Downing Street the day before he started. He told Mr. Gladstone, not, I suppose, for the first time, that a cataract had entirely obliterated the sight of one eye, and that another cataract had begun to form on the other eye. This last statement was perhaps new to the Prime Minister. He reflected a moment, and said: ‘I wish you to remove the cataract at once.’ Dr. Granger told him it was not yet far enough advanced for an operation. ‘You do not understand me,’ replied his illustrious patient; ‘it is the old cataract I wish removed. If that is out of the way, I shall still have one good eye when the new cataract impairs the sight of the other.’ Dr. Granger hesitated. Mr. Gladstone continued: ‘You still seem not to understand me. I want you to perform the operation, here and now, while I am sitting in this chair.’ Dr. Granger still objected. ‘It might not be successful,’ said he. ‘That is a risk I accept,’ retorted the gallant old man. In the end Dr. Granger, saying that the responsibility must be his as a medical man, declined, giving such reasons as he could.”

On the evening of the day on which this letter was reproduced in the London papers (Feb. 17), Mr. Gladstone entertained his colleagues in the Cabinet, no other guests being invited, and probably took this opportunity of informing them of his intention to resign, a step to which he might also have been naturally led by the opposition given to the Local Government Bill and other measures, protracting the session to an unparalleled length, and making serious demands upon the health and strength even of those in the vigour of life. Had Mr. Gladstone retained any idea that a temporary withdrawal from the conduct of affairs would suffice, the reception by the Radical press of his speech on the abandonment of the Employers' Liability Bill may have caused him to reconsider

his intention. The *Daily Chronicle*, which represented the more advanced section of the Radical party, after speaking of the proceedings in the House of Commons as a "ghastly failure," wrote: "It would be difficult to imagine more undignified and pointless obsequies. The whole House was brought down in the belief that a last trial of strength, of great importance, and of a character vital to the entire controversy, was to be initiated. What happened was the reverse of this. No opportunity worth the name was given to the House of coming to a division. Mr. Gladstone's speech not only did not invite a conflict—it scrupulously avoided it. It was in no sense worthy of the occasion, its arguments were jejune, and mainly irrelevant to the larger moral and industrial issues. As to the effect on the Premier's party, it is enough to say that it chilled them to the bone.

"The Liberal party (continued the *Chronicle*) has, we think, a right to know where it stands in this matter. We are in for a great struggle, and if the army does not know whether its commander has decided to retreat or to fight, or to throw up his post, it is simply going to predestined disaster. The crisis was vital to the whole history of the labour movement. Was such a thing worth fighting, or was it not? Are we to have the country ringing with denunciation of the Lords, and to have a few words of whispering humbleness from the Prime Minister? Again we say, let us have a clarifying of the whole situation. If Mr. Gladstone feels that age and infirmities press too heavily upon him for the leadership of an uncompromising crusade, it is for him to say so. We think he is bound to say so, and to let us know how the situation rests. It is a great thing to be Prime Minister at eighty-four, it is a great thing to be Mr. Gladstone at all, it is a mighty thing to have so illustrious a name even to conjure and play with. But it is better than all these things to know one's mind, to reckon up the chances of the future, to look even the misfortune of Mr. Gladstone's withdrawal steadily in the face. Our Fabius may be as good as ever for hard campaigning, or he may have decided to go into winter quarters. In either case let us hear his mind."

The *Westminster Gazette*, which was known to be in the confidence of more than one member of the Cabinet whose opinions were more advanced than its chief's, recognised that an opportunity of rousing public opinion had been thrown away. "The trade unions," it wrote, "themselves have made no sign of indignation. To suppose that Mr. Gladstone would, at his age and in the present congested state of business, inaugurate in the House of Commons a campaign against the House of Lords, on an issue upon which there has up to the present been no popular agitation behind him; to suppose this, argues a curious ignorance of Mr. Gladstone's temperament and tactics. A crusade against the House of Lords would in no case be particularly acceptable on its own merits to Mr. Gladstone,

whose conservatism in all constitutional matters is ingrained. He would, no doubt, on occasion join in such a crusade, but the occasion, we may be quite sure, will only be one where he is well supported—we had almost said well pushed—by his followers. But what support to an agitation against the Lords on the ground of Lord Dudley's amendment has been forthcoming from those most immediately concerned? When the Parish Councils Bill was threatened, an agitation was immediately commenced, and at the very first blowing of the trumpets the walls of Jericho fell down. But the Employers' Liability Bill has been in jeopardy for weeks and months. It was seriously threatened even in the Commons, and in the Lords its destruction was aimed at weeks ago. Yet not so much as a squeak of protest has been forthcoming."

Mr. Gladstone, although not likely to be disturbed by the clamour of his more noisy followers, could scarcely have failed to realise that a new spirit was breathing through the Liberal party, which called for the substitution of a younger man at its head. To this view colour was given by the knowledge that Lord Rosebery had been suddenly called to Windsor, whilst actually on his way to Sandringham (Feb. 24). This fact coupled with Mr. Gladstone's visit to the Queen (Feb. 26) once more set all sorts of rumours afloat, although the statements in the papers with regard to his impending resignation continued to be declared "unauthorised." In fact, one statement made (Feb. 28) "on authority" declared that Mr. Gladstone had "neither resigned nor taken any steps with a view to resignation." At the same time it was stated in many quarters that differences of opinion on the subject of the Navy had manifested themselves in the Cabinet, Mr. Gladstone finding himself unsupported in his desire to restrict the expenditure on that service. On the following day Mr. Gladstone made his eagerly awaited speech on the final stage of the Local Government Bill, in which, in full engagement of his functions as Prime Minister, he gave expression to his views on the duties and rights of the House of Lords. But the public was no longer to be hoodwinked by official contradictions. It was known that Cabinet Councils and meetings of Cabinet ministers followed in rapid succession for which the state of public business offered no explanation, and at the moment Mr. Gladstone was delivering his last speech the majority of his followers were busily discussing the choice of his successor.

Two candidates alone presented themselves seriously before the party and the public, the Earl of Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt. The latter had vigorously served his party through many evolutions of political faith, and had in many hard-fought battles proved himself a tower of strength for his friends, and a dangerous foe to his opponents. His whole political life had been passed in the House of Commons, of which he knew the tone and respected the traditions as thoroughly as his retiring

leader. Lord Rosebery on the other hand, a comparatively young man of forty-six, had never sat in the Commons, and his experience of managing men had been chiefly obtained as chairman of the London County Council, which, for three years, he dominated with his personality. In the House of Lords he had shown himself ready, genial, and witty, and in his management of the Foreign Office during his first term of office had done nothing to imperil British prestige abroad, or to show his sympathy with Home Rule at home.

Before the House rose, a deputation headed by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Storey waited upon Mr. Marjoribanks, the chief Gladstonian whip, for the purpose of protesting against the selection of a member of the House of Lords to succeed to the Premiership. It was asserted that between fifty and sixty members expressed sympathy with the object of the deputation (although only about a dozen personally took part in it) and that had more time been available a much more effective demonstration would have been made. The adherents to this protest rapidly repented the step they had been persuaded to take by Mr. Labouchere, whose hostility to Lord Rosebery's Premiership remained unabated, and who eventually found himself almost if not quite alone in objecting to the arrangement. In the meanwhile the Labour party and the semi-socialistic Radicals enthusiastically adopted Lord Rosebery, whose management of the London County Council, and whose skilfulness in reconciling the parties involved in the recent coal strike, led them to believe that his sympathies were more with their policy than Sir Wm. Harcourt's would be likely to prove.

Two days after his last speech in the House of Commons and which practically brought the session to a close, Mr. Gladstone ceased to be Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal, recommending that the Queen should make choice of Lord Rosebery as his successor, who accepted at once her Majesty's offer.

How far Lord Rosebery was allowed a free hand in the reconstruction of his Cabinet cannot be known, but he seemed ready to accept Mr. Gladstone's nomination with all its liabilities and engagements. The unexpected succession of Mr. Marjoribanks to the peerage enabled Lord Rosebery to provide a Cabinet office, that of Lord Privy Seal, for the official whip, whose services in the House of Commons fully deserved such a recognition. Lord Rosebery himself made over the Foreign Office to the Earl of Kimberley, who in turn was succeeded by Mr. Fowler at the India Office, and this was the only change which attracted any attention or criticism. In other respects, the *personnel* of the Cabinet and of the Ministry generally remained unchanged, but in many cases there was shifting of names and places, all attempts at a *rapprochement* with the Liberal Unionists having failed to produce more than the exchange of polite wishes. It was probably considered expedient

to break as little as possible, openly at least, with the traditions with which Mr. Gladstone's name had for some years been bound up, and that the best guarantee for such continuity of policy was in the maintenance of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues in office. The opponents of the Government, however, did not fail to point out that if Lord Rosebery had any strong personal views they were essentially imperialist, and in this way were at variance with the expressed opinions of more than one member of his Cabinet on Irish, colonial, and foreign questions. His friends, however, trusted that by his tact as much as by his supple opportunism, he would succeed in conciliating the most recalcitrant among his colleagues, and present to the world at least the appearance of harmonious action. A greater source of difficulty arose from the illogical position into which the party had drifted, a position more acutely accentuated by Mr. Gladstone's retirement. The Parliament elected in 1892 had been returned to place Mr. Gladstone in power. Mr. Gladstone's claim on the electors was his promise to give Home Rule to Ireland. This bill, having passed the House of Commons, had been thrown out by the Lords; but the Government, instead of at once appealing to the electors to decide between the two Houses, decided to go on with other and non-Irish measures. By this they tacitly confessed either that the grounds on which their great leader had taken office were only partially true, or that they themselves had no confidence in a popular verdict until the methods of obtaining it had been manipulated in their own interest. Lord Rosebery was not blind to the inconsistencies of his position; but as his seat was not dependent upon a popular vote, he probably thought it expedient to defer to the wishes of those who were unwilling to run the risks of a contested election, and whose places, both in the Ministry and in Parliament, depended upon their clinging to the seats they then occupied.

The substitution of Lord Rosebery for Mr. Gladstone was thought at the outset likely to lead to some possible understanding with the Liberal Unionists, although in the reconstruction of the Cabinet no overtures were made to the leaders of that party. The Duke of Devonshire, however, speaking at Yeovil (March 6) hinted clearly enough the conditions on which such a reconciliation was alone possible. The Home Rule Bill was, he said, the Old Man of the Sea, from which the new Administration could not escape without losing their Irish allies. The English people had by their representatives declared themselves hostile to the principle of the bill, and therefore if without a fresh appeal to the constituencies Lord Rosebery intended to push on the Home Rule policy, he had nothing to expect from the Liberal Unionists but "direct and uncompromising opposition." Mr. Chamberlain on the following day (March 7) spoke at Birmingham in the same sense, and said that some people appeared to expect that Lord Rosebery would take the oppor-

tunity of Mr. Gladstone's resignation to get rid of the worst part of his policy; but personally he looked for no such change, at all events during the continuance of the present Parliament.

Amongst the side-issues of the politico-social problem which occupied public attention, that of the attitude of the Government towards the Anarchist propaganda was the most important. The section of this party which resorted to physical force to drive home its arguments had shown great sullenness on the continent, especially in France, Spain, and Italy. The rigorous police measures taken in those countries had naturally led to an exodus of the more prominent Anarchists, many of whom, doubtless, found an asylum in this country. Whether, as was alleged, many plots against foreign Governments were concocted on English soil, may have been open to dispute; but the death of one of their body, Martial Bourdin, in Greenwich Park (Feb. 15) showed that they were not disposed to show any gratitude for the hospitality they had received. Bourdin's intention to wreck the Greenwich Observatory was clearly proved, and it was by an accident that the bomb he had so carefully prepared exploded in his own hands before he had time to throw it into the building. The attempt, although wholly unsuccessful, aroused a demand for greater activity and more summary action on the part of the authorities. The Home Secretary, however, was firm in resisting any restrictions of the liberty of meeting and speaking, and gave his reasons (Feb. 15) for not taking steps against a man named Williams who was in the habit of making violent speeches on Tower Hill, and who on one occasion led a noisy crowd through some of the squares at the West-end of London, denouncing their inhabitants, and great landowners like the Duke of Westminster. Mr. Asquith regarded such men as contemptible ranters, who would only be advertised by a prosecution. With regard to the question of asylum, the Home Secretary stated (Feb. 20) that the Government had no power to expel foreigners without passing a special act, which he had no intention to propose. He, however, forbade the Anarchists to make a political demonstration of Bourdin's funeral, and a day or two later made a raid upon one of their meeting places—the Autonomie Club—but although its members were examined by the police officers, no attempt was made to detain them in custody. What the police discovered did not transpire; but the French papers, who were more excited by and interested in the matter, Paris having been the scene of three or four severe explosions, distinctly averred that the English Anarchists were at this time (Feb. 20) actively aiding a plot for "removing" President Carnot. No question as to the extent of the knowledge acquired by the English police was addressed to Mr. Asquith in Parliament; and in all probability any diplomatic inquiries would have only provoked the reply that Fenian and other "campaigns" had been organised on French soil un-

hindered by the French authorities. On the question of granting asylum to the refugees of all nations, the Ministry held its ground, doubtless having promised foreign Governments to keep special watch upon such individuals as might be signalled to their notice by the continental police. On the matter of unlimited free speech, however, Mr. Asquith felt it advisable to shift his position, and on application being made to him by a body of persons describing themselves as Anarchists, he refused permission for a meeting to be held in Trafalgar Square, alleging in reply that men who proposed the definite theory of the abolition of all government were dangerous to the public peace. As to how or by whom the distinction between a criminal and a lunatic was to be drawn, whilst the absolute liberty of the subject was to be upheld, Mr. Asquith did not explain; but the decision thus tardily arrived at to extend no sort of official patronage to men advocating the subversion of all law and order was generally approved.

## CHAPTER II.

Meeting of the Liberal Party—Opening of the Session—Lord Rosebery on the “Predominant Partner”—Nationalist and Radical Disaffection—The Government Defeated on the Address—Their New Address—The Supplementary Estimates—Army and Navy Estimates—Peers and Elections—Vote on Account—Lord Rosebery’s Explanations at Edinburgh—The Effect of his Speech—Mr. Chamberlain’s Answer—Valedictory Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Bye-Elections—Scotch Grand Committee—Scottish Home Rule—Government Business and Private Members—Irish Land Tenure Bill—Uganda—Registration Bill—The Budget—Its Reception in the Country—Evicted Tenants Bill—Duke of Coburg’s Annuity—Miners’ Eight Hours Bill—Welsh Disestablishment Bill—Finance Bill—Business in the House of Lords—South Hackney Election—Political Speeches.

A WEEK only elapsed between the prorogation of Parliament and the opening of the new session. Indeed, the new session would have seemed a continuation of the old one had not the chief figure disappeared both from Parliament and from office. It was Mr. Gladstone’s retirement and Lord Rosebery’s accession to the Premiership that gave special importance to the meeting of the Liberal party, which preceded by a couple of hours the opening of Parliament. Everybody was anxious to know what Lord Rosebery’s attitude would be to questions with which Mr. Gladstone was closely and personally identified, but in regard to which the new head of the Cabinet was believed to hold somewhat lax opinions. At the party meeting at the Foreign Office (March 12), Lord Rosebery hastened to explain his position. After an eloquent tribute to Mr. Gladstone, he observed that it had been thought convenient that he and his colleagues should make some formal declaration of policy. “In my opinion,” he went on to say, “there is no necessity for any such declaration. We stand where we did. There is no change



in measures—there is only a most disastrous change in men.” He and his colleagues remained pledged to the policy that Mr. Gladstone laid down, and the measures alluded to in the Queen’s Speech in January, 1893. “These measures still remain with us; they remain an exposition of the Liberal policy of this time and for some time to come,” and the Cabinet “have no intention of receding from any one of them.” Pointing to the Welsh Disestablishment Bill and the Irish question as two matters of special importance, he promised, in regard to the former, that it should “be pressed to the forefront, and so far as in us lies, pressed to a definite and successful conclusion.” “The other question,” he continued, “that I have said requires more than a passing word, is the group of questions that are known as the Irish question. Gentlemen, to that question we are bound by every tie of honour and of policy. I know it would be affectation to deny that a speech of mine in the House of Lords last year has raised some doubts as to my position on that question. I think it must be to those who have read that speech in a cursory manner that these doubts occurred. There are a great many readers of speeches who go on one fixed principle. I am not at all sure that it is a bad one. They always read the sentences that end in laughter and with loud laughter, and skip the rest of the speech, and I am inclined to think that that is the course which has been pursued by students of that discourse on this occasion. It is said that all roads lead to Rome, and there are many roads by which to arrive at a conviction on Home Rule; but I venture to say that our line is as direct as any that conducts to the goal, and that it will not be any the less steadfastly pursued. If, gentlemen, you had any doubts in your minds as to the course that I was likely to take on this question, I think there is one pledge that this Government gives, the character of which is as significant as that of the headship which Mr. Gladstone lately imparted—I mean the presence of Mr. John Morley. It is an open secret that higher office, from the hierarchical point of view, was pressed upon Mr. John Morley’s acceptance, but that he thought it his duty not to sever his career from the cause of Ireland.”

Lord Rosebery then went on to associate himself with Mr. Gladstone’s parting declaration against the House of Lords. “What the House of Lords has got to understand,” he said, “is, that though the task of revision is delicate, the task of rejection is dangerous. The conviction has been long forcing itself upon me that, with the democratic suffrage we now enjoy, a chamber so constituted is an anomaly and a danger; and the conviction of that fact, which came to me before the suffrage came into force, has been deepened and strengthened by the unhappy chapter of accidents which has turned the House of Lords from a body of hereditary legislators, more or less equally divided in party, into one great Tory organisation, guided at

the beck and call of a single individual." Alluding to the views of a deputation who had waited on the late Liberal whip (Lord Tweedmouth), Lord Rosebery admitted that it was a grave inconvenience—especially to the Prime Minister himself—when the Prime Minister was not a member of the House of Commons. But Liberalism was an enfranchisement and not an exclusion. They had freed the Jews and the Roman Catholics, and he was not prepared to create a new disability, and to write over the official doors in Downing Street, "No peer need here apply."

Sir William Harcourt repeated in effect what Lord Rosebery had said as to the continuity of the Government policy and the attitude to be adopted towards the House of Lords. If Mr. Morley's presence had settled all doubts about the Home Rule question, his own presence should be a sufficient assurance about the temperance question. They had dropped nothing, and they did not mean to drop anything. They were pledged to the Newcastle programme, and with the aid of their supporters they would keep their pledges. The voice of the nation would have to decide whether its representatives were or were not to be "controlled" by the House of Lords. Mr. John Morley then added a few words of acquiescence in what had been said by the Prime Minister and the leader of the House of Commons, and after laudatory speeches from Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Hunter, the meeting dispersed. The Irish members did not attend it, though had they done so they could hardly have taken exception to the declarations of policy affecting Ireland. The Radicals were fully represented, but they asked no questions and made no difficulties. For the time being there was no sign of the "cave" which the peer-Premiership was expected to produce, or of the rift which Lord Rosebery's previous utterances about Home Rule had made not improbable. But a further development was at hand.

There was an unusually large attendance in the House of Lords (March 12) for the opening of Parliament, for it was in that House, and in the expected speech of the new Prime Minister, that the chief interest of the moment centred. The Queen's Speech was a very meagre document. Its allusions to external affairs were scant and unimportant. In regard to home affairs, its most noticeable feature was the absence of any reference to Home Rule. Parliament was assured that the recent improvement in the state of Ireland had been continued and marked, and that under the administration of the ordinary law agrarian crime had been reduced to the lowest point that had been reached for fifteen years. But the condition of a large body of evicted tenants required early attention, and a bill for their relief would be introduced. The other measures indicated in the Speech were bills for the amendment of registration and the abolition of plural voting ;

bills dealing with the ecclesiastical establishments in Wales and Scotland; an Equalisation of Rates Bill for London; a Local Government Bill for Scotland; a Liquor Traffic Veto Bill; a Labour Disputes Conciliation Bill, and a few miscellaneous measures.

Lord Swansea having moved and Lord Hawkesbury seconded the address in reply to the Queen's Speech, Lord Salisbury followed with a speech of mingled seriousness and humour. The tribute to Mr. Gladstone in his opening sentences was both eloquent and cordial. It was not possible, he said, on such an occasion, to allude to Mr. Gladstone's policy, for that would introduce controversial ground. "But at least we, his opponents, sitting in a House where we have not been subject to the glamour of his eloquence, can offer our passing tribute to the most brilliant intellect that has been placed at the service of the State since Parliamentary government began, and to the courage and resolution and self-sacrifice and self-discipline with which he has continued exertions in behalf of the convictions he has acquired to the latest period that has ever been granted to an English statesman." To Mr. Gladstone's successor Lord Salisbury offered the heartiest welcome; and in spite of rumours as to what had just fallen from the new Prime Minister elsewhere, he had no doubt that when they came to the test they would find him a zealous defender of the House of Lords. Proceeding then to discuss the Queen's Speech, he said it was "more remarkable for its omissions than for what it really said." There was no mention whatever of Siam, Matabeleland, Uganda, or Egypt. As to domestic affairs, the Speech, like that at the opening of the previous session, was modelled on the Newcastle programme. Indeed it would save trouble if, in future Speeches, the words "Newcastle programme as usual" were inserted. The one important point of difference between this Speech and the last was the mode in which Ireland was treated. There was now no Home Rule Bill, but there was a measure in favour of evicted tenants, "which is in the nature of something in the pound to the Irish creditors of the Government." He assumed that the Government were as sincere in their Home Rule policy as they were last year, but it was their clear duty to bring the matter to as early an issue as possible. "That question of Home Rule is now in a state of suspense. It is in the course of appeal; it is sent by appeal to the English people. Nobody believes that as long as England refuses Home Rule, Home Rule can be established in Ireland. On the other hand, everybody is aware that if England is willing to accept Home Rule the resistance of its antagonists will not prevail." Therefore the sooner the judgment of the English constituencies was taken upon it, and the clearer the issue that was put before them, the better for all concerned. It might be good party tactics to obfuscate the English constituencies by overlaying

the great historical issue before them with foreign matters calculated to distract their attention ; but such action would be fatal to the best interests both of England and Ireland. Their chief object should be to bring that great controversy on Home Rule in one way or another to a conclusion ; and he earnestly urged the Government not to put off the question by merely renewing their promises from time to time in order to maintain their majority, but to adopt the more patriotic course of taking the decision of the country on the gravest and most vital problem that had for centuries been submitted to it.

Lord Rosebery's opening sentences were devoted to an eloquent panegyric on Mr. Gladstone. One passage from these opening sentences, with its happy historic allusions, and its really fine imagery, deserves itself to become historic. "Everyone," said Lord Rosebery, "can appreciate the greatness of Mr. Gladstone's character and attainments, but there is one aspect of his career which makes his retirement especially pathetic and interesting—I mean the long reach over which his recollection passes. He heard the guns saluting the battle of Waterloo, he heard some of Mr. Canning's greatest speeches, he heard the Reform debate in 1831 in this House and Lord Brougham's memorable speech. He was, over half a century ago, the right-hand man of Sir Robert Peel's famous Government ; and when to this coating of history which he acquired so long ago is added his own transcendent personality, one cannot, it seems to me, help being reminded of some noble river that has gathered its colours from the various soils through which it has passed, but has preserved its identity unimpaired and gathered itself in one splendid volume before it rushes into the sea." Lord Rosebery then proceeded to deal with those foreign questions of the absence of any reference to which in the Queen's Speech Lord Salisbury had complained. Passing on to domestic affairs, he said that he did not put the cases for Church disestablishment in Wales and Scotland exactly on the same basis. While disestablishment was almost unanimously demanded by Wales, in Scotland there was a creed which was substantially identical, but divided into two parts by the hard and fast line of Church establishment on the one hand, and non-establishment on the other. As to Ireland, the Government had no wish to shirk or evade the Irish question, but they would not introduce a Home Rule Bill that session. It did not appear to him to be the mere function of the House of Commons to prepare and pass bills simply to furnish sport for the House of Lords. There was another alternative, they might appeal to the country. This suggestion was received with loud cheers by the Opposition, whereupon Lord Rosebery declared that the Government would not be afraid to make the appeal "when the time was ripe for it," but they would never concede the right to an hereditary House to force a dissolution. Mr. Disraeli's prediction, made in 1844, that fifty years would

suffice to make Ireland happy and contented had been falsified by events, and if Ireland was then in a better and quieter state, it was not owing to the light railways and other remedial measures of Lord Salisbury's Government, but was due to "the hope held out by the Liberal party that the great boon of local self-government for purely local affairs, so far as was consistent with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, would not be long delayed."

The passage just quoted led up to a remarkable admission by the Prime Minister, destined to have considerable influence on future political discussion. "The noble marquess," Lord Rosebery went on to say, "made one remark on the subject of Irish Home Rule with which I confess myself in entire accord. He said that before Irish Home Rule is conceded by the Imperial Parliament, England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the three kingdoms, will have to be convinced of its justice. That may seem to be a considerable admission to make, because your lordships well know that the majority of English members of Parliament, elected from England proper, are hostile to Home Rule. But I believe that the conviction of England in regard to Home Rule depends on one point alone, and that is the conduct of Ireland herself. I believe that if we can go on showing this comparative absence of agrarian crime; if we can point to the continued harmony of Ireland with the great Liberal party of this country; if we can go on giving proofs and pledges that Ireland is entitled to be granted that boon which she has never ceased to demand since the Act of Union was passed, I believe that the conversion of England will not be of a slow or difficult character." The question of Home Rule was not to be regarded from the point of view of Ireland only. It had a triple aspect. "I view it," Lord Rosebery continued, "from the highest imperial grounds, because I believe that the maintenance of this empire depends, not on centralisation, but on decentralisation, and that if you once commence to tread this path, you will have to give satisfaction under the same conditions certainly to Scotland, and possibly to Wales, not in the same degree or possibly in the same way, but so as to relieve this groaning Imperial Parliament from the burden of legislation under which it labours." The address was then agreed to.

The first night's debate on the address in the House of Commons (March 12) had no special features. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) discussed the Queen's Speech very much on the lines followed by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords. His observations showed, however, that the Opposition intended to fight the Registration Bill as a "jerrymandering" measure. They, the Opposition, would have no objection to a complete scheme for the redress of all electoral inequalities, but they would certainly resist a bill promoted, not in a spirit of reform, but with an anxious eye to the next general election. Before

replying to Mr. Balfour's criticisms, Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) paid a somewhat funereal but dignified tribute to Mr. Gladstone. In his subsequent remarks he declared that the Government would push to an issue all the measures enumerated in the Queen's Speech, and if they failed to carry them they would reintroduce them next year, and, if necessary, again in the year after. They were going to appeal to the country when they had placed before the country the whole of the plan and scheme of the Liberal party. To the objection that it was unfair to Ireland that Home Rule should be hung up, his reply was that Home Rule hung up was better than coercion in action. The debate afterwards resolved itself into the discussion of an amendment moved by Mr. Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*), asking for the immediate attention of Parliament to the depression in trade and agriculture, the low wages of artisans, the general want of employment, and the continued immigration of pauper aliens. Soon after this had been defeated, by 192 votes against 86, the debate was adjourned.

On the second night (March 13) there were some lively episodes, resulting in an unexpected difficulty for the Government. Lord Rosebery's reservation of superior claims to the "predominant partner" in the kingdom had produced a feeling of consternation among the Irish party, and had led during the day to rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet. A full House therefore assembled in anticipation of possible developments. The debate was resumed by Lord Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, S.*), who warned the Government that an attempt to pass all the bills announced in the Queen's Speech would end in passing hardly any of them. He predicted that Home Rule would never pass, and that the House of Lords would never be abolished—at least in their time. But in spite of the vague utterances of the Prime Minister on the night before, it was clear that he could not recede from his emphatic declaration at the Foreign Office. The necessity for keeping his majority together would compel him to go on with the scheme of Home Rule, to which the whole Ministry were committed.

Upon Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) fell the difficult task of defending the Government from the charge of "hanging up Home Rule," or, as he preferred to phrase it, "temporarily suspending the prosecution of that measure." He held that there could be no mistake as to the intention of the Prime Minister to go on with Home Rule, for it would be "contrary to all honour, and a departure from every tradition by which the Government were bound, if a minister, who was a member of the Cabinet responsible for the bill of 1893, were in 1894 to come into power, and to hesitate or to flinch from the further prosecution of the measure." Nobody who knew Lord Rosebery could suppose that he was going to begin the degradation of

the traditions of Parliament and of British statesmanship. When Lord Rosebery spoke of the necessity of "first converting the English majority," he was speaking to the House of Lords, and simply meant that it was useless to go on sending up bills to be destroyed, until further progress was made with the conversion of the minds of the English people. Still, Mr. Morley confessed that he did not wonder at the vigilance, suspicion, and jealousy shown by the Irish members on the subject, for Ireland had been made the shuttlecock of all parties, and suspicion had naturally been aroused by the rumours—"absolutely idle and groundless"—of dissensions in the Cabinet. He frankly admitted that the Government were bound to prosecute their Home Rule Bill, but there was much laughter and ironical cheering when he added that they would do this "with all the despatch that circumstances would allow," and "in such manner, and with such regard to time and season, as was most likely to commend the proposal to the friendly consideration of the country."

Mr. Morley's assurances did not satisfy Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*), who, following the Chief Secretary, said that he felt bound at once to give expression to the "dissatisfaction, distrust, and alarm" with which he had been inspired by the recent declarations of ministers, and as much by what they had not said as by what they did say. Home Rule could not be passed without another general election in its favour, but now it was to be indefinitely postponed and put upon the shelf, since the leadership of the party had passed from the hands of Mr. Gladstone to those of men who had never given any proof of their devotion to the Home Rule cause. He believed in the earnestness and sincerity of Mr. Morley, but it was perfectly plain from the previous night's speeches of Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt that the Home Rule Bill would not be introduced again during the existence of that Parliament, and yet the life of the Parliament was to be indefinitely prolonged with a view to the passing of British measures. The situation was serious enough before—it had now become intolerable. It was very much the worse from the fact that the Prime Minister had now declared that not only was Home Rule to be hung up and the dissolution indefinitely postponed, but even after the general election, and even though the Government might get a majority in Ireland, in Scotland, in Wales, aye, and even in Great Britain, still there should be no Home Rule unless there was a majority of English members also in its favour. The defence offered for the Prime Minister was that he "must not be taken too seriously, as he was only talking to the House of Lords." In other words, he was not to be bound by the ordinary meaning of the words he used. To say that Ireland must not have Home Rule when she had a Parliamentary majority, unless she had a majority of English votes as well, was "preposterous and insulting," for it implied that the votes of Irish

members were not on an equal footing with those of English members. Lord Rosebery's statement had not been modified at all by Mr. Morley, and if Lord Rosebery was right about the English majority, the Lords were right in rejecting the bill. They were told that if the Lords dared to reject it, all England would be made to ring with a cry for their abolition: was all that talk pure moonshine? The promised agitation had not come off, and not even a parish vestry had passed a resolution on the subject. If it was the plan of the Government to shelve the question for the next three or four years while they passed British measures, they would find that they were "living in a fool's paradise." As soon as the Irish people realised that that was the programme of the Liberal party, a spirit would rise which would make the government of Ireland by England at all, on the "dominant partner" theory at any rate, an absolute impossibility, and the sooner that day came the better.

This vigorous declaration was followed by a lively speech from Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*), who said that whatever Lord Rosebery's private opinions might be, circumstances were too strong for him. They prescribed absolutely the course he must take. Impressions of the hieroglyphics of the ancient monuments of Egypt, which faithfully reproduced all the imperfections of the originals, were called "squeezeings," and they now knew that Lord Rosebery's policy was a "squeeze" of Mr. Gladstone's. The ministerialists thought they had improved their position. Well, if they were satisfied, so were the Unionists. They were glad to have a distinct issue, and while they regretted his absence they were glad to have lost their most redoubtable opponent. Everybody was satisfied except Mr. Labouchere, who "went about with his lantern looking for an honest Radical." But he had been preaching in the wilderness, and not even Mr. Conybeare would go to listen to him. He stood like a solitary monument of what had been, and all that could be said to comfort him was that this was not the first time that *Truth* had been left at the bottom of a well. Mr. Morley's "explanation" of Lord Rosebery explained nothing, and it was perfectly plain that Home Rule was to be placed upon the shelf during the continuance of the present Parliament. They were told it was to be brought forward again when circumstances would allow, and the time was favourable, but, as in the case of the famous "Alice" of "Wonderland," it was "jam yesterday, and jam to-morrow, but never jam to-day." In the meanwhile the "dominant partner" was to be drugged with the Newcastle programme in order that he might be able afterwards to swallow Home Rule, and all these other measures were mere bids and allurements to the British electorate.

The House enjoyed this amusing banter, and it had followed both Mr. Morley and Mr. Redmond with the closest attention,



but it was not prepared for the dramatic *dénouement* of the debate. Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) moved an amendment, praying her Majesty that the power now possessed by the House of Lords to prevent bills from being submitted for the Royal approval should cease, and expressing the hope that her Majesty, with the advice of her ministers, would secure the passing of that reform. He argued that the Prime Minister ought not to be a peer of the realm, and agreed with Mr. Redmond that the Parliamentary future of Home Rule was wholly changed by the words uttered by Lord Rosebery on the previous evening. After condemning the rejection by the House of Lords of popular bills passed by considerable majorities in the House of Commons, he said that personally he was in favour of the total abolition of the House of Lords, but in present circumstances a more simple plan would be to create 500 new peers, and thus to stew the existing lords in their own juice. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) said that the Government could not accept the amendment, the passing of which would not advance the object of its mover. The division was taken at an unfortunate moment for the Government. Many members who had not quitted the House had nevertheless paired for the dinner hour, and were therefore unable to vote; and as the Irish members, the Welsh party, and the extreme Radicals supported the amendment, it was carried by 147 votes against 145. The result was hailed with loud cheers by the Irish members and others, but it was a visible shock to the Treasury bench. So unprepared for it was the new ministerial whip (Mr. T. Ellis), that he advanced to the table to take the numbers when the figures had been handed in from both sides, and it was only when the clerk waved him away, and handed the paper to Mr. Labouchere, that either Mr. Ellis or the House fully grasped the situation. The adjournment of the debate was moved from the Opposition benches, by way, as Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) explained, of enabling the Government to extricate themselves from the difficulty in which their defeat had placed them, and Sir William Harcourt accepted the motion.

But the extrication was only to be obtained through an ordeal of humiliation. When the House met on the following day (March 14), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) announced the course which the Government had decided to adopt. His manner was gloomy, and at times angry, especially when he fancied he detected an air of "levity," as he termed it, about the Opposition, on what was certainly a very comic situation. He was a long time before he came to the point, and the House was kept on tenter-hooks in its anxiety to learn what was going to happen. As Sir William Harcourt led very gradually up to his conclusion, there were many who thought from his phrases that he was about to announce resignation or dissolution. But what he did announce was the abandonment

by the Government of their own address. He said that the amendment of the member for Northampton which had been incorporated in the address, was not drawn up in a form or couched in language which the Government were prepared to present to the Sovereign. They were not prepared to say that the creation of a great number of peers was the proper method of dealing with the question. Consequently, when the address was put from the Chair the Government would vote against it, and after it had been negatived he would, on their behalf, move a new address to the Crown.

Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) again came to the assistance of the Government, who, he observed, had received ninety Conservative votes in the division on the amendment, whereas only thirty unofficial and independent members of their own party had supported them. The question was how the Government could give their followers an opportunity of eating humble pie, and of saying on Wednesday precisely the reverse of what they had said on Tuesday. For his own part, he should do his best to endeavour to reverse the ridiculous decision at which the House had arrived. Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) defended his amendment, and seemed hurt at the indifference of both sides of the House to its merits. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) assured the Government of the assistance of the Unionist party in retrieving their defeat. The Government had regarded the amendment as a vote of want of confidence, and 147 of their ordinary supporters voted against them. In those circumstances it was quite time they sought a new mandate. After a resolution had been passed giving Government measures priority until after Easter, and some further discussion had proceeded in the debate on the address, Sir William Harcourt moved that the address as amended be negatived. This was agreed to, and Sir William then moved a new address, which was also agreed to, and the proceedings ended.

Time was of the utmost value to the Government at the beginning of the session, because it was necessary that the supplementary Estimates, the votes for men in the Army and Navy, and a vote on account should be passed before the end of the financial year, which in this instance meant before the adjournment for Easter. The loss of three days in the debate on the address might therefore have been a serious matter for ministers had not the House of Commons shown every readiness to facilitate the transaction of this necessary business. On the vote for operations in Matabeleland (March 15)—the only matter in the supplementary estimates which need be mentioned—Mr. Buxton (*Poplar, Tower Hamlets*) stated the proposals of the Colonial Office for the future government of that country. The administration under the Chartered Company would be extended, and a judge and three members of council would be appointed who would possess practically the power of

administering the affairs both of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The administrators would be nominated by the Chartered Company, but their appointment would have to receive the assent of the Colonial Secretary, and the judge would only be removable by him. A land commission of three members would also be appointed to deal with the land, and it would be their first duty in carrying out their functions to see that sufficient and suitable land was allotted to the natives, and that their agricultural and grazing requirements were fully complied with.

On the order for going into committee of supply on the Army Estimates (March 16), Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean*) moved a resolution declaring that the Estimates for the military establishments ought to be framed upon considerations of the needs of possible war by sea and land, and on the advice tendered by such officers of both the Army and the Navy as were fitted to command in war her Majesty's forces. He drew a very pessimistic picture of the condition of the Army generally, and urged that the affairs of both the Army and the Navy should be placed under experts, that there should be a committee of the Cabinet for defensive purposes, and that there should also be a Minister of Defence. In the course of the subsequent discussion, Lord Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, S.*) recommended the appointment of a separate finance minister for the defensive services. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) pointed out some objections to these proposals. He wished to see harmonious action brought about between the Army and the Navy; but if there were to be a Minister of Defence, he did not see what would be the relations between such minister and the heads of the two warlike departments. If there were to be a separate finance minister for defensive purposes, he wanted to know how the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to prepare his budget, fully a third of which would be settled by another member of the Cabinet. He thought, however, that the appointment of a council of the Cabinet might prove useful, though it should keep permanent records so as to preserve continuity of administration. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) admitted that something might be done with advantage to improve the harmonious working together of the naval and military systems, and said that he regarded the suggestion for a council of the Cabinet to consider questions relating to the services with approval.

After some further discussion Sir Charles Dilke's motion was withdrawn, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman then made the annual statement as to the condition and requirements of the Army. In view of the fact that we had to defend these islands and to garrison India and the colonial fortresses, he said that the question was whether we should have three armies or one. He confessed that he was a strong partisan of one army. The expenditure for the coming year was estimated to be a little over eighteen millions sterling, or about a quarter of a million

more than the expenditure of the previous year. He went through a mass of details as to the needs and administration of the various branches of the service, and the usual desultory discussion followed. Eventually, and without any real opposition, the votes for the number of men and for pay and allowances were agreed to.

Between the Army votes and the Navy votes a long discussion was interposed (March 19) on the order prohibiting peers from interfering in Parliamentary elections. It arose out of Lord Rosebery's visit to Edinburgh to deliver a political address at a time when an election was pending at Leith. Lord Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, S.*) moved a resolution declaring that Lord Rosebery had infringed the laws and liberties of the House. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) ridiculed the motion, though at a length which showed that he attached some importance to it. He wondered whether Lord Randolph Churchill had ever heard of the Primrose League. Lord Beaconsfield, he said, had made a party speech at an agricultural dinner at Aylesbury, and the Duke of Devonshire had made a speech against himself (Sir William Harcourt) at Derby. The motion was a "trumpery, petty, and contemptible proceeding," and he would meet it by moving that the House proceed to the orders of the day. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) replied that if Lord Rosebery was to be exonerated, for the future every peer might "do what he liked, and speak where and when he chose in the face of any election whatsoever." As for Lord Beaconsfield's speech, it was delivered with a Liberal peer in the chair, and the speaker only expressed the hope that the best man would win. If Sir William Harcourt never made a more party speech than that his opponents would be well satisfied. The Duke of Devonshire postponed his speech at Derby when he found that it would come during a contested election. He (Mr. Balfour) "watched with astonishment the action of the Government in wishing to extend the privileges of the peers"; but if the Government desired to see the whole House of Lords taking part in contests throughout the country, it was not for the Opposition to object. The order was only a farce, and the most logical course would be to rescind it. Sir Henry James (*Bury*), on the other hand, held that there had been no breach of the privileges of the House. At length, after nearly a whole sitting had been spent upon it, the resolution was negatived.

The usual statement on the Navy Estimates was preceded by a useful discussion on the construction of ships and other matters. Sir E. Harland (*Belfast, N.*) was in favour of much longer men-of-war; Sir Edward Reed (*Cardiff*) would have them much shorter. The latter, indeed, thought that vessels of war should be less like ships and more like fortresses. Mr. W. Allan (*Gateshead*) protested against the way in which the engineers' branch of the service was treated. On board war-

cruisers of 20,000 horse-power there were only twenty men to look after the engines. On an Atlantic liner having much less horse-power there were twenty-six. The engineers, too, were badly paid. A naval chaplain's stipend was 260*l.* a year, while an assistant engineer, who was largely responsible for the safety of the ship, only got 130*l.* Staff surgeons were paid 240*l.* each, but an engineer's pay was only 200*l.* He would rather break stones on the road than do engineer's work on such terms. Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth (*Clitheroe, Lancashire*) then explained the Estimates. He held that the naval strength of the country, as compared with that of foreign maritime powers, was satisfactory, but he admitted that additions were being made to foreign Navies, and especially to those of France and Russia. Having regard to this fact, the Government thought that the special efforts made in the last five years must be followed by further efforts. The Estimates showed an increase of 3,126,000*l.*, of which sum 2,250,000*l.* was for shipbuilding. Provision was made for 6,700 additional men. The subject of the supply of officers was being considered by a committee appointed for the purpose by Lord Spencer. An endeavour was being made largely to increase the number of engineer officers. Dealing with the works vote, Sir Ughtred said that two great docks were being constructed at Portsmouth which would be capable of holding the very largest ships; new and costly works were going on in connection with harbours; and docks and basins were in course of construction at Devonport. The extension of the mole at Gibraltar had been commenced, and the Admiralty had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived when a dock must be constructed there, and the first steps with that object were to be taken in the present year. With regard to naval barracks, the Admiralty were of opinion that it was far better to accommodate seamen in buildings on shore than to place them on hulks. Turning to the shipbuilding vote, he pointed out that by a concentration of effort on the completion of the Naval Defence Act ships the Admiralty had exceeded the anticipations which were formed when they came into office. All the ten first-class battleships included in that programme were now either in commission or in such an advanced state that they could go into action next week; and the forty-two cruisers were complete and ready for service, with the exception of five, which would be finished within the next few months.

Passing on to the coming financial year, Sir Ughtred indicated the particular works to be done, and the order in which they would be undertaken. The new ships—which formed the first year's instalment of a five years' programme—comprised seven first-class battleships, five to be built in the dockyards and two by contract, six contract-built cruisers of the second class, and two sloops. The work in hand, besides

the completion of the five cruisers under the Naval Defence Act, would be, in the dockyards, eight battleships, three second-class cruisers, and four sloops; in private yards, two battleships, two first-class cruisers, six second-class cruisers, and thirty-six torpedo boat destroyers. The total amount which it was proposed to vote for naval construction, including armament, was 4,950,000*l.*, the armament being represented by 450,000*l.* That compared with 2,298,700*l.* in 1893. Taking only the ships not covered by the Naval Defence Act, the vote, including armament, was 4,769,000*l.* and exclusive of armament 4,219,000*l.*, as against 1,017,000*l.* in the current year, an increase of 3,202,000*l.* for new construction, exclusive of armament. Sir Ughtred concluded by moving the ordinary vote for the employment of the men and boys required for the sea and coastguard services. After a short discussion the vote was agreed to, as were also votes for wages and for ordnance factories.

Of the business necessary to be done before the beginning of the new financial year, there now only remained the passing of a vote on account for 4,195,768*l.* A Wednesday sitting was occupied upon this vote (March 21). Unlimited opportunities were afforded by it for discussion on a wide variety of topics; but almost the only subjects that were raised were some purely Scottish grievances, and the policy attributed to the head of the Educational Department of attacking the voluntary schools. These were disposed of and the vote was agreed to. The report of supply was agreed to on the following day (March 22); a formal sitting was held on the Saturday following Good Friday (March 24) to pass the Consolidation Bill, and the House then adjourned for a three days' Easter vacation.

The Prime Minister's speech at Edinburgh (March 17), in regard to which a discussion was raised in the House of Commons, was not made or fixed with any reference to the Leith election, nor when Lord Rosebery engaged to speak could he have foreseen that the occasion would be a serviceable one for explaining away an impression he had produced by his first speech as Prime Minister in the House of Lords; but he doubtless welcomed the opportunity for explanation which the speech afforded him. After a short preface he began by complaining of the criticism which his speech in the House of Lords had produced, and which he thought was "not animated by that benevolence which alone makes criticism at all tolerable." Proceeding at once to combat the inferences drawn from a passage of this speech, he paraphrased the original utterance by way of illustrating what he declared to be his meaning: "What I said was that if we wanted to carry Home Rule we must carry conviction to the hearts of the people of England, and by those words I stand. They are a truism, they are a platitude in the sense in which I uttered them; but in the sense in which they have been interpreted they bear a mean-

ing which I, as a Scotsman, should be the first to repudiate." They were not going to wait on an English majority for every reform or they would never get any reform at all. Mr. Lecky had said that the first Reform Bill was carried by Irish votes, and the Parish Councils Bill had just been carried in the same way. But he believed they would get an English majority for Home Rule at the next general election. In 1886 England returned 339 Unionists to 126 Home Rulers; in 1892 England returned 266 Unionists to 199 Home Rulers; so that the anti-Home Rule majority in England had dwindled in six years from 213 to 67. Still, they could do without an English majority if they got, say, a clear majority of 100, with the help of an increased Scotch and Irish vote.

Lord Rosebery then went on to make light of the opinion of "that which was called, but erroneously called, Ulster." If it were not for the English majority at its back Ulster would submit, under whatever guarantees were thought right to the proper domination of the majority in Ireland. Similarly the House of Lords would not have dared to act as it had done but for the knowledge that it had the support of a majority of the English electorate. But that majority they meant to reduce, and not only would they secure Home Rule for Ireland, but they would obtain it for Scotland too if Scotchmen demanded it. "I for one believe—I speak now not as a minister but as a man—that when we receive from Scotland that national demand which appears to be ripening so fast, a national demand for that local power of self-government which would cause the business of Scotland, so long neglected in England, to be settled in Scotland, I as a minister shall not be standing to oppose you in the breach, and, if I am not a minister, as a man I shall hope to be in the storming party."

The question of Home Rule, and of the position in regard to it of the "predominant partner," having been disposed of in this uncompromising manner, the Prime Minister turned to the programme of the session, in which he gave the first place to the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. Of Scotch disestablishment he spoke with evident lukewarmness. No man, he said, who had Scotch blood in his veins could feel anything but the profoundest attachment to the Church of Scotland. Unfortunately it was divided into three parts, and only one received the countenance of the State. He wished with all his heart they could have settled their differences among themselves. He held that a State had as much right to maintain an established Church, for its own purposes and its own interests, as it had to establish a standing Army or any other institution it thought right. But seeing that nearly every manse of the Established Church had become an agency for the Tory party, he was compelled to own that the continuance of the Establishment and of the Liberal party in Scotland, side by side, was coming to be inconsistent. Two great principles, he thought, should

guide them in dealing with the Church of Scotland. "One is that of great tenderness and great indulgence, the other is that in dealing with the endowments they should not be torn from the spots which pay them and which are really interested in their maintenance and care, and applied to found some great central institution in Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dundee, but that they should remain parochial endowments for local and parochial and beneficent purposes."

Among Lord Rosebery's hearers was Mr. John Dillon, who had to address a St. Patrick's festival in Edinburgh on the same night. The anti-Parnellite party had taken no action and made no announcement upon the Prime Minister's "predominant partner" theory, beyond causing it to be known that they would await such explanations as he might be prepared to give in his speech at Edinburgh. The explanations he did give entirely satisfied Mr. Dillon, who told his compatriots at the St. Patrick's festival that he came away from Lord Rosebery's address deeply and firmly convinced that in him the cause of Ireland had an honest and honourable champion, that he would be false to no pledge given by the Government to which he belonged as Foreign Secretary, and to no pledge given by "that great man whose place he had stepped into so courageously." The independent Irish criticism which found vent in Ireland and elsewhere was sceptical and contemptuous. Lord Rosebery had fully unsaid everything in his House of Lords speech that had given umbrage to Nationalist opinion, but the flagrant opportunism of the speech at Edinburgh was as evident to the Prime Minister's Irish critics as it was to men of all parties in England.

Lord Rosebery's speech was not long left unanswered. Five days after it was delivered, Mr. Chamberlain made a forcible reply to it in the same hall, the Edinburgh Corn Exchange (March 22). He said that Lord Rosebery's position reminded him of Mr. Helps's account of the system pursued by the Mouiskas of Spanish America for collecting their debts. They tied a tiger to the door of their debtor, and the debtor was unable to move till he had satisfied the claim. The Irish party did the same with the Government. When Lord Rosebery made his speech in the House of Lords the Irish tigers began to roar, and thereupon Lord Rosebery apologised and explained. "He came down here to explain either what did not need explanation, or what could not be explained." After contrasting the Prime Minister's House of Lords speech with his Edinburgh speech, Mr. Chamberlain deduced from the partnership theory the very apt argument that in a partnership every question arising out of the business of the partnership should be decided by a majority of the votes of the whole of the partners. But if there was a question of the dissolution of the partnership the assent of each individual partner should be required. Lord Rosebery was now seen to be "a conditional



Home Rule—reconditional in the first place upon a very improbable situation in the House of Commons, and conditional in the second place upon the continued support of the Irish Nationalist party for the Government which he leads." This last point was emphasised in another part of the speech, in which Mr. Chamberlain remarked on the "one guiding thought" of the ministerial policy. "Everything is to give way to the demands and the interests of party. Home Rule is to be conceded if the Irish Nationalist members will continue their support of the present Government; the Church is to be disestablished if the classes remain Tory; and the House of Lords is to be ended if it continues to be an obstacle to the Radical party. What, I wonder, in the new world which the new Radicals are going to create, will be allowed to exist?" Mr. Chamberlain's "conclusion of the whole matter" was characteristically pithy. "It is that we have now a Prime Minister who is willing to support Home Rule, although he has no firm belief in its early success. He is willing to disestablish one Church or to establish three, as may be most convenient. He is willing to abolish the House of Lords, even at the cost of revolution, although he is himself in favour of a Second Chamber. There is no change, then, in policy. But there is a change. There is a change in the attitude of the Prime Minister. In Mr. Gladstone, at any rate, we had a man who succeeded in convincing himself the more he tried to convince others. But Lord Rosebery is not convinced; and he does not seem to think that any one needs conviction. Mr. Gladstone was one of whom it was sometimes said that his earnestness ran away with his judgment; but Lord Rosebery allows his judgment to be run away with by the earnestness of other people. I do not think that this situation is likely to last very long. It is too strained to continue."

In the midst of this turmoil of apology, explanation, and criticism consequent upon the declarations of the new Prime Minister, there came what was practically a valedictory address from Mr. Gladstone to his constituents in Midlothian through the chairman of his election committee. After some personal allusions to his health and other matters, Mr. Gladstone reviewed in the following terms the sixty years of his Parliamentary life: "The three-score years [since the Reform Act] offer us the pictures of what the historian will recognise as a great legislative and administrative period—perhaps, on the whole, the greatest in our annals. It has been predominantly a history of emancipation—of emancipation, that is, of enabling man to do his work of emancipation, political, economical, social, moral, intellectual. Not numerous merely, but almost numberless, have been the causes brought to issue, and in every one of them I rejoice to think that, so far as my knowledge goes, Scotland has done battle for the right. Another period has opened, and is opening still—a period possibly of yet

greater moral dangers, certainly a great ordeal for those classes which are now becoming largely conscious of power, and never heretofore subjected to its deteriorating influences. These had been confined in their action to the classes above them because they were its sole possessors. Now is the time for the true friend of his country to remind the masses that they owe their present political elevation to no principles less broad and noble than these—the love of liberty, and of liberty for all, without distinction of class, creed, or country, and the resolute preference of the interests of the whole to any interest, be it what it may, of a narrower scope. . . . It is, indeed, a satisfaction to me, after more than sixty years of highly contentious life, if I can be honourably relieved from some of that active participation in political conflict of which I have had so full a share. But I recognise the great and growing demands of these countries for satisfaction of their legislative wants. I lament that the discrepancy of sentiment between the two Houses of Parliament has received within the last twelve months such a development as to raise the question between a chamber in the main responsible and a chamber totally irresponsible to the nation at large, and to raise it in such a form as will demand at no distant day a conclusive judgment from the constituencies of the country, and I am deeply convinced that until the just demands of Ireland have been satisfied, as the House of Commons has tried to satisfy them, neither will the legislative wants of any portion of the United Kingdom be adequately met, nor will the empire attain the maximum of its union and its power, nor will British honour be effectually cleared of the deepest historic stain which ever has attached to it."

The ministerial reconstruction due to the advent of the new Government, and other causes, necessitated a good number of bye-elections, some of which were contested. The vacancy at Leith was caused by Mr. Munro-Ferguson's appointment to a junior lordship of the Treasury. He kept his seat, though by a majority diminished by 511 votes. In the Hawick Burghs, where Mr. Shaw sought re-election on his acceptance of the post of Solicitor-General for Scotland, the ministerial majority was increased by 282. In Berwickshire, again, where a vacancy arose on Mr. Majoribanks becoming Lord Tweedmouth, Mr. Tennant, the ministerial candidate, obtained a smaller majority by nearly 200 than was given to Mr. Majoribanks in 1892. These elections showed that Scotland was not enthusiastic about the new Government. An important bye-election in Wales, occasioned by the elevation to the peerage of Mr. Stuart-Rendel, who represented Montgomeryshire, had a still more unfavourable significance for the Government, the ministerial majority being brought down from 815 to 235. This result was held to show that the Disestablishment policy of the Government had not the general support claimed for it. Mr.

Arthur Brand retained his seat by a small majority on his acceptance of an appointment in the royal household.

The first business of importance in the House of Commons after Easter was the proposal of the Government to refer bills relating to Scotland to a Scotch grand committee (April 2). The resolution for the purpose, moved by Sir George Trevelyan (*Bridgeton, Glasgow*), provided for the creation of a grand committee composed of all the representatives of Scotch constituencies, and of fifteen other members, and also directed that the committee should consider all bills exclusively relating to Scotland which might be sent to them by order of the House. Sir George argued that the sending of Scotch bills to such a committee would involve little real departure from the existing practice, for whenever a Scotch bill was in committee of the whole House now all the English members went away, and only Scotch members spoke, while nobody listened—a statement which he altered when he found the House rippling with laughter by adding that “nobody listened except Scotch members.” He contended that a Scotch grand committee for purely Scotch bills would do no harm to anybody but would greatly facilitate Scotch legislation, and he endeavoured to reply to the objection that if Scotland had a grand committee all to herself England ought to have one also, by pointing out that there would be plenty of stages other than the committee stage on which the whole House would be called upon to take part in the discussion of Scotch measures. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) opposed the motion in a long and vigorous speech. He expressed surprise that any minister should have ventured to bring forward such a proposal without apparently having the slightest notion that it was an attempt to revolutionise the practice of the House. If Sir George Trevelyan did not know what were the constitutional arguments against the proposal, what was the House to think of a Government which allowed a minister to put all those arguments aside? If he did know, and yet ignored them, what was the House to think of the guidance given to it on so important an occasion? The proposal was one to introduce for the first time the principle of nationalities into the grand committees, and the real issue was the constitution of Parliament itself—an issue which was being deliberately concealed from the House by the Government. He asked the House to refuse to adopt such a scheme until they had the “broad and stable outline of a proposal embracing every portion of the United Kingdom.” He altogether repudiated the notion that Scotch members alone should deal with Scotch legislation, and declared that they were elected, not only to pass Scotch bills, but to give general assistance in an Imperial Parliament, where parties had a certain balance and a certain policy. If Scotland had a separate Legislature, it was absurd to imagine that the representation in that Legislature would follow the lines adopted by the Scotch consti-  
tuen-

cies in electing members to an Imperial Parliament—the most elementary student of the Constitution knew that that would not be so. Was there such a thing as a bill relating exclusively to Scotland? He denied it, because they could not legislate for any of the four countries without that legislation reacting on the others. He pointed out that with a Scotch grand committee the Government would be in a far larger majority before the committee than they could possibly be in otherwise, for they would have a majority in a committee of 87 members almost as large as they had in the whole House of 670 members, and he described this as “a shameless proposal” and “a concealed dodge.” He asked why Sir George Trevelyan had never mentioned Ireland, and whether the proposal was to be extended to Ireland or not. If it were to be extended to Ireland, he believed that even Mr. Morley would support him in the view that Irish legislation would be reduced to a chaotic condition. And what was to be done in the case of England? Could such a state of things be indefinitely tolerated by England? There was no greater danger to the political interests of Scotland than that they should arouse England to a sense that she was “an oppressed nationality,” and compel her to use the power she undoubtedly possessed of excluding all outside her own borders from any share in her affairs. What was to happen in an English grand committee where the Government did not possess the confidence of the majority? Bills would be passed in a very different shape from that in which they were sent down, and their authors would either have to drop them, accept them in a maimed condition, or reverse everything that the committee had done. On what principle could the boon be refused to England if it were given to Scotland? And if it were given to England, how was the Government to be carried on when the Government did not happen to command a majority of English votes? Finally, Mr. Balfour moved an amendment declining to sanction, in regard to bills relating to one portion only of the kingdom, any plan by which the practices and constitution of the House would be fundamentally altered, until a committee of the House had had an opportunity of pronouncing on a general scheme which should extend like treatment to the bills relating to each of the other portions of the United Kingdom. A general debate followed, which resulted in an adjournment of the question.

It happened that at the next sitting of the House (April 3), Mr. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*) was able to move his resolution for the establishment of a separate legislation in Scotland, and the rivalry of this larger scheme with the smaller one of the Government brought about an amusing state of things. Mr. Dalziel was good enough to admit that, if Home Rule were given to Scotland, it should also be given to England and Wales—there should, in fact, be “Home Rule all round.” Mr. Birrell (*Fife, W.*) seconded the motion in a light and airy

fashion, as though it were an excellent joke rather than something from which serious results might spring. But Sir George Trevelyan's part in the discussion was most remarkable, for though he spoke in the mixed character of a member of the Government and a private member, he had no "lead" or assistance to give. He said, indeed, that he should himself vote for the motion, but as a private member. His colleagues would vote as they chose, the question being regarded by them as an open one. There was a good deal of laughter from the Opposition over this strange attempt at ministerial enlightenment and guidance, and Sir George Trevelyan grew angry. He was especially sore at the treatment given to the proposal of the night before for a Scotch grand committee. This proposal, he said, represented what the Government intended to do to meet the demands of Scotch business, and they meant to carry it through with all the power at their disposal.

Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) followed with a short speech, in which he heaped ridicule upon the line taken on behalf of the Government. He described Sir George Trevelyan's speech as "a unique performance in Parliamentary history," and recalled a recent observation of Lord Rosebery on the Secretary for Scotland: "I have not the gift of enthusiasm possessed by my right honourable friend. It carries him a great deal further than it carries me, and I am not responsible for all his opinions." He went on to protest against the notion that a Cabinet minister could propose one scheme on one night, and on the next support another that went immeasurably further than his own. Never had a case been made more ridiculous or the House put in a more ridiculous position. But the motion was carried by 180 votes to 170, though to how little purpose was shown by the uproarious laughter from all parts of the House that formed the only response to Mr. Balfour's question: "Am I in order in asking whether the Government mean to bring in a bill?"

The success of the Radicals in carrying Mr. Dalziel's motion, the internal dissensions among the Irish party, and the dissatisfaction felt with the varying declarations of the Prime Minister, were at this time a source of danger to the Government. Their majorities fell to a very low point, and rumours of a possible collapse were frequent. But by the beginning of the fifth week of the session matters had readjusted themselves fairly well, and the Government and their miscellaneous supporters were found to be once more at one. A Wednesday's sitting (April 4) was given to the second reading of an Old Age Pensions Bill, introduced by Colonel Palmer (*Gravesend*), and supported in principle by Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*). The second reading was agreed to by 205 to 136, but the bill was afterwards dropped. Some metropolitan bills, a bill for giving effect to the Behring Sea award, another debate, which ended in an adjournment, on the motion for

appointing a Scotch grand committee, and other miscellaneous business occupied the House, until the proposal of the Government to appropriate Tuesdays and Friday mornings for the remainder of the session produced a scene of some warmth (April 9). Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) pointed to the great mass of business which the Government were pledged to get through. He described the Government as sailing a ship with a "precious cargo," that would inevitably be troubled with the "storms, seas, winds and waves" of the Opposition, but that must endeavour to go straight to her destination without "pausing to stop at all the interesting spots" which some of the supporters of the Government might desire to see a stoppage made at. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) taunted the Government with having made their own difficulties by mismanagement, for they had done nothing since Easter except try to carry the "fad of a single minister." No forecast of future business had been given them. Doubtless, if time was again to be wasted as it had already been wasted on the motion for Scotch Home Rule, it would be preferable to have any Government business, "however futile and unnecessary." But the private member had been extremely ill-used; he had had no "fling" for a twelvemonth. In tones of banter, Mr. Balfour went on to say that Sir William Harcourt's "precious cargo" was not specified in any invoice that he was acquainted with, and he did not know whether the vessel was a good one. He feared, indeed, the Government would have to encounter worse horrors than sea-sickness, for the winds and waves were gradually making their impression upon the ship, and leaks had been sprung which had been stopped by methods of a not very permanent kind. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) shortly afterwards asked the Government to say which of their bills they meant to drop, and reminded them that it was usual for a ship in a hurricane to jettison part of her cargo. The Government, however, carried their point, and an amendment, moved by Lord Carmarthen (*Lambeth, Brixton*), limiting the duration of the resolution to Whitsuntide, was defeated by 268 votes to 244.

The further discussion of the Navy Estimates occupied two sittings. Mr. Forwood (*Ormskirk, Lancashire*), on the vote for shipbuilding (April 10), complained that the House was asked to provide money for the building of ships without any information as to the cost of the vessels. He believed that the programme of the Government was based, not on the opinion of naval experts, but on the financial exigencies of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He admitted that, as far as it went, the programme was a good one, but he believed that the Admiralty were concealing the real state of things, and were postponing to a future time the vast obligations they had incurred. Commander Bethell (*Holderness, Yorkshire*) and Mr. Arnold Foster (*Belfast, W.*) also criticised the shipbuilding

proposals of the Government, the latter in a favourable sense. Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth (*Clitheroe, Lancashire*) gave a general answer to the criticisms offered, and in particular pointed out that it was not desirable, as the details were not yet complete nor the contracts out, to publish the estimated cost of new vessels. He emphatically declared that the new programme was based upon the advice given to the Government by their expert naval advisers, and that it was the intention of the Government to make the Navy equal to the combined fleets of any two naval powers. The discussion was continued by other members, among whom Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*), in an unfinished speech, congratulated the Government on what they had done, and on the unanimity of the House in their favour, which was "worth a good many iron-clads," but he urged them to go still further. Continuing his speech on the resumption of the debate (April 12), Mr. Goschen complained that the five years' programme was kept in the dark, and that it was therefore impossible to tell what our naval strength would ultimately be. Parliament had never before been asked to give so large a discretion to an Administration, and the Government would be well advised if they adopted such a policy as was embodied in the Naval Defence Act, by which course only they could provide for a continuity of policy. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), however, denounced the Naval Defence Act as "the most unfortunate financial experiment ever made," and said that under no circumstances would the Government adopt the policy of that act. The fundamental objection to it was that it made the House of Lords a partner with the Commons in controlling the naval expenditure. It was of great advantage, moreover, that there should be no hard and fast programme fixed for a term of years, for it might be desirable to make changes from time to time. This last argument drew an animated protest from Lord George Hamilton (*Ealing, Middlesex*), who pointed out that the whole idea of a five years' scheme had been thrown over by Sir William Harcourt's speech, and the House was now absolutely deprived of all hope of a continuous policy. It was "mere platform claptrap" to pretend that the Naval Defence Act in any way deprived the House of Commons of complete control over the naval expenditure, for the Lords had no option but to pass any such bill when it was sent up to them. The debate was continued by numerous experts and others, but eventually votes amounting in the aggregate to nearly 8,000,000*l.* sterling were agreed to.

A Wednesday sitting (April 11) was spent in the second-reading debate on an Irish Land Tenure Bill, introduced by Mr. Kilbride (*Kerry, S.*). The proposals of the bill were somewhat sweeping. Among other things it gave further protection to tenants' improvements, shortened the statutory period for revising fair rents from fifteen to eight years, and

modified the Land Purchase Act of 1891. The bill was supported by Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*), and was read a second time, after an amendment had been negatived by 254 votes to 165, but it was afterwards dropped.

A brief announcement was made in both Houses of Parliament (April 12) in reference to the policy which the Government had decided to pursue in Uganda. As read by Lord Rosebery the statement was to the effect that after considering the late Sir Gerald Portal's report and weighing the consequences of withdrawal from Uganda on the one hand, and on the other of maintaining British interests there, the Government had determined to establish a regular administration, and for that purpose to declare Uganda to be under a British protectorate. Discussion was deprecated in each House, as the details of the arrangements to be made were still under consideration.

After a discussion on agricultural depression under a motion by Major Rasch (*Essex, S.E.*) for the adjournment of the House (April 13) which was negatived, Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) moved for leave to bring in a bill to reduce the period of qualification for Parliamentary and local government electors, and for other purposes. At the outset he stated that the present proposals of the Government differed in various respects from those embodied in the Registration Bill introduced in the previous year by Mr. Fowler. The first reason for the change was that the Government wished to place before the House propositions which need not involve any prolonged or elaborate discussion; and the second reason was that in the interval Parliament had, by passing the Local Government Act, dealt to some extent with the machinery which affected Parliamentary registration. The present bill proposed, in the first place, to reduce the residential period of qualification to three months. In order to give effect to this proposal there would be two revisions of the register in each year. Another provision of the bill was that the rating qualification should be abolished. The next provision, which was undoubtedly one of the most important in the bill, was that all the pollings at a general election should be held on one and the same day. An exception was made, however, in the case of the universities, as long as that most anomalous element of our national representation existed. The bill provided that the day of polling should be a Saturday, and that it should be the second or third Saturday after the proclamation. At present Parliament could not meet until thirty-five days after the issuing of the proclamation, but it was intended to alter that period to twenty days. Perhaps the most important provisions in the bill were those which abolished the system of plural voting. No attempt was made to carry out to its full and logical extent the principle of "One man one vote," but he was given to understand that even any modified approach to that system would be met with the rival



formula "One vote one value." Without going into that controversy then, he would point out that "One vote one value" meant redistribution of seats, the breaking up on a great scale of the boundaries, both of boroughs and counties, and also the disfranchisement of the universities. Besides, if hon. members opposite were going to have "One vote one value," it would be necessary to redistribute the seats at regular periods in accordance with the changes in the population. The Government did not believe that the abolition of plural voting would impair one of the bulwarks of property. They did not propose to go further than to introduce a provision restricting the voting of an elector to one constituency, and declaring that if a Parliamentary elector had voted at a Parliamentary election in a given constituency, he should not vote in any other constituency as long as the then current register remained in force.

Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) admitted that in many respects the bill was an improvement on its predecessor, inasmuch as it did not aim at setting up an entirely new and untried machinery for placing a voter's name upon the register. He regretted, however, that the Government had determined to adhere to the three months' residence, and he objected both to the double revision in each year and to the abolition of the rating qualification. After indicating various difficulties which stood in the way of taking all the pollings on the same day, he dealt with the proposed abolition of plural voting, which was the main object and justification of the measure. The Constitution, he said, was full of anomalies, and he wanted to know why the Government should touch one of the least of these anomalies when all the others were staring them in the face. The gravest inequalities in our electoral system did not arise from plural voting, but from the way in which the constituencies were distributed. The bill was read a first time after some further discussion.

The exhaustion consequent on so long a strain of Parliamentary work indisposed the party leaders to undertake much speaking out of Parliament. Mr. Courtney delivered two suggestive speeches in Cornwall in Easter week. Speaking at Liskeard (March 27) he pointed out the recklessness and want of seriousness with which the agitation against the House of Lords was being conducted. Mr. Gladstone's last words in the House of Commons were words of attack and contumely; but "having intimated that the time had come to extinguish the Upper House he at once proceeded to create a few fresh peers, and to appoint as his successor a member of that House." The first question to be asked was, Were the Lords a very strong body? The answer was, No. They did not attempt to impress their will on the legislature of the country, or to thwart the will of the people. If the Lords delayed or negatived legislation, it was because they felt that the nation had not made up its mind. When the people showed that their minds were made

up, the Lords at once yielded. Mr. Courtney observed, however, that he would like to see the House of Lords vivified and strengthened. A Second Chamber was necessary, and he would have as members of it not merely life peers, but a set of new peers selected by the County Councils and great towns, and elected by proportional representation. At Bodmin on the following day (March 28) Mr. Courtney described Lord Rosebery as "a child of circumstances." There were persons so great that they rose superior to circumstances; but there were other men who accepted the circumstances of their life and moulded their action accordingly. The further remark that Lord Rosebery was a "cynic" gave a key to the process of moulding, and made the suggestion of a personal sketch fairly complete.

The return of a Conservative at the Huddersfield bye-election in 1893 was the occasion of a visit to that industrial Yorkshire town by Mr. Asquith (April 4), who told his audience that until this blot had been wiped away Huddersfield could not be regarded as a consistent political constituency. Thereupon some one in the audience cried out, "Try a Labour man," to which Mr. Asquith answered that he objected to "government by groups." After anticipating the coming Registration Bill, and advocating the principle of devolution in Parliament as represented by the proposal for a Scotch committee, he went on to speak of the House of Lords, in reference to which his observations took the following very guarded form: "I think that one cannot have much doubt that the question—I will use a neutral phrase, and will say the question of reforming the House of Lords—well, the question of doing something with the House of Lords, that is a still more neutral phrase—is now quite within the range of practical and actual politics."

At Bristol on the same evening (April 4), Sir Michael Hicks-Beach remarked that the union between the two sections of the Unionist party was as strong as ever, and expressed the hope that when the next Government was formed the Duke of Devonshire would be found sitting by the side of Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Chamberlain by the side of Mr. Balfour. A week later (April 11), Mr. Balfour went to Bradford to speak in support of Lord Randolph Churchill's candidature for the seat held by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre. After vigorously defending the action of the Unionist party on the Employers' Liability Bill and other measures, he turned to Irish affairs, and said that Mr. Morley had accomplished the difficult task of governing Ireland on Unionist principles by means of a separatist vote. The Cabinet, he said, were relying upon a system of mutual insurance, and Lord Rosebery was sheltering himself under the wing of Mr. Morley. In reference to the agitation against the House of Lords, he referred to Mr. Bryce's advocacy of a Second Chamber in Ireland, and while not claiming for a Second Chamber that it should be strong enough to resist the

will of the nation, he held that it ought to be strong enough to ensure that the will of the nation should be fully and finally declared.

Sir William Harcourt's Budget proposals were awaited with keen interest, and a full House assembled (April 16) to hear him expound them. This he did with remarkable clearness. He rejoiced over the fact that though the last financial year began badly, it ended well, and thus redressed the balance; and then he plunged into the usual maze of figures, showing the results of revenue and expenditure during the past year. He went through all the items of revenue, commenting as he went, and pointing out, in regard to customs, that while foreign spirits had increased, rum had been "capricious," tea good, coffee diminishing, and tobacco "stagnant." Dried fruits showed an increase, and so did light wines, but in strong wines there was a considerable falling off. The results, however, were on the whole satisfactory, for in the articles which "constituted the comforts of the people" there was no sign of diminishing resources or consumption. In excise, on which the "weight of unprosperous times fell most heavily," spirits had gone down, but beer had gone up, and he thought this had "something to do with the climate," for in hot seasons there was more beer drunk and less spirits, and *vice versâ* in cold weather. In pointing out that the yield from the income-tax had exceeded his expectations, he denied that this was the result of exceptional measures for the collection of the tax, for that, "however tempting," would have been "bad finance." There was a falling off in stamps and in the death duties, but the diminution of the death duties he explained by pointing out that in the "influenza year" they were abnormally high. The total revenue for the past year had been 91,133,000*l.*, or, including the amount contributed to the local authorities, 98,000,000*l.* To show the general prosperity of the country, he explained that the deposits in the Post Office and trustee savings banks had been 3,400,000*l.*, as against 966,000*l.* in 1888-9, and 2,200,000*l.* in 1892-3, which proved that, notwithstanding agricultural depression, labour disputes, and shrinkage of dividends, the people were saving money. The British system of finance, currency, and commerce had stood the storm and weathered the gale, and compared favourably with the methods in vogue in other States that relied upon different principles. There was nothing to encourage the British people to adopt inflationist doctrines or protectionist practice. He went on to say that the expenditure of the past year was 91,303,000*l.*, as compared with an estimated expenditure of 91,464,000*l.* He put the expenditure of the current financial year at 95,458,000*l.*, or, including the grants to the local authorities, 102,700,000*l.*, and he showed that the annual expenditure had grown since 1875-6 by 23,823,000*l.*, the main items of increase being 12,000,000*l.* for the Army and Navy,

6,000,000*l.* for education, and 6,500,000*l.* for local grants. The demands of the Admiralty were now 3,126,000*l.* more than they were in 1893-4, and 568,000*l.* was required for the civil services. With regard to the revenue of the current year, he anticipated a falling off rather than an increase, but he would adopt the basis of the existing taxes for his balance sheet. The total estimated revenue was 90,956,000*l.*, and as the expenditure was estimated to be 95,458,000*l.*, there was a vast deficit of 4,502,000*l.* to be met. The several totals of estimated income and expenditure, and the corresponding totals of the previous year, are shown in the subjoined tables :—

REVENUE.			EXPENDITURE.		
	Estimate, 1894-95.	Exchequer Receipts, 1893-94.		Estimate, 1894-95.	Exchequer Issues in 1893-94.
	£	£		£	£
Customs .....	19,850,000	19,707,000	National Debt Ser- vices .....	25,000,000	25,200,000
Excise .....	25,060,000	25,200,000	Naval Defence Fund	1,429,000	1,429,000
Stamps .....	13,060,008	12,860,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services ..	1,653,000	1,681,000
Land Tax .....	1,030,000	1,035,000	Army (including Ordnance Fac- tories) .....	18,081,000	17,940,000
House Duty .....	1,440,000	1,425,000	Navy .....	17,366,000	14,048,000
Property and In- come Tax .....	15,200,000	15,200,000	Civil Services .....	18,688,000	18,226,000
Post Office .....	10,570,000	10,470,000	Customs and Inland Revenue .....	2,677,000	2,671,000
Telegraph Service ..	2,620,000	2,540,000	Post Office .....	7,038,000	6,721,000
Crown Lands .....	420,000	420,000	Telegraph Service ..	2,777,000	2,664,000
Interest on Pur- chase Money of Suez Canal Shares, Sardinian Loan, etc. ....	136,000	218,000	Packet Service ....	749,000	723,000
Miscellaneous .....	1,550,000	2,058,000			
Total .....	90,956,000	91,133,000	Total .....	95,458,000	91,303,000

Estimated decrease of revenue in 1894-95—£177,000.

Estimated deficit in 1894-95—£4,502,000.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was loudly cheered when he said that he was not going to meet the deficit by borrowing, or by tampering with the fixed and permanent provision for the liquidation of debt. But the debt which had been left to him by the late Government for purposes of defence, he proposed to wipe away by appropriating the new sinking fund until it was discharged. That would reduce his liabilities from 95,458,000*l.* to 93,885,000*l.*, while an increase of 260,000*l.* from the Suez Canal shares, and 290,000*l.* from the surplus of the naval defence fund, would increase his receipts from 90,956,000*l.* to 91,506,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 2,379,000*l.* to be met by increased taxation. By way of prelude to the proposals he was about to make, Sir William Harcourt then referred at considerable length to the death duties, and cited various cases as showing that the existing state of the law was unjustifiable and incongruous. He proposed to abolish the present probate duty, the account duty, and the addition made by Mr. Goschen to the succession duty, and to start afresh. He intended to

constitute in their place a single duty of the "A" class, of which probate was the type, and he proposed to call this the estate duty. This estate duty would be charged upon the principal value of all property, whether real or personal, settled or unsettled, the governing principle being that upon the devolution of property of all descriptions the State should take its share first of what devolved on the successor. Then the question arose whether all property was to be taxed at the same rate, and with reference to this his opinion was that if applied with fairness, moderation, and justice the principle of graduated taxation was most equitable and politic. He therefore proposed that estates of 100*l.* and not exceeding 500*l.* should remain on the same low scale as at present, and should be charged 1 per cent.; that estates from 500*l.* to 1,000*l.* should pay the low rate of 2 per cent.; estates from 1,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*, 3 per cent.; from 10,000*l.* to 25,000*l.*, 4 per cent.; from 25,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*, 4½ per cent.; from 50,000*l.* to 75,000*l.*, 5 per cent.; from 75,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*, 5½ per cent.; from 100,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*, 6 per cent.; from 150,000*l.* to 250,000*l.*, 6½ per cent.; from 250,000*l.* to 500,000*l.*, 7 per cent.; and from 500,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.*, 7½ per cent. Estates over 1,000,000*l.* in value would pay 8 per cent. Properties below 500*l.* would pay 1 per cent. instead of a minimum of 2 per cent. on personalty and 1½ per cent. on realty, and would be relieved of the legacy and succession duties; while property between 500*l.* and 1,000*l.* would pay 2 per cent. and receive similar relief. With regard to the "B" class of duties—*viz.*, the legacy and succession duties—he proposed, while still retaining the names, to make them identical in their incidence on realty and personalty. It was estimated that the effect of these changes would be that there would ultimately be an increase in the death duties of between 3,500,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.*, bringing the whole of those duties up to about 14,000,000*l.*, of which 214,000*l.* would go to the local taxation account. But his estimate of the result to the Exchequer of this new estate duty in the present year was a net gain of 1,000,000*l.*, and that would not go far towards meeting the 2,379,000*l.* required for the present year. Consequently he further proposed to add another 1*d.* to the income-tax, raising it from 7*d.* to 8*d.* in the pound. That would produce in the present year 1,780,000*l.* In connection with the revision of the death duties, he felt bound to take into account the claim which had long been made for the assessment of land and houses for income-tax on the net rather than on the gross assessment; and he proposed to make an allowance under Schedule A of one-tenth in respect of land, and one-sixth in respect of houses. The loss on these allowances would not be far short of 700,000*l.* in the present year. It was, he believed, a universal sentiment, that if the income-tax was to be maintained at a high figure some attempt should be made to adjust its pressure, so as to render it less intolerable to

those who were the least able to bear it. In raising the income-tax to 8*d.*, the Government were desirous that the extra burden should not fall on persons with small incomes, and this object might be accomplished by extending the principle of abatement. Their proposal was that the abatement should be 160*l.* instead of 120*l.* on incomes under 400*l.*, and they would make the limit of total exemption 160*l.* instead of 150*l.* The Government likewise proposed relief in the case of incomes between 400*l.* and 500*l.* by an abatement of 100*l.*, which such incomes did not enjoy at present. These extensions of abatement would amount to 1,450,000*l.* for the current year, and would reduce what was gained from the income-tax to 330,000*l.*; and he had still to get more than 1,000,000*l.* in order to meet the deficit. The remaining money which he required he proposed to obtain by imposing an additional duty of 6*d.* a gallon upon spirits, and one of 6*d.* a barrel upon beer. These would, he contended, be taxes, not upon the individuals who consumed the liquors, but upon the growing profits of the trade. His estimated gain on account of these proposals, including customs and excise, was as to spirits 760,000*l.*, and as to beer 580,000*l.*, making a total of 1,340,000*l.* Altogether, 2,670,000*l.* would be raised by additional taxation to meet a deficit of 2,379,000*l.*, and, therefore, he was left with a final estimated surplus of 291,000*l.* for the current year.

As thus settled, the final balance sheet was as follows :—

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£		£
Customs .....	19,850,000	National Debt Services .....	25,000,000
Excise .....	25,080,000	Other Consolidated Fund Services .....	1,653,000
Stamps .....	13,080,000	Army (including Ordnance Factories) .....	18,081,000
Land Tax .....	1,030,000	Navy .....	17,368,000
House Duty .....	1,440,000	Civil Services .....	18,688,000
Property and Income Tax .....	15,200,000	Customs and Inland Revenue .....	2,677,000
Post Office .....	10,570,000	Post Office .....	7,038,000
Telegraph Service .....	2,620,000	Telegraph Service .....	2,777,000
Crown Lands .....	420,000	Packet Service .....	749,000
Interest on Purchase Money of Suez Canal Shares, Sardinian Loan, etc. ....	138,000		
Miscellaneous .....	1,550,000		94,029,000
	90,956,000	Deduct for Interest on Imperial Defence Loan, £75,000; and Interest on Naval Defence Loan, £70,000 ..	145,000
Suez Canal Dividend .....	280,000		93,884,000
National Defence Account .....	289,000		291,000
Death Duties .....	1,000,000		
Beer and Spirits .....	1,340,000	Balance for contingencies .....	94,175,000
Income Tax (less abatements) .....	330,000		
	94,175,000		

The usual desultory discussion followed. Mr. Long (*West Derby, Liverpool*) and Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) contended that the new estate duty would press very heavily upon landowners; Sir John Lubbock (*London University*) expressed his disappointment at the absence of

any attempt to redress local taxation; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (*Bristol, W.*) said that the abatement under Schedule A on houses and land was insufficient, and warned the Government that the payment of the new estate duty would be largely evaded. There were also protests against the additional taxes on beer and spirits. The fuller discussion, however, of all these matters was postponed, and the usual Budget resolutions relating to tea, beer, and spirits were agreed to.

This fuller discussion was more or less of a rambling kind. The only matters of general interest brought out at the next sitting occupied with the business (April 23) were the suggestions of Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*), that the Government were unwise in depleting the provisions made for the payment of debt, and that the increase of the spirit duty for one year instead of permanently—a limitation accepted from the Irish members—would cost the revenue at least 1,000,000*l.* Mr. Goschen explained that when the financial year neared its end traders would not take spirits out of bond, but would wait for the expiration of the year, so as to escape the duty. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), in a speech marred by an unnecessary desire to make political capital out of the situation at the expense of his opponents, admitted in effect that his temporary arrangement of the new spirit duty was weak, for he promised to reconsider it, if only the Opposition would assist him in making the duty permanent. He was warmly rebuked by Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) for importing so much party spirit into the debate, and for endeavouring to pose as “a financial purist,” even when his proposals altogether upset the highly moral principles he advocated in his Budget speech. After some talk as to the way in which the naval defence fund was to be dealt with, the remaining Budget resolutions, except those relating to the death duties, were agreed to.

On the following day (April 24) Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) contended that the new death duties would in many cases absolutely ruin the landowners. When agricultural estates passed upon death the Government must value them in detail, and he suggested that the owner should be at liberty to hand over a portion of his land, at the Government valuation, as an equivalent for the amount he was called upon to pay. Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*) maintained that the burden of local taxation was heaviest upon the occupiers of house property, while Mr. J. G. Lawson (*Thirsk and Malton, Yorkshire*) argued that landed property was unfairly burdened in comparison with personalty. Mr. H. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*) quoted figures to show that in 1891 the real burden upon agricultural land was a trifle under three shillings an acre. At no period in the present century had the average rate in the pound been so low in the rural districts or so high in London as in that year. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (*Bristol*,

W.) held that the depreciation in the value of agricultural land made even reduced rates hard to bear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) pointed out that the estate duty would be levied upon the principal value of the land, in ascertaining which the other charges on the land would be taken into consideration. After a further discussion, the resolution embodying the new death duties was agreed to.

The Budget in the main was favourably received in the country. It was foreseen that the extraordinary outlay on the Navy would entail a big deficit, and the fact that future years would have to bear burdens of their own of a like kind was a bar to any distribution of the present outlay over a period of years. The country was prepared, moreover, for some addition to the income-tax, and the soreness which any added charge of that kind could not fail to produce was mitigated by the scheme of relief for small incomes. It was generally anticipated, too, that the death duties would be readjusted, and the first impression produced by Sir William Harcourt's proposals in this respect was a distinctly favourable one. At a later period Conservative speakers and the Conservative press attacked this part of the Budget with some vigour, but without any marked result. Lord Salisbury spoke at a grand habitation of the Primrose League three days after the Budget statement (April 19), but he was silent as to its proposals, though in another direction he replied to a speech of Mr. Asquith's on the previous day at Plymouth, and Mr. Asquith had naturally taken much credit to the Government for the whole plan of the Budget. The increased beer and spirit duties were strongly opposed by the trades affected, but even their opposition was somewhat tardy in its development.

The debate on the proposal of the Government for a Scotch grand committee, which was resumed immediately after the introduction of the Budget (April 17), occupied three further sittings. Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) argued that in adopting the principle of the devolution of legislation to nationalities the Government could not stop at Scotland, and that legislation was improved by the association of nationalities. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) replied that if Ireland and Wales should ask for similar committees, he saw no reason why their request should not be complied with. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) held that to confine the proposal to the countries in which the Government had a majority would be grossly unfair to England, and that its universal application would upset the whole system of Parliamentary Government. Mr. Balfour's motion was negatived by 252 votes to 219. Lord Wolmer (*Edinburgh, W.*) moved an amendment (April 20) providing that the new committee should deal only with bills relating to law and courts of justice and legal procedure, and to trade, shipping, manufactures and agriculture. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) said that it was



not intended to refer to the committee any controversial or party measures. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) contended that the subjects to be referred to the committee ought to be defined; and Sir George Trevelyan (*Bridgeton, Glasgow*) said that the chief subject this year would be the Scotch Local Government Bill. The amendment was then negatived. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) afterwards assented to amendments providing that only bills introduced by a minister of the Crown should be referred to the new committee, and that the number of members to be nominated by the committee of selection should be thirty-one instead of fifteen. At the next sitting the Government agreed to an amendment to the effect that in nominating the additional members the committee of selection should endeavour to approximate the balance of parties in the committee to that of the whole House. An amendment moved by Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) excluding from the scope of the committee any bill which did not refer to the whole of Scotland was negatived, and the motion for the appointment of the committee was ultimately carried (April 27) by 232 to 207.

A bill for the repeal of the Crimes Act of 1887 was read a second time (April 18), after an animated debate. The bill was brought in by Colonel Nolan (*Galway, N.*), the Parnellite whip, but it had the support of the whole Irish party, and it acquired importance from the sanction given to it by Mr. Morley. In supporting the second reading the Chief Secretary (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) urged the inexpediency of governing Ireland by exceptional laws, and insisted that as Ireland was now tranquil it was unjust to continue to impose this stigma upon her. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) held that a land agitation in Ireland meant agrarian crime and nothing else. It was intolerable that because during a year and a half it had suited certain politicians to support a Government they had formerly opposed, every future Administration was to be left perfectly helpless in the face of even the most outrageous attempts to produce disorder in the west and south of Ireland. The bill went into committee but was not proceeded with, ostensibly because no time could be found for it; but the neglect of the Government to provide the necessary facilities was a subject of frequent complaint on the part of the Irish members.

The Government were apparently anxious to get their principal bills brought in, and if possible read a second time, before the Whitsuntide adjournment, for it was obvious that after Whitsuntide the discussions in committee on the Finance Bill might leave the House little time for other business. The Registration Bill had encountered no difficulty on its introduction, but it had only been read a first time, and the Welsh Disestablishment Bill and the Evicted Tenants Bill had yet to be brought in. There was a rivalry between these measures which the promoters of each kept up with some bitterness.

The Irish party were unwilling to let the Welsh party have an advantage that was denied to themselves, and the Welsh members refused to yield any prior right to the Irish members. The Evicted Tenants Bill, however, was introduced a week in advance of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, though upon the understanding that the two bills should in their subsequent stages run *pari passu*. In moving for leave to bring in the first-named bill (April 19), Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) explained that the foundation of its proposals was the institution of a board of three arbitrators for a term of two years, who would be a neutral body to which both landlords and tenants could have recourse in order to effect an arrangement. In the case of holdings still in the occupation of the landlords within one year from the passing of the act, any tenant evicted from his holding since 1879 might petition the arbitrators to be reinstated. If satisfied that he had made out a *prima facie* case, the arbitrators might make a conditional order for reinstatement, which, after hearing both parties, they might make absolute. The reinstated tenant would go back provisionally at the old rent, which would ultimately be transformed into a fair rent after investigation either by the Land Commission or by the arbitrators. The arbitrators might direct payment to the landlord of arrears and costs not exceeding two years of the old rent, and might make a free grant of half that sum out of money to be placed at their disposal by Parliament, the other half being secured or paid by the tenant. It was proposed that the landlord, if he liked, might require the petitioner to purchase instead of being taken back as a tenant. The arbitrators would be empowered to advance to a reinstated tenant whose house had been destroyed a sum of not more than 50*l.* for erecting a dwelling. With regard to holdings in the occupation of new tenants who had a substantial interest in them, notice of the petition for reinstatement would have to be served upon the new tenant, and if he objected that would be an absolute block to the proceedings. If, however, he did not object, the arbitrators would determine what compensation was to be paid to the occupying tenant for disturbance, and might advance one half of that sum, the other half being paid by the incoming tenant. It was proposed that 100,000*l.* should be charged upon the Irish Church Temporalities Fund for the purposes of the bill, and the only charge which would fall upon the taxpayer in connection with the operation of the bill would be for the salaries and staff of the arbitrators. The advances for purchase would be made in the ordinary way out of the money placed by Parliament at the disposal of the Land Commission.

The bill was received with an "open mind" by Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), who nevertheless sharply criticised its proposals. He pointed out the difficulty that would arise if the reinstated tenant proved to be insolvent, and the intimidation and risk to which the bill would subject an occupying tenant

who refused to quit, while he strongly objected to the appropriation of public funds to the needs of a political party. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) also dwelt on these points in a fair but decidedly adverse speech. Among Unionists Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*) was the only member who gave the bill a favourable reception. Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) and Mr. Sexton (*Kerry, N.*) received it with an almost gushing fervour of approval. The Parnellites, on the other hand, roundly denounced it. Mr. Harrington (*Dublin Harbour*) said that it would lead to "disorder, contention, strife and agitation"—worse than anything Mr. Morley had yet seen in Ireland. Such a settlement was merely "tinkering with the question, and giving an additional incentive to crime, outrage and disorder." The bill was read a first time.

An evening sitting (April 20) was spent over an attempt made by certain Radical members to put an end to the annuity paid to the Duke of Coburg. Mr. A. C. Morton (*Peterborough*) moved a reduction, declaring that as the recipient of the annuity had become the Sovereign of a foreign State it ought no longer to be paid to him, and Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) seconded the resolution in a speech that was more funny than serious. Mr. Hunter (*Aberdeen, N.*) pointed out that the whole question was whether the House was to violate a contract. After some discussion, Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) strongly opposed the motion, and threw out a sort of half-suggestion, which drew ironical cheers from the Radicals, that the Opposition should help the Government to defeat it. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) made a hearty response to this appeal. To "wrangle over every sixpence that is paid to keep up the dignity of the Crown is to show," he said, "that we are, indeed, what we have often been called, a nation of hucksters and shopkeepers." The resolution was negatived by 298 votes to 67.

An opportunity was found at a Wednesday sitting (April 25) for the second reading of the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, a measure promoted by some of the miners' unions, and for which a strong effort was made to procure the definite support of the Government. The effort was so far successful that a five-line Government whip was issued in favour of the bill, a proceeding against which an indignant protest was made during the debate. Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) declared that the Government were divided in opinion upon the bill, but he was himself a supporter of it. Sir Alfred Hickman (*Wolverhampton, W.*), Sir Joseph Pease (*Barnard Castle, Durham*), and Mr. John Wilson (*Durham, Mid*) strongly opposed the bill, for reasons which they stated with much force; and it was supported by Mr. Roby (*Eccles, Lancashire*), Mr. Keir Hardie (*West Ham, S.*), and others. The second reading was agreed to, after an amendment for the rejection of the bill had been negatived by 281 votes to 194.

The course was now clear for the Welsh Disestablishment

Bill, and in moving for leave to introduce that measure (April 26), Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) said that the twelve Welsh counties constituting the Principality, and the county of Monmouthshire, were the area in which the process of Disestablishment and disendowment contemplated by the bill was to be carried out. Taking the geographical as distinguished from the diocesan boundary, the bill included twelve Welsh parishes in English dioceses, while it transferred to English dioceses fourteen English parishes now included in the Diocese of St. Asaph. The date of Disestablishment was to be January 1, 1896, and during the intervening period provision would be made for carrying on the work of the Church, without, however, creating new vested interests for compensation. On the date mentioned the Church in Wales and Monmouthshire would cease to be established, all rights of patronage would be extinguished, and all ecclesiastical corporations would be dissolved. No Welsh bishops would thereafter be summoned to sit in the House of Lords, and the vacancies thus created would be filled by English bishops. The ecclesiastical law in Wales and Monmouthshire would cease to have effect, and the constitution of convocation would be modified. The bishops, clergy, and laity in Wales would be empowered to hold synods for the government of the Welsh Church, and would be enabled to appoint a representative body to hold property on their behalf. With regard to disendowment, the existing interests of the bishops, incumbents, and other holders of freehold offices would be charged on exclusively Welsh Church property so long as they existed, and when they fell in the whole of the property would be set free for appropriation to purely Welsh purposes. Provision would be made for preserving and safeguarding the corpus of the Church property, so that when the process of disendowment was complete it would pass from the Church to the nation. The bill would authorise the constitution of a board of three commissioners, two of whom would be paid, to superintend and take an active part in the administration of the Church property. At the date of Disestablishment the Welsh Church property in the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners would be vested in this commission, which would be liable to pay all encumbrances upon it. It was proposed that all the churches, except the cathedrals, should on the application of the Church representative body be vested in them by the commissioners subject to all existing public and private rights, and to the active use and enjoyment attaching thereto. The cathedrals would be treated as national monuments vested in and maintained by the commissioners, who, on the request of the Church representative body, would permit the buildings to be used for Divine service. Movable chattels would be vested in the representative body, as also would the parsonage houses; and private benefactions made since the year 1703 would be handed over to the representative body. Burial grounds in rural

parishes would be vested in the Parish Council or in the chairman and overseers of the parish, and in urban parishes in the Town or District Council. Tithe rent-charge would be vested in the County Council of the county within which the lands from which it arose were situate. Wherever any person—clergyman or layman—at present enjoyed a freehold office in the Church in consideration of the performance of service or duty, he would be placed pecuniarily in the same position after Disestablishment as he had occupied before Parliament made this change; but his emoluments would be conditional upon his performing the duties to which they were attached. He would no longer collect the tithe rent-charge, but would receive from the commissioners the net proceeds, less the cost of collection, which would be performed by the County Council, who would have the ultimate reversion. Provision was made for a compensation annuity on a reduced scale for holders of freeholds who, with the consent of the Church body, wished to be relieved from the obligation of performing the duties attached to their offices. The bill recognised no vested right on the part of curates to compensation, and it proposed to compensate private owners of patronage in exact accordance with the precedent of the Scotch Church Patronage Abolition Act of 1874. The ultimate application, subject to all existing interests, of the funds which would be placed at the disposal of the Welsh people would be for the erection or support of hospitals, dispensaries, or convalescent homes, the provision of trained nurses for the sick poor, the foundation and maintenance of public, parish, or district halls, institutes and libraries, the provision of labourers' dwellings and allotments, technical and higher education, including the establishment and maintenance of a national library and museum or gallery of art, and other public objects for which provision had not been made by statute out of public rates. In the case of the parochial portion of the fund, the property would be applied under schemes to be made by the County Councils, and approved by the commissioners, the interest of the particular parish being primarily considered, while the administration of the central fund derived from the episcopal and capitular revenues would remain in the hands of the commissioners themselves.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (*Bristol, W.*) made the first sign from the Opposition benches. He asked why the Government last session brought in a Suspensory Bill, and now a Disestablishment and Disendowment Bill. He did not think it was from fear of the revolt of the Welsh members, whose loud talk was never followed by deeds, but it was because Mr. Gladstone, who was an attached member of the Church, and who had always resisted this policy, was no longer a member of the Government. They had now a Prime Minister who "cared for none of these things," and who was ready to support an Established Church in any part of the United Kingdom, or

several Established Churches, or to do without any Established Church at all, but who had "a holy horror" of an Established Church whose members voted against his political opinions. Moreover, they had in the present leader of the House of Commons one who had said that "he must indeed be a purblind politician who could not see that in the event of Disestablishment the residuary legatee would be the Church of Rome." Sir Michael went on to decry the right of the State to take away that which the State had never bestowed, and which could not be devoted to any better purpose than that to which it was put at present. Disendowment in such a case spelt "plunder and sacrilege." It was a matter which related, not to Wales alone, but to the whole of the Church of England. He denied that Wales had any right to be treated as a separate nationality, and said that the way in which the Church property was to be applied under the bill would amount to "a mere waste and squandering of the funds," on a plan which would be worked by a "system of jobbery and favouritism." Sir George Osborne Morgan (*Denbighshire, E.*) supported the bill, and speeches from other members followed on both sides, after which the debate was adjourned.

On its resumption (April 30) Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon District*) protested against the compensation clauses, as their effect, he contended, would be to postpone for a generation the benefits of the bill. In an endeavour to prove the existence of a distinct Welsh nationality, he remarked that an Act of Union had been passed between England and Wales. Sir Richard Webster (*Isle of Wight*) quietly asked him for the date, and Mr. Lloyd-George replied, "Oh, certainly. It was passed in the reign of Henry VIII." This singular statement enabled Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) to pour ridicule on Mr. Lloyd-George's version of history. Premising that he had never before heard of such an Act of Union—indeed, he remembered that Mr. Gladstone had told the House that any distinction between England and Wales was "totally unknown to the Constitution"—he went on to say that he had, perhaps, some inkling of what was in Mr. Lloyd-George's mind. A friend had been looking up the facts for him, and had found the supposed Act of Union. It set out with the assertion that the "liberty and dominion of the Principality and country of Wales justly and righteously is and ever hath been incorporated, annexed, united, subject to, and under the imperial crown of this realm," and it went on to point out that "the people of the said dominion have, and do daily use, a speech nothing like nor consistent to the mother-tongue used in this country," but, "because some rude and ignorant people have made distinction and diversity between the King's subjects of this realm and the subjects of the said dominion," his Highness, "of his singular love, zeal, and affection," desired to "extirp all and singular" Welsh "usages and customs," and to bring about

“amicable concord and unity.” The effect produced upon the House by the reading of these choice passages was remarkable. The whole House gave way to an uncontrolled fit of laughter. But Mr. Balfour proceeded to review the proposals of the bill in an entirely serious vein. He maintained that no case had been or could be made out against the Church in Wales, and that the only reason for the policy of the Government was the necessity for securing votes. He could not say how the battle of Disestablishment would end; but if the Church was to be defeated, he would “rather perish with the man who lost than triumph with him who won.” The debate dragged on for some hours without developing any new feature of interest, and the bill was ultimately read a first time. It did not get beyond this initiatory stage. A month before the session came to an end the Government gave up all hope of proceeding with it and withdrew it.

The House of Commons now returned to the Registration Bill, giving a little attention by the way to such measures as Mr. Provand's Shop Hours Act Amendment Bill and Mr. Bartley's Church Patronage Bill, neither of which became law. On the motion for the second reading of the Registration Bill (May 1), Sir Edward Clarke (*Plymouth*) moved an amendment declaring that the House declined “to proceed further with a bill containing provisions effecting extensive changes in the representative system of the country, in the absence of proposals for the redress of the large inequalities existing in the distribution of electoral power.” He showed the unfairness of the bill in many of its provisions, and he especially complained of its attempt to readjust minor points while completely ignoring the necessity for getting rid of the great over-representation of Ireland. He pointed out, moreover, that the bill would so largely increase the cost of elections, that no one for the future could become a Parliamentary candidate who was not wealthy, or who was not prepared to “become the slave of a political organisation.” The debate was continued through the sitting, the bill being analysed and criticised by friendly and unfriendly critics from every point of view, though in a somewhat spiritless fashion. It was resumed two days later (May 3), when Sir Henry James (*Bury*) said he should give the most strenuous opposition in his power to the bill. It was not a Registration Bill at all, but a bill to undo all that had been done to secure the free record of electoral opinion, less expenditure at elections, uncorrupted voting, and the supplanting of the old political agency which used to affect elections. The bill would greatly increase the expenses of every candidate. A power of manipulation would be brought into play that would be utterly destructive of the freedom of election. The real authors of the bill were the Liberal election agents. The double revision would increase the cost of elections for the benefit of these persons. The provision as to lodgers had been

dropped, because in the main the lodger gave a Conservative vote. Indeed, the bill was expressly designed to weaken the opponents of the Government and to strengthen their supporters, and such action was "contrary to the rule of public honour" that was supposed to control English statesmen. It was a disfranchising bill of the most acute kind, and for the future it would be "a question not of the best horse, but of the best jockey winning." The Government ought at least to be careful that they did not "disfranchise all that was stable, and enfranchise all that was shifting." That would be the effect of the bill. So long as the middle class supported the Liberal party no attempt was made to wound it; but since 1886 the middle class had been drifting away from the Gladstonians, and now the Government were trying to destroy the middle class. Mr. Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) replied to Sir Henry James in a bitter and rather personal speech, and complained that he had attributed motives to the Government. He said that the bill was neither a disfranchising nor an enfranchising bill, and met the suggestion for a redistribution of seats by the remark that it would be absurd to take any action of that kind until it was known how many electors would be added to the register.

On the last night of the debate (May 4) Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) delivered a long and vigorous speech against the bill. He characterised Mr. Fowler's answer to Sir Henry James as a very inadequate one, but he admitted that the state of the register was "a scandal," and that it was the duty of any Government to amend it. The mistake was that the Government had approached the subject in a partisan spirit, and solely with a view to party interest and party supremacy. The bill would do all it could to prevent poor men from entering the House, and the best men would also be stopped—those men who went into Parliament because they honestly desired to do public work, but who resented the imposition of an unnecessary and extortionate charge. Mr. Chamberlain also objected to there being only one polling day, and that a Saturday, because it would largely affect the votes of the Jews, small shopkeepers, and others. He preferred a six months' qualification to one of three months. Like Sir Henry James, he protested against the way in which lodgers were treated, and he said that the abolition of the ratepaying condition would favour "the wastrel, the ne'er-do-well, the profligate, and the drunkard." He complained of the way in which the plural vote was treated, for it "raised the manipulation of political elections into a fine art"; and he charged the Government with refusing to redress the over-representation of Ireland, because they knew that if they did redress it they would be "committing suicide." Finally, he objected to the bill because, in anticipation of a general election, it was "an attempt to pack the jury of the nation." Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*), in replying upon the whole debate, taunted Sir Henry James



with attempting, in his manner, tone, and language, a combination, and not a felicitous one, of the bar, the stage, and the pulpit. He grew indignant over the arguments with which the bill had been opposed, and denied that the registration could be simplified without introducing manhood suffrage. He defended the proposal for a double revision, and the limitation of elections to one day. The abolition of plural voting he held to be just and necessary, and in summing up the case for the bill, he declared it to be "perfectly straightforward in its nature." Sir Edward Clarke's amendment was rejected by 292 votes against 278, the Government majority having dropped to 14, a result that was greeted with loud Opposition cheers. After this division the second reading was agreed to.

The last business which occupied the House of Commons before Whitsuntide was the second reading of the Finance Bill. The second reading was formally moved by Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), and Mr. J. Grant Lawson (*Thirsk and Malton, Yorkshire*) moved its postponement for six months (May 7). A long and dry debate followed, which travelled over objections to the proposals of the budget that had become familiar, and defences of those proposals that had become stereotyped. On the second night of the debate (May 8), Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) argued that a reckless resort to the income-tax in every emergency was bad financial policy. As regarded the death duties, he protested against the enormously high scale on which they were based—a scale which, he feared, would encourage wholesale attempts at evasion. He thought that whatever might be the inequalities between realty and personalty in regard to taxation, a period of agricultural depression was not a time at which to place heavier burdens on landed property. Mr. Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) defended the proposals of the bill as both imperative and just. Again a long further discussion followed without eliciting anything new.

After another wearisome discussion on the third night of the debate (May 10), Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) summarised the objections to the bill in an effective speech. He held that the treatment of brewers and publicans was unjust. With regard to the graduation and equalisation of the death duties, he declared that this particular scheme would be inconvenient in the highest degree to the Treasury, to the community and the individual, while as a mode of taxation it was arbitrary, unjust, and unsound. The bill could not possibly be carried through committee unless they were prepared to break existing settlements, and he pointed out that in many cases the effect of this would be highly prejudicial to the public and even to national interests. Referring next to the proposed method of estimating value on the capital amount, he said that they were at present governed by inspectors, and he objected to be governed by valuers. In the result a good landlord would be penalised, and a bad one would be left comparatively free

from taxation. Graduation might be the greatest discovery of the age, but it ought to be applied to property while its owners were still alive. The greatest blot in the budget was the pretension of its author that he had done away with the existing inequalities of taxation, whereas he had altogether refused to recognise that realty already bore a share of the public burdens far in excess of anything that equity could require. In his reply, Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) said that his proposals for a beer and liquor tax had been submitted, not on social grounds, but exclusively on fiscal grounds. The publicans, indignant as they were, had stated that the trade would not suffer at all, inasmuch as they were well able to take care of themselves. The landed interest had come forward to insist upon their privileged exemption from taxation. At present realty formed one-fifth of the total capital of the country, and paid one-tenth of the death duties; whereas, under the scheme of the Government it would pay a little less than one-fifth. The ground of the objection of the landowners was that they bore the burden of the local rates, but their grievance in that respect had been redressed by the large subsidies granted in aid of local rates by the late Government. It was true that land had fallen in value, but it was on the diminished value alone that the taxation would fall. The Government affirmed that the powerful and wealthy liquor interest should make a further contribution to the taxation of the country; that for the purposes of the death duties realty and personalty should be treated alike; that under a moderate system of graduation immense wealth should pay at a higher rate than small fortunes; and that if great public expenditure required a high income-tax, the burden should fall more lightly on the humble individual. The amendment was negatived by 308 votes to 294, the Government majority being again only 14. The second reading was then agreed to, and the House adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess.

Very little business was transacted in the House of Lords in the first months of the session. The Lord Chancellor introduced a Land Transfer Bill identical in its main features with the bill of 1893, and it was read a second time (April 24), but it made no further progress. The Lord Chancellor also introduced a bill to amend the law of inheritance to real property. The bill provided that if a person died intestate the disposition of his property made by the law should be exactly the same whether it consisted of realty or of personalty. The rejection of the bill was moved on the question of the second reading by the Duke of Norfolk (April 26). Lord Salisbury opposed the bill on the ground that it might have disastrous consequences in the case of the uneducated whom Parliament had lately placed in a position to acquire real property. The second reading was defeated by 63 votes to 52. A bill to regulate the sale of pistols was promoted in the House of Lords

early in the session, and ultimately passed by both Houses. The House of Lords also discussed the question of agrarian crime in Ireland (April 27), and the unsatisfactory condition of the Navy (May 7).

Those of Lord Rosebery's critics who discovered a marked opportunism in his speeches after he became Prime Minister, found much of that quality in his speech at the City Liberal Club (April 24). The club is divided between Gladstonians and Liberal Unionists, and Lord Rosebery made an ingenious attempt to reconcile the two parties. He traced the break-up of the old Liberal party back to the Reform Bill of 1885, rather than to the Home Rule Bill of 1886, and argued that a policy of reform always involved the loss of supporters. But the period of "liberation" had practically passed away, because liberation was accomplished, and they had before them an era of reconstruction. For the work of reconstruction, he ventured to hope that many would lend a hand "who have felt alienated from the Liberal party in the course of what we believe to have been an era of liberation." In discussing the prospects of reunion, he expressed his belief "that even with regard to the Irish question time will settle many differences." "I do not ask you to say," he remarked shortly afterwards, "that any change has taken place in the political situation that can justify those of you who held aloof in 1886 not holding aloof in 1894; but I would ask you to consider whether it is worth while on that Irish question which, like all great questions in this happy country, is sure to be settled sooner or later by the universal good sense of the people—whether it is worth while to hold aloof from that party which, after all, has the copyright and the title deeds to the name of Liberal." This was a bold and clever bid for Liberal Unionist support, and the more bold and clever because Lord Rosebery frankly threw over the Liberal Unionist leaders, and addressed himself to those who had not been, and were never likely to be, "sworn of the Privy Council." But the speech probably detached more support than it attracted. It was so palpably opportunist that it rearoused the suspicions of the Irish party, and serious politicians on all sides shook their heads over it.

A few days later, at Manchester (May 2), Lord Rosebery recurred to his theory that the split in the Liberal party was traceable to the Reform Bill of 1885, and he also returned to the Irish question. But the pendulum had now swung back to the definite Home Rule point, and he spoke as decisively as he had ever done in favour of the policy represented by the Home Rule Bill. He took occasion in this speech to deprecate the widening division between the Labour party and the Liberal party. "I am quite aware," he said, "that Liberal associations in many districts are by no means so representative of the Liberalism of the district as they should be; but that is a matter which the Labour party can remedy for them-

selves. They can easily obtain in these Liberal associations such fair control as is their just due, and it is, if I may venture to say so, in that direction, and not in an independent organisation, which can only serve the cause of the enemy, that their best hopes must lie." The tone of the speech was not a cheerful one, but the Prime Minister spoke of the budget as though that, at all events, was a bright spot in the political prospect, and he acknowledged that the budget had "lifted Sir William Harcourt at a single bound to the front rank of the financiers of the country."

On the following day (May 3) Lord Salisbury addressed a great Unionist meeting at Trowbridge. The neighbourhood was an agricultural one, and Lord Salisbury's first remarks had reference to the prevailing agricultural depression. He admitted that free trade must be the policy of the country. Nevertheless, free trade had ruined the agricultural interest, and it was to be regretted that when the Corn Laws were repealed the land was not freed from some of the special burdens that it bore. Lord Salisbury then went on to complain that the new death duties would aggravate the difficulties of agriculture. What every class of the agricultural population wanted was that money should be freely invested in the land, and this was not possible under a system that would drive capital into other directions, and out of the country.

Presiding at a meeting of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association (May 3), Mr. Chamberlain said that they could no longer look to Lord Rosebery as the man who was to reunite the Liberal party. By way of showing that the Liberal Unionist party did not seek reunion, and that they had a well-defined policy of their own, he formulated in outline a Unionist programme. Premising that he was not giving a complete list of the reforms they had in view, he laid it down that one of their first duties would be to restore to England her due position in the great partnership of the United Kingdom. England ought, merely on the population returns, to have twenty-seven more members in the House of Commons, and the three other nationalities twenty-seven less. On the basis of taxation these figures would be enormously increased. Then there was the question of maintaining the secrecy of the ballot. Under the law which allowed illiterates to have their votes marked for them, nearly a third, he believed, of the voters in Ireland had declared themselves illiterates, not because they were really so, but in order that their votes might be given openly, and that those who put pressure on them might know that they voted according to the desire of their ecclesiastical and political organisation. "My opinion," Mr. Chamberlain said, "is that if there are any people so grossly ignorant, so utterly stupid that they cannot even make a cross upon a ballot-paper, they are not capable citizens, and that they ought not to be allowed to

vote and to swamp the votes of intelligent and self-respecting men." Turning from electoral to social reforms, in the first place he wanted the Unionist party to settle once for all the question of employers' liability, and that on the basis of compensation to every man for every accident. He thought it also very desirable that something should be done to improve the character of the working man's home, nor did he think any better way could be found to secure that object than by giving to all the working men of this country facilities for acquiring their own houses. Lastly, he would give facilities to all men and all women to make provision against their old age. The prime necessity of the case was to make a distinction between the deserving poor and the ne'er-do-well, and he hoped that in this connection it might be possible to strengthen the friendly societies.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association (May 4), Mr. Balfour expressed a humorous sympathy with the Prime Minister in his difficulties. When Lord Rosebery came into power "he found himself," said Mr. Balfour, "divided from many old friends and old colleagues by an apparently impassable stream. I gather that at one moment he had some thoughts of crossing that stream himself, and rejoining his friends who sat upon the other bank. He put in one hesitating foot, to find the water cold, and he drew it back and sat down shivering on the brink. Since then he appears to have been largely occupied in beckoning over to his own side of the river those whom he wishes to rejoin him, but to whom he is not ready to pay the price." Towards the close of an animated speech Mr. Balfour warned his hearers against a spirit which called itself by the honourable name of national, but was in truth the mere caricature of nationality. They must not be satisfied with defeating any particular scheme of Home Rule: "It is our business, the business of every one of us here, and, most of all, the business of every Scotchman, Welshman and Irishman, while giving full play to all that is just and noble and righteous in the idea of nationality, to see that it is not made the cloak for envy, for separation, for disintegration, for the gradual weakening of the bonds of fellowship between us."

The bye-election in South Hackney, rendered necessary by Sir Charles Russell's retirement on becoming a Lord of Appeal, did not go well for the Government. The seat was carried by their candidate, Mr. J. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C. (May 7), though with a majority of 192 only, as compared with Sir Charles Russell's majority of 1,146 in 1892.

The National Liberal Club, always active on aggressive party lines, organised "a political reception and *conversazione*," "to meet the members of her Majesty's Government" (May 9). The time was opportune for a beating of party drums, both because the budget seemed likely to be a Radical success, and

because the small Government majority in the House of Commons stood in need of some encouragement. Arrangements were made for the delivery of speeches, but, as described by Lord Rosebery, they were "of so arduous and complicated a nature" that he scarcely knew when or where he was to speak. As a matter of fact he spoke twice, in different rooms, the burden of his observations being that his hearers were to keep up their spirits, for the Government intended to go on, even if they had a majority of only two. Sir William Harcourt did his best to clench this counsel by declaring that he thought political crises were capital things, and that he had never been the worse for one.

### CHAPTER III.

Business in Parliament after Whitsuntide—Scotch Local Government Bill—Prevention of Cruelty to Children Bill—The Finance Bill—Mr. Morley at Newcastle—Lord Rosebery's Visit to Birmingham—Mr. Chamberlain's Reply to the Prime Minister—The Duke of Devonshire on the Budget—The Leeds Conference—Speeches by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Morley—Mr. Gladstone's Retirement from Parliament—Liberal Banquet to Sir William Harcourt—The Aliens Bill—The Evicted Tenants Bill—The Miners' Eight Hours Bill—The Irish Party and the House of Lords, etc.

MEMBERS of the House of Commons showed no eagerness to return to their Parliamentary duties on the reassembling of the House after the Whitsuntide recess (May 21). Only a very small number put in an appearance on the first day, when some important Civil Service votes in Supply were taken. The second reading of the Scotch Local Government Bill (May 22) had no attraction for any but Scotch members, who for once were allowed to enjoy the sensation of being a Home Rule Parliament for Scotland. Their discussion of the bill was critical and business-like but scarcely interesting. Even the best friends of the bill found serious fault with it in more than one respect. The proposal to abolish the standing joint committees, to hand over the control of the police and of capital expenditure to the County Councils, and to swamp the rate-payers by people who pay no rates, received some rough handling. But the principle of the bill was generally supported, and the second reading was agreed to. A Wednesday sitting (May 23) was given to the committee stage of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Bill, when several fussy amendments were moved by Mr. Hopwood (*Middleton, Lancashire*) and negatived, and the bill was reported. The bill came up again on report on the following Wednesday (May 30), and would then have been read a third time had not the Irish members wanted to secure the sitting for the consideration in committee of Colonel Nolan's bill to repeal the Crimes Act. As this was not practicable the Irish members were resolved that nothing should be done, and

Mr. T. Healy (*Louth, N.*) spoke in opposition to the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Bill until the hour for concluding the sitting. Fortunately an opportunity was found a few days later (June 6) for proceeding with the bill, and it was then read a third time. Its progress through the House of Lords was unopposed and it received the royal assent in due course.

After a personal explanation from Mr. Mundella (*Brightside, Sheffield*) of his reasons for resigning the presidency of the Board of Trade, to which the House gave a sympathetic hearing, the Finance Bill was reached (May 24). On the order for going into committee upon it Sir John Lubbock (*London University*) moved an instruction to the committee to divide the bill into two parts, and in the first place to report to the House on the portion relating to Customs and Inland Revenue. In supporting the motion, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) opposed, Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) declared that there was no precedent for the present bill since 1787, and reminded the House that Sir William Harcourt himself introduced separate bills in 1885 and 1886. The instruction, however, was negatived by a majority of 40, and after two other instructions had been ruled out of order the House went into committee. An angry discussion arose almost immediately, and Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) moved to report progress on the ground that it was impossible to go on until the committee were made acquainted with the form in which the Government proposed to amend the Ways and Means resolution on which clause 15 was based. Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) denounced this proceeding as a device to waste time. Ultimately the motion to report progress was negatived by a majority of 44. Several amendments were then discussed and defeated, the Government majorities ranging from 36 to 31. The morning sitting on the following day (May 25) was given up to the discussion of a vote on account of nearly 5,000,000*l.* for two months' supplies. At the evening sitting a resolution declaring that returning officers' expenses, and all other official charges in connection with Parliamentary expenses, should be thrown upon the rates of the various localities and not upon the Consolidated Fund, was carried by 166 votes against 39.

The consideration of the Finance Bill in committee was then proceeded with for two consecutive days. Mr. Heneage (*Grimsby*) moved to omit the expression "the principal value" of property as constituting the basis of the new estate duty (May 28). The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) said that the taxation of the principal value was one of the fundamental objects of the bill. When clause 6 was reached he would be willing to consider what were the proper methods of arriving at the principal value. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) complained that the bill introduced an unjust system, by requiring a man to pay, not upon the value of the interest to which he succeeded, but upon the capital value of an estate irrespective of the amount of his

interest in it. Mr. Heneage's amendment was withdrawn, and another, for the omission of the word "principal" only, substituted for it, but the substituted amendment was defeated by a majority of 27. An amendment providing that the estate duty should be paid upon the principal value of the benefit accruing to any person, and not upon the principal value of the whole estate, was moved (May 29) by Sir Richard Webster (*Isle of Wight*), and the subject was again fully discussed. In the course of the discussion Sir William Harcourt said that the amendment would destroy the additional taxation required to meet the additional public expenditure. He contended that the State had the first claim upon all estates passing by death, and that legatees could not be robbed of that which they had never owned. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) held that this doctrine was not justified either by the law of nature or by the feudal system. Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*), on the other hand, expressed his approval of the principles of the budget, though he did not endorse the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Richard Webster's amendment was defeated by a majority of 32.

Three sittings had now been spent on the Finance Bill in committee, but, though the Government had maintained their ground in every respect with more or less favourable majorities, the actual progress made was very small. There was a wish in every part of the House that the session, which was practically a continuation of the long session of 1893-4, should be a short one; but it was obvious that if that wish was to be realised the Government must at once take the whole time of the House. When, therefore (May 31), Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) in a very moderate speech proposed to appropriate every sitting for Government business there was no serious opposition to the proposal. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) suggested that instead of asking for the whole time of the House for all purposes, the Government should only ask for it for the Finance Bill and Supply. Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) asked for pledges to ensure the future progress of the Evicted Tenants Bill and the bill repealing the Crimes Act. Other members pleaded for other measures, but Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) remarked that if the House were to sit until all the bills for which pledges had been given were disposed of it would probably have to sit into the next century. Still, if the Government were going to take the whole time of the House they ought at least to say what they were going to do with it. Sir William Harcourt, however, declined to be drawn, and an amendment moved by Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) restricting the facilities to be given to financial business until the Government stated what bills they intended to proceed with was negatived by a majority of 25. After this the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was carried by a majority of 17. The rest of the sitting was occupied in committee on the



Finance Bill, several amendments being negatived without a division and none agreed to.

Mr. Morley, whose platform addresses at this time were more numerous and perhaps more effective than those of any other member of the Government in the House of Commons, delivered a vigorous speech, of the fighting order, at Newcastle, on the same day that Parliament reassembled (May 21). He pointed out that whether the House of Lords were or were not useful as a revising chamber, it could not in the last resort do very much through having practically lost the power to interfere with taxation. Recognising, no doubt, as soon as he had spoken, that the argument was double-edged, he went on to say there would have to be some definite attempt to carry out a suggestion of Mr. Bright's at the Leeds Conference of 1883 for strictly limiting the veto of the Upper House. Passing to the question of "obstruction," he said that he was proud to find that in the past session he had moved the closure between twenty and twenty-five times—a great deal more than any other minister—and he expected to see the time come when the closure would be moved at least once every day, and possibly twice. As to Irish administration, he would have none of Mr. Courtney's compliments to the effect that he was governing as a Unionist minister might. For one thing he had not resorted to coercion; which, if it was to be limited to a sentence, meant the withdrawal of the right of trial by jury in the class of cases which it was most important should be so tried. Of 2,805 convictions under the Crimes Act, about 1,440 were obtained without a jury. Since he had held the Chief Secretaryship not a man had been tried under the Crimes Act. With regard to the Registration Bill, to which the Newcastle Liberal Association had taken some exception, he said that as to some of the points of the bill the Government would defer to the judgment and experience of the House as a whole. He strongly advocated a second ballot, and hinted, without committing himself to any definite promise, that the question of the franchise could only be settled in the end by the grant of universal suffrage. Having defended the Welsh Disestablishment Bill and the budget proposals, Mr. Morley concluded his speech with an appeal to the Independent Labour party. He said that it was insanity and suicide for special representatives of labour to make war on the Liberal party. He declared, however, that he had faith in the prudence and self-restraint of the English democracy, which he extolled as superior in these respects to any industrial population on the face of the globe.

Lord Rosebery's visit to Birmingham (May 23), in connection with the founding of a Liberal Federation for the Midlands, was an event of special interest for two reasons. A conference of the National Liberal Federation had already been arranged to be held at Leeds, for dealing with the question of the House of Lords, and it was expected that Lord Rosebery

would make some definite pronouncement on this subject. The other reason for the special interest alluded to was the fact that Birmingham was the constituency of Mr. Chamberlain—who in a recent speech had challenged Lord Rosebery to say whether he was really in favour of Home Rule—and the centre of Liberal Unionism. The expectation that the Prime Minister would supply any suggestions for the guidance of the Leeds Conference was doomed to disappointment. He welcomed the conference, but disclaimed any knowledge of its object beyond that which he had gathered from the newspapers. It was “a spontaneous movement.” The “guidance” was to come, not from the Government, but from the followers of the Government. Ministers wanted “the guidance and the inspiration of the Liberalism of the country” in dealing with the House of Lords, and Lord Rosebery ventured to think that the conference would not separate without having pronounced emphatically for a considerable limitation of the powers of the Peers—which would be a good thing for the Peers themselves if their House was “to continue in any form whatever.” Lord Rosebery devoted a considerable part of his speech to an attack on Mr. Chamberlain, whose challenge he resented as “in the nature of a direct insult.” Obviously, as a member of the Cabinet which introduced the bill of 1893, he must be in favour of Home Rule and in favour of that particular bill. He endeavoured to show Mr. Chamberlain’s inconsistency on five test questions, namely, the Church, the House of Lords, the Budget, “One Man One Vote,” and the Local Veto Bill. On all these questions, according to the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain formerly held the views then held by the Liberal party—but Mr. Chamberlain’s Liberalism was vanishing, though his zeal for the Union was not above suspicion. Lord Rosebery dealt briefly with other political topics. He regretted that the Registration Bill was not a more comprehensive measure, but valuable provisions were omitted from the fear of overloading the bill. He admitted that he was not “a fanatic in temperance reform,” but if they did not control the liquor traffic the liquor traffic would control the State.

The *Birmingham Daily Post* of the following day (May 24) answered Lord Rosebery’s attack on Mr. Chamberlain by pointing out that there was a difference between supporting measures introduced for their own sake, and supporting the same or similar measures when they were introduced as a means to Home Rule, or for the purpose of keeping in power a Government committed to Home Rule. Lord Rosebery made a rejoinder to this reply in a speech at a public breakfast (May 24). He declared that the measures of the Government had been proposed, and would be proceeded with, for their own sake, and without reference to any other object than was manifest upon the face of them. But the fact that he reiterated

his adhesion to Home Rule was an admission of one of the main points of Mr. Chamberlain's position.

Addressing a Unionist meeting at Southampton (May 25), the Duke of Devonshire pressed upon his audience the anomalous character of the position in which the Government had placed themselves by making a great stand on a point of policy—Irish Home Rule—on which they deliberately refused to appeal to the country. What, he asked, would Lord Grey and Lord John Russell have thought, at the time of the first great Reform Bill, of putting up with a great defeat by the House of Lords, and quietly proceeding to place a number of other measures before the country in the hope of overcoming the reluctance that the constituencies felt to insist on the House of Lords withdrawing its opposition? What would Sir Robert Peel have thought of putting up with a rejection of the free trade policy by the House of Lords, and quietly going on to another series of measures, by the help of which he hoped to conquer the indifference of the country to free trade? Yet Lord Rosebery had admitted that the Government hoped, by the help of these other measures, to win over the country to accept Irish Home Rule less for its own sake than for the sake of the policy with which it was to be associated. That was not the kind of public opinion to which a House of Lords, convinced in its own mind that Irish Home Rule would be injurious, could be expected to yield. Criticising the budget, the duke admitted that there were inequalities in our system of taxation which ought to be redressed. But he did not think Sir William Harcourt's supporters quite realised who, in the end, would be most affected by his proposals. "It is admitted they will cause a large diminution in the fortunes and the incomes of many people in the future, and that that will cause a consequent reduction of expenditure of one kind or another. Now by far the larger part of the expenditure of the rich takes the form in some shape or another of the payment of wages, and a reduction of expenditure must mean in some form or another a cessation of the payment of wages, and the effect of a change, which to the possessor himself may involve nothing but some change in his mode of life, some reduction of his expenditure for productive or unproductive purposes, may involve, to hundreds of other persons more or less dependent upon that expenditure, the loss not merely of a portion, but of the whole of their means of subsistence."

The promised agitation against the House of Lords suggested to Lord Salisbury a very happy ground of congratulation to the Gladstonian party. That party, he said, speaking at a banquet given by the Grocers' Company (May 29), had discovered a promise which it was not necessary, because it was not possible, to fulfil, but which could be renewed from year to year without there being any prospect at all of losing the advantage of it by its passing from a promise into a performance.

In discovering such a promise as that, politicians had practically found the philosopher's stone. He did not pretend that the House of Lords could oppose a bulwark to a popular passion. That could only be done by such a deliberate reference to the will of the people as the Swiss and the American Union had each introduced into their constitution when there was any doubt as to what the will of the people was. Lord Salisbury declared that he would welcome a reform of this kind as supplying a constitutional court of appeal for the country. But the House of Lords could be very useful in defeating the manœuvres and intrigues of different groups of politicians, when the Government of the day played the merchant in legislative measures, and bought support by selling parcels of such measures to the various sections of their followers.

When the consideration of the Finance Bill in committee was resumed (June 4) it was continued as nearly *de die in diem* as circumstances permitted, until the task was completed. It was a long task, for the bill did not emerge from committee until July 2. Sir William Harcourt was more than once urged by some of his impatient supporters to expedite progress by closing discussion, but he very wisely gave no heed to their counsels. The Government could not have justified the closing of a money bill, nor could they have shown that the bill had been in any way obstructed. Sir William Harcourt preferred to go steadily along, and for the most part to stick to his draft, with all its verbal defects, as being his only way out. He therefore occasionally refused to accept amendments that might have improved the bill, and his party upheld him in these minor things as much as in the more important questions of policy. The principle of graduation was again made the subject of debate (June 4) by an amendment moved by Commander Bethell (*Holderness, Yorkshire*) providing that the new estate duty should be levied under the same conditions and at the same rates as the existing probate and estate duties. But Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) refused to support the amendment, and though Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) declared that he considered the plan of graduation embodied in the budget absurd, he said that he should not vote on the amendment, which was negatived by a majority of 104. A considerable part of two sittings (June 6 and 7) was occupied in discussing an amendment, and several amendments based upon it, moved with the object of relieving from estate duty property passing from a husband to a wife and from a wife to a husband. Sir William Harcourt said that if this relief were given the revenue would be affected to the extent of millions annually, and the principal amendment and the amendments upon it were all rejected. An amendment moved by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (*Bristol, W.*) for the purpose of distinguishing between property passing under a settlement and property passing under a will was also rejected (June 7). The Chancellor of the Exchequer accepted

(June 11) an amendment moved by Mr. Butcher (*York*) providing that if the only life interest in a settled property arising on the death of the deceased owner were that of a husband or wife the further estate duty should not be payable. Among the rejected amendments, few of which it is necessary to indicate, was one moved by Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) requiring the Government to take over part of the property equal in value to the amount of the estate duty when the executor was unable otherwise to satisfy the claim. This amendment was supported by Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), Sir John Lubbock (*London University*), and others, but it was negatived by a majority of 50 (June 14). On the following day an amendment moved by Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*), making an allowance in the estate duty in respect of money received under a policy of life insurance, was negatived by a majority of 35. The Chancellor of the Exchequer accepted an amendment from Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), which provided that the principal value of any property should be estimated to be the price which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, such property would fetch in the open market at the time of the death of the owner. To this amendment was added a proviso that, in the case of any agricultural property, where no part of the principal value was due to the expectation of an increased income from such property, the principal value should not exceed twenty-five times the annual value as assessed under Schedule A of the Income Tax Acts, after making certain deductions (June 15). Some days later (June 21) the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Government would bring in a new clause—similar in effect to an amendment of which Sir Richard Webster (*Isle of Wight*) had given notice—under which any death duty charged in the colonies would be deducted from the charge made in this country. The abatement was not to apply to foreign countries, and would only be allowed to colonies which treated this country on a reciprocal basis. At the same sitting amendments were agreed to by which the duty on small estates under 300*l.* gross value would be 30*s.*, and extending to estates under 500*l.* gross value the present procedure in cases of properties under 300*l.*, and fixing the duties at 50*s.*

Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) availed himself of the discussion on an amendment (June 22)—providing that where, by reason of a second death, the estate duty should become twice chargeable within four years, the second payment should only be one-half of the first—to reply to some observations in a recent speech of the Duke of Devonshire at Buxton (a reference to which appears on a subsequent page). As to the proposal in the amendment, he said that it would be unfair, unless provision were also made for giving the Exchequer some extra benefit when, by reason of an unusually prolonged life, no duty was payable at all for many years. On the points raised in the discussion, as also in the Duke of Devonshire's speech, he

declared that he would never assent to the proposition that a particular class of the community should be exempt from taxation in order that they might be generous and munificent, and while he was glad that people were generous and kept great houses and opened them to their neighbours, he was not willing that that munificence and generosity should be founded upon an exemption from taxation to which other people were liable. The chief danger which threatened the bill consisted in the opposition to the additional beer and spirit duties, but this danger did not prove to be a very serious one. Colonel Lockwood (*Epping, Essex*) moved an amendment reducing the additional beer duty to threepence a barrel (June 26), but after a rather feeble debate it was rejected by 289 to 271. The duty on spirits was passed by a greater majority on the following day, after Dr. Macgregor had objected to the increase on behalf of Scotland and Colonel Nolan on behalf of Ireland. The income-tax clauses were passed without much opposition, and when some new clauses had been added at the instance of the Government the bill was reported as amended (July 2).

The discussion on the report stage occupied six sittings, but the bill was not altered in any material respect. Many of the points raised in committee were again raised on new amendments, but the Government obtained substantial majorities in all the divisions. New clauses and drafting amendments were added at the instance of the Government, and in a few instances the suggestions of members of the Opposition were accepted. In the main, however, the bill went to a third reading unaltered. On the motion for the third reading (July 17) Sir John Lubbock (*London University*) moved the rejection of the bill. He maintained that neither in Adam Smith nor in John Stuart Mill could any justification of the principle of graduated estate duties be discovered, and he argued that in proposing to take so much more than before of the income of the State out of the people's capital the Government were exhausting the springs of wealth, and diminishing the resources out of which labour could be paid. Later in the evening Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) traversed Sir William Harcourt's contention that an heroic budget was necessary. He held that the deficit might have been met without any revolutionary finance. Sound finance, he said, ought to be simple, and Sir William Harcourt's was complicated. It ought to be easy to make out how much of the property a man left behind him would remain after the Government had taken its contribution, but Sir William Harcourt's scheme would leave everybody in doubt as to what would escape the grasp of the Government. Again, sound finance should enrich the Treasury at the smallest cost to the taxpayer, whereas under the budget the Treasury would not get nearly all that the taxpayer lost. While the plan of collection would be found a laborious one, the scheme would work out oppressively, and to the ultimate disadvantage of the State.

All this Sir William Harcourt combated in his reply, in which he gave illustrations of the relief that would be afforded to many over-burdened men. And even the owner of 1,000,000*l.* would only have to pay an additional 1,020*l.* a year, from the age of forty, by way of insurance, to cover the additional duty his estate would have to pay. A man with such a fortune, Sir William Harcourt went on to say—and the allusion was supposed to have an obvious personal significance—would often throw away more money than that in a single afternoon upon “a moderate two-year-old.” The bill was read a third time after Sir John Lubbock’s amendment had been negatived by 283 to 263.

It passed the House of Lords without a division though not without strong protests. On the motion for the second reading (July 26) the Duke of Devonshire contended that the bill would impose upon the rich man, and also on men who were not rich, new burdens that would necessitate their making considerable changes in the objects on which their money was spent, and force them to restrict expenditure which involved the employment of a large amount of labour. Lord Farrer made a moderate and well-conceived reply. He urged the essential justice of treating realty and personalty in the same way, and pointed to the dangerous odium incurred by the maintenance of privilege. The Duke of Argyll opposed the bill, and was followed by the Lord Chancellor, who, in supporting it, contended that the principle of graduation would neither weaken the motives for saving, nor lessen the amount of employment for the people. On the question of a third reading (July 30) Lord Salisbury took exception to the view that the House of Lords could not amend money bills. He held that the only bar to the altering of money bills by the House of Lords was its inability to change the Executive Government, and “to reject a Finance Bill and leave the Executive Government in its place means to create a deadlock from which there is no escape.” “I do not,” he went on to say, “dispute the evidence of the accepted practice that this House should not interfere with the finance of the year, but at the same time I think it very important, in view of the changes which have come over the constitution, the proceedings, and the authority of the House of Commons, that we should rigidly adhere to our legal powers whatever they may be.”

Business in Parliament, other than the Finance Bill, during June and the greater part of July was small in amount and of little interest. A statement was made in identical terms in each House (June 1) as to the course which the Government proposed to adopt in Uganda, and which followed in almost every respect the recommendations of Sir Gerald Portal. Addresses to her Majesty, expressing the deep sorrow and indignation with which each House regarded the assassination of President Carnot, were adopted by both Houses (June 26). A close

division occurred in the House of Lords on the motion for the second reading of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (June 15), the numbers being 120 for the bill and 129 against it.

Addressing a meeting at Bradford, in support of Lord Randolph Churchill's candidature for the central division of the borough (June 2), Mr. Chamberlain replied to Lord Rosebery's attack on him in his recent speech at Birmingham. He admitted that he had in past times attacked the House of Lords, and perhaps in times to come he might once more have to deny the right of the hereditary Chamber to resist the declared will of the great majority of the people. But just now the Peers were defending the rights of the majority of the people of Great Britain. As to other charges of inconsistency brought against him, the Prime Minister had founded his attack upon five extracts from his (Mr. Chamberlain's) speeches and writings. "Of these five extracts," said Mr. Chamberlain, "there are two, and they are the most important, of which I did not write or speak one single line, one single word. They were taken from a book which was called 'The Radical Programme,' and in which I wrote only one page of preface, and in that preface I said that I was not committed to any of the opinions which were expressed by the writers." After retorting the charge of inconsistency on Lord Rosebery, Mr. Chamberlain showed that on the question of Home Rule and other questions the Government were pursuing a policy to which no consent had been given by the country, and he sketched in vigorous outline the policy which he was himself prepared to press upon the Unionist party.

Lord Salisbury also contrasted the policies of the Radical and Unionist parties in a speech at St. James's Hall (June 8). "We desire," he said, "to address ourselves in harmony, in agreement, avoiding every possible cause of distrust or disagreement, to the redress of these evils and the protection of the community from the dangers with which it is threatened; while the Radical party are still harping on their old prescription of taking to pieces one after another the various bits of mechanism of which the machinery of our constitution consists; postponing all operative or effective legislation until the battle which they are perpetually provoking between this class and that has been finally fought out. We do not believe that the salvation of the people is to be worked out by something which apart from bloodshed does not differ from permanent civil war."

One of the most important attacks upon the budget, and one to which Sir William Harcourt incidentally replied in the proceedings in committee, was made by the Duke of Devonshire at Buxton (June 13). Its importance consisted in the personal character of it, for the duke spoke in reference to his own estates and expenditure, and the effect which the budget might



have upon both. "When I tell you," he said, "that in every estate with which I am connected no less than 30 per cent. of the income derived from it is locally expended; when I add that in many cases that 30 per cent. is extended to 50 or 60 or 70 per cent., and that in one case the expenses to which I have referred greatly exceed the revenue derived from the estate itself; when I tell you that from the surplus income derived from estates of this character have to be provided all such charges as those which I have inherited, encumbrances, family allowances, and so on; and when I further tell you that, according to the best calculations which I am able to make at present—it is a matter involving a great deal of uncertainty—the exactions which will probably be required by the State from my next successor will amount to from six to ten, and possibly twelve years of any available income which I have ever received from the estates which I have inherited, I do not think you will be surprised if I tell you that probably some very great changes are before very long impending in the manner in which the incomes derived from the Devonshire estates can be expended. I do not refer to these things as a matter of complaint. I do not ask your pity or sympathy. It may be that I do not protest even against the justness of these proposed changes. I only refer to them as a matter of that frank interchange of opinion which has always existed amongst us. I think you ought to be as fully informed as I am myself. I do not contend that it is a necessity that I or my family or my successors should be in a position to keep up great places like Chatsworth, or Hardwick, or Bolton Abbey, or Lismore in Ireland. I do not contend that it is a necessity that we should be placed in a position where we can enjoy the luxury of striving to be surrounded by a contented and prosperous tenantry and people. I do not contend that it is a necessity for us that we should have the privilege of aiding in every good and charitable work in every part of the counties with which we are connected. These things have been a pride and a pleasure to my predecessors and to myself; but they are not necessities. I think the facts I have brought to your knowledge will show that, not through any fault on the side either of myself or my tenantry, but solely from the pressure of causes over which we have no control, it will be necessary that great changes should be made in the future in the administration of these estates. I am unable to say until these measures pass into law, until we can see precisely the shape they may assume, how soon or how distant may be the period at which these changes will come into operation. I have only thought it my duty frankly to tell you, to warn you, that if the time should be approaching—I do not think the time can be deferred beyond the period of my own life—when the expenditure on this and neighbouring estates will have to be reduced, and when Chatsworth and the other places which are public resorts in this part of the country

are shut up, it will not be due to any fault of myself or of those who succeed me, but it will solely be in consequence of the inexorable necessities of democratic finance."

The conference of the National Liberal Federation at Leeds, to which Lord Rosebery had said that the Government looked for guidance and inspiration in reference to the question of the House of Lords, was held in due course (June 20). It adopted a resolution calling on the Government to introduce, as soon as practicable, during the present Parliament, a measure for the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords upon measures which pass the House of Commons. An amendment moved by Mr. Labouchere, declaring that the House of Lords was useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished, was lost, and the original resolution was carried with practical unanimity.

A statesmanlike non-party speech from Mr. Balfour, delivered at the Memorial Hall to the Nonconformist Unionist Association (June 21), was a little bewildering to the Radical party, one of whose leading newspapers described it as "inept." Had the critic himself been less inept he would have seen that the speech entirely fulfilled its purpose, which was to show the importance to all political parties of following the wisest guidance, and distrusting unconsidered and extreme movements. Mr. Balfour indicated his belief that Socialism was impossible, and that all experiments which might be suggested for softening the hardships of the labouring classes needed the most careful and vigilant watching by statesmen, seeing that it was impossible for the democracy itself to guide the efforts for which it provided the motive force.

In contradistinction to this thoughtful and studiously fair address, Mr. John Morley's speech at Rotherham a few days later (June 27) was of a strong party character. Mr. Morley replied to the recent speeches of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Chamberlain, and passed on to the question of the House of Lords. Vindicating the action of the Leeds Conference in reference to that subject, he said that he must not be understood to pledge himself or anybody else to the precise plan proposed at Leeds, which would still leave a mischievous power in legislation to the Peers.

Mr. Gladstone's retirement from the Government still left him member for Midlothian, and it remained doubtful for some months whether he might not choose to retain his seat in Parliament, though taking no part, or no more than an occasional part in public business. But a communication addressed by him to Sir John Cowan, the Chairman of the Midlothian Liberal Association, put an end to all doubts on the subject. In this document, which was made public early in July, Mr. Gladstone stated that he should not seek re-election when Parliament dissolved. In a subsequent letter to a correspondent he announced his entire withdrawal from public life. His last appearance in Parliament was the dramatic

occasion, at the close of the session of 1893-94, when he reproached the House of Lords for its rejection of the Home Rule Bill and its action in regard to the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill.

There was the usual lack of party speeches out of Parliament which characterises the end of a session, and it was accentuated by the long strain of two sessions forming practically one. Perhaps it was fitting that the last oratorical and festal honours of the session should belong to Sir William Harcourt, who was entertained at a banquet by his supporters in the House of Commons (Aug. 1) in celebration of the passage of the Finance Bill. Sir William was in a combative mood, and had little that was amiable to say about anybody but his hosts. He made no reference to Lord Rosebery, and more than once spoke of himself as "the commander-in-chief." Towards the Liberal Unionists he used the following language:—

"They had a presentiment of the coming events which cast their shadows before them. They shrank from the dreaded advent of equal justice; they foreboded that privilege was foredoomed; they went away sorrowful because they had great possessions. The Duke of Argyll was the bell-wether of his order. He deserted on the land and the rest followed him. It was not Home Rule that caused their desertion. It was the whole gamut of the Liberal creed that jarred upon their nerves and which disagreed with their system. They went forth from us because they were not of us. They fell out of the rank because they had not the stamina and they had not the stomach for the fighting, and if the Duke of Devonshire had been bred and born a Tory of the ancient *régime* he could not have spoken the old language of a superannuated creed with a more perfect accent than he did the other night in the House of Lords, and he has put forward the exclusive claims of a class with a cynical frankness from which his Tory allies, I am bound to admit, have more discreetly shrunk."

The Aliens Bill, which was introduced by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords (July 6) and dropped after being read a second time, was a measure of some importance, if only for the notice it attracted abroad. It consisted of two parts, the first of which dealt with destitute aliens, and the second with those persons of foreign nationalities who avail themselves of the free soil of England for the hatching of anarchist and other criminal plots. Lord Rosebery took exception to the second part of the bill, and said that nothing was more likely to complicate our foreign relations than the fact that the late Prime Minister had impeached his own country as harbouring foreign criminals. Lord Salisbury denied that he had done anything of the kind. His argument simply was that the fabric of our laws was insufficient to enable us to provide security against the involuntary reception of criminals from abroad. Foreign criticism upon the bill was almost entirely favourable to it.

The case against the bill was re-argued by the Prime Minister on the motion for the second reading, and replied to in detail by Lord Salisbury (July 17). But the bill would necessarily have been crowded out of the House of Commons, if it had reached that House.

Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) firmly refused to make any announcement as to the measures which the Government intended to proceed with until after the Finance Bill had been disposed of. On the day after the passing of that bill (July 18) he indicated the business to which the remainder of the session was to be devoted. There were certain large measures, he said, that could not be proceeded with, and among these he placed the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, the Registration Bill, and the Local Veto Bill. There were three measures which the Government wished to pass during the next few weeks, and these were the Evicted Tenants Bill, the Equalisation of Rates (London) Bill, and the Scotch Local Government Bill. The Government also wished to afford facilities for the further progress of the Miners' Eight Hours Bill. He mentioned also a number of bills, which he described as non-controversial, and which he said the Government hoped the House would be willing to pass. His statement elicited expressions of protest and surprise, for there was a general expectation that Parliament would not be asked to sit beyond the end of July. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) said that the programme was "more suited for the beginning than for the end of a session," and pointed out that there was a month's work to be done in Supply alone. Other members interested in particular bills urged the claims of those measures. On the following day (July 19) the subject was fully discussed on a motion for the adjournment of the House, but Sir William Harcourt refused to make any change in the arrangements he had announced.

In moving the second reading of the Evicted Tenants Bill (July 19) Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) said that the three arbitrators under the act would be Mr. Piers White, Q.C., Mr. George Fottrell, and Mr. Greer, one of the sub-commissioners, and he stated that it was estimated that 250,000*l.*—not 100,000*l.*—from the surplus of the Irish Church Fund would be available for the purposes of the bill. Three sittings were occupied in the second reading debate, and while the advocates of the bill were more or less apologetic, the opposition to it was strong and emphatic. It was denounced as a contrivance for relieving the promoters of the Plan of Campaign from the responsibilities they had incurred, and it was argued that if the measure were passed in its compulsory form the State would be guilty of the most arbitrary injustice and would make itself an accessory after the fact to the frauds and felonies perpetrated under the Plan of Campaign. The second reading was carried (July 23) by 259 against 227. The consideration of the bill in committee occupied five days, and a further day was given to its discussion

on report. The work in committee would have extended to a longer time had not the Government resorted, at the third sitting (July 31), to the closure of the bill in compartments. Upon the moving of the closure resolution, Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) declared that he and those who acted with him would take no part in the farce of debating the bill if the resolution was carried, and he moved an amendment expressing the regret of the House that the Government, "having thought fit to urge upon the attention of a Parliament exhausted by eighteen months of continuous session a measure violent and novel in its character, and involving most controverted principles connected with the agrarian question in Ireland, should endeavour to pass it through its various stages by methods which deprive the minority of their just rights, make free discussion impossible, and are calculated to bring the proceedings of this House into deserved contempt." The amendment was negatived by a majority of 43, and the greater number of the Opposition took no part in the subsequent proceedings in committee.

On the motion for the third reading (Aug. 7) Mr. W. O'Brien (*Cork*) made a violent speech containing threats against "land-grabbers" and suggestions of another agrarian movement. This was followed by an appeal from Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) for the transformation of the bill into a voluntary measure, a course he had consistently advocated from the first introduction of the bill. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) said that anxious as he was for a settlement of the question he would accept no compromise under threats of violence and agitation. Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, N.E.*) made an almost pathetic appeal for a compromise, but Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*), from whom any suggestion in that direction should have come, contented himself with warning the House of Lords that if it did not pass the bill as it stood the maintenance of the present tranquillity in Ireland would be rendered difficult. The third reading was carried by 199 to 167.

The fate of the bill in the House of Lords was a foregone conclusion, and it is probable that it would not have been allowed to pass the House of Commons but for the certainty that, in the absence of any modification of its character, it would not pass the House of Lords. The Duke of Devonshire complained that the Government had not stated the amendments which it was at length understood they were prepared to accept, for turning the bill into a voluntary measure. The motion for the second reading was negatived by 319 to 30 (Aug. 14).

The Equalisation of Rates Bill, which affected the Metropolis only, was the subject of protracted discussion, but the bill was eventually passed, as was the Scotch Local Government Bill, the merits and demerits of which had been fully canvassed by the Scotch Committee. The only remaining measure on which any controversy took place was the Miners' Eight Hours

Bill. Both the supporters and opponents of this measure made strong efforts to muster their forces for the proceedings in committee, and their numbers were so nearly equal that the issue remained in doubt until the division on an important amendment showed which side had the advantage. This was the amendment of Mr. D. Thomas (*Merthyr Tydvil*), which made the provisions of the bill the subject of local option in the various counties concerned. After a debate extending over two sittings the amendment was carried by a majority of 5—112 to 107—(Aug. 14), and on the following day the bill was withdrawn.

There now only remained the votes yet to be taken in Supply. But the Irish party, who were sore because of the rejection of the Evicted Tenants Bill by the House of Lords, and who were dissatisfied with the Government because they had not declared for some strong action against the Peers, were not disposed to let these votes pass smoothly. Mr. Healy (*Louth, N.*) led off a vindictive attack on the House of Lords by a proposal to reduce the vote for the salaries of the officers of that House by a larger sum than the vote amounted to, "a truly Irish flourish of vengeance," as one of the newspapers remarked. This amendment was only defeated by a majority of 9 (Aug. 17). The battle was afterwards renewed in a fierce all-night sitting (Aug. 20), when the Irish party obtained the help of the Welsh and English malcontents. The Government were exhorted to declare war on the Lords by announcing their intention to adopt the Leeds formula. But Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) refused to enter on so great a policy at the fag-end of a session. Progress was reported at four in the morning (Aug. 21), and the battle was renewed in the evening. Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) was now left in charge of the House, but he also declared that he could not consent to initiate a great constitutional policy in rash and hasty pledges at the end of an exhausted session. Eventually—on the report of Supply—the vote for the permanent staff of the House of Lords was carried by a majority of 31. This was the last controversy of the session, and when the Appropriation Bill had been carried and other routine business done Parliament was prorogued (Aug. 25).

## CHAPTER IV.

Ministerial Position—Leicester Election—Mr. Chamberlain as a Conservative—Trade Union Congress—Mr. Gladstone and Local Option—Mr. Courtney at Glasgow—Mr. Chamberlain at Leeds—The Unification of London—Unexpected Cabinet Council—Public Feeling at Home and Abroad—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham and Durham—Mr. Illingworth's Revolt—The Birkenhead Election—Mr. Asquith in Fifeshire—Mr. Balfour at Edinburgh—Lord Rosebery at Bradford—The Ministerial Policy and the House of Lords—Lord Salisbury's Reply—The Czar's Death—Lord Rosebery at the Guildhall—Mr. Balfour at Newcastle and Sunderland—Lord Rosebery at Glasgow—The Forfarshire Election—Payment of Members—Mr. Asquith at Birmingham—Mr. Chamberlain at Manchester—London School Board—Mr. Bryce on the House of Lords—Sir Charles Dilke's Reply—The Duke of Devonshire at Barnstaple—Mr. Balfour at Nottingham—The Brigg Election—Lord Rosebery at Devonport and Stratford—Attitude of Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. MacEwan—Parish Councils Election—London Vestries—Mr. Balfour at Haddington—Close of the Year.

A PRACTICALLY uninterrupted session of more than eighteen months had not only imposed upon all political parties the need for rest, but had practically exhausted the materials for a prolonged campaign. Each party had expended its powers in defending or assaulting the vantage points chosen by their respective leaders, and everything that could be said for and against the rival policies had been reiterated until the stock arguments had become threadbare. The Government position had been found to be stronger than its opponents had anticipated, and had successfully repulsed all overt attacks. Had the Opposition been keenly eager above all things to defeat the Ministry, one, if not two, opportunities had arisen; but in the one case the Unionist leaders had declined the proffered alliance with the dissentient ultra-Radicals, and in the other—the Old Age Pensions resolutions—they had allowed, not wholly unwillingly, the Government to avert defeat by a motion for postponement. On the other hand it could scarcely be said that the Government had acquired any fresh hold upon public opinion or had aroused the semblance of enthusiasm for its mangled programme. The occupants of the Treasury Bench in the last few days of the session had given proof that in their minds at least the moment for attacking old established institutions had scarcely arrived, and with great accuracy had gauged public feeling against the House of Lords by the measure of enthusiasm for Irish Home Rule. The rejection of that bill by the "irresponsible" Peers had aroused no outburst of popular indignation as the trade guild demonstrations in Hyde Park (Aug. 26) testified, and it was therefore only reasonable to suppose that the act received popular endorsement. In the same way it could hardly have been expected that the rejection of the Evicted Tenants Bill had any interest or importance in the eyes of English or even Scotch electors, whilst the division in the ranks of the working men rendered the action of the House of Lords on the Employers' Liability Bill at least open to discussion and doubt.

The result of the bye-election at Leicester (Aug. 29) was

not calculated to give a safer clue to the real feelings of the Democracy. The contest was made the more interesting by the doubts raised by Sir Henry James on the validity of the mode of election adopted. Both the sitting members, Mr. J. A. Picton and Sir James Whitehead, had resigned simultaneously, and two writs were issued directing the election of members in their place. Sir Henry James' contention was that the situation thus created was not identical with that occurring at a general election. He held that a separate return should be made to each writ, and that for that purpose the two elections should be held on different days.

The objection, if valid, was taken too late to interfere with the course which had been settled on, but there could be little doubt that it would have only affected the result in a manner favourable to the Unionists. As it was, although the two Radical candidates, Mr. H. Broadhurst and Mr. Hazell, retained the seats for the Gladstonians, the latter was only 217 votes above the Unionist candidate, Mr. Robertson, whilst Mr. Broadhurst, who polled 9,464 votes, was 2,500 above him, showing the full strength of the Liberal party in the borough. The most interesting feature of the election was the large support (4,402 votes) given to the regular Labour candidate, Mr. Burgess, although Mr. Broadhurst, who probably had not done a day's work except with his tongue for thirty years, was described in his nomination paper as "a stone-mason." He had taken a leading part in Trade Union Councils and for a few months had held office in Mr. Gladstone's short-lived Administration of 1885-86 as Under-Secretary for the Home Department.

Mr. Chamberlain's appearance at Liverpool (Sept. 5) was not more anomalous than Mr. Broadhurst's as a stone-mason. Mr. Chamberlain claimed to be an exponent of a popular form of Conservatism consistent with the advanced form of Liberalism he had advocated when addressing the Liverpool electors on a former occasion. He began by urging upon working men the importance of interesting themselves in foreign questions, on the ground that the best and only way of supporting the numerous population of our small islands was by maintaining the power and extent of the British empire. After rehearsing the faults and failures of the Government, expatiating on the iniquities of the Home Rule Bill, and eulogising the Lords for insisting upon an appeal to the electors, Mr. Chamberlain put forward with great force his claims for the aged poor. He pleaded in favour of a less exhausting though not less industrious youth and middle age, which would leave some room for happiness and comfort in old age. It was not, he declared, by wresting privileges from those who possessed them, but by taking more and more pains to find out the wants of the poor and the means of relieving them, that these aims would be best realised, and the real objects of democratic policy most



readily attained. This speech and another delivered on the following day (Sept. 6) to the Liberal Unionist Association were marked by a singularly bitter tone, especially when he sneered at the tenacity with which the various groups forming the Gladstonian party had held together, subduing their eagerness for special measures in order to support a Government which was unable to satisfy their desires.

There was more which touched the immediate and pressing questions of the day in the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress which met at Norwich (Sept. 3) and was attended by 380 delegates of whom at least 100 were members of Parliament or of some other public body. The report of the Parliamentary committee of the association strongly condemned the House of Lords in regard to its course on the Employers' Liability Bill, but whilst condemning its action they did not demand its abolition. The Presidential address, delivered by Mr. F. Delves, a Norwich operative, was in every way a remarkable production, and to judge by the reception which it was accorded was fairly representative of the aims and feelings of a large number of the delegates. "The only direction," he said, "in which we can look for the ultimate solution of our industrial problems is that of Collectivism. We are correcting the evils of the old individualism by that Collectivism which, while preserving and elevating the State, will produce the nobler individual." He went on to argue that some other, and assumedly better, method of production would do away with the recurring alternations of high pressure and slack time in trade, and he suggested that some restraining power should be exercised in favour of old and young. "Would it not be better," he asked, "to adjust the balance intelligently, to let the children keep their childhood and so clear our shops and factories of the boys and girls who now spend their youth there that by-and-by they may not spend an equal portion of their maturity in walking the streets vainly seeking work? Would it not be better, too, that rest should come to our old men and women, rest with comfort on the wealth deposited by them in the national coffers in their years of strength, rather than leaving them idle in their prime and starving in their old age?" These views were diametrically opposed to the earlier tenets of the Trade Unions, which adopted the economic views of Mill and the principles of individual efforts guided by the rules of the Union. Mr. Delves, however, was careful to modify some of his more sweeping Collectivist principles by limiting their application. For example, he declared that he did not think that a uniform day of eight hours could at once be passed for all trades, and on another point he showed a wider range of view than many of those who also called themselves Collectivists and even Socialists. "I am," said Mr. Delves, "against the proposed prevention of pauper immigration. I believe it to be dangerous and reactionary. I believe

the social questions can only be solved by international action, and that we cannot build up an industrial paradise here as long as industrial hells exist elsewhere. To keep out the pauper alien is to leave him free to undersell us; to admit him is bringing him under just the same influence which has changed us from competitors into comrades." England should be an industrial as well as a political haven. "As the revolutionist of the Continent becomes in our free air a law-abiding citizen, so our sweated competitors on the Continent will become here our good comrades and fellow Trade Unionists."

Unfortunately the subsequent proceedings of the congress were not altogether in harmony with the sage counsels of the presidential address. The delegates, having by their applause apparently endorsed the Collectivist and generous views of their president, at once set to work to upset them at the instigation of the more aggressive section. Resolutions were carried in favour of prohibiting more than eight hours' labour underground out of the twenty-four, and also of limiting by law the day's work in all trades to eight hours; of giving security of tenure to agricultural labourers in Great Britain; of increasing the number of factory inspectors; of making it a penal offence for any employer to bring into a locality extra labour where the existing supply is sufficient for the needs of the district; of resisting the recommendation of a section of the Labour Commission that trade societies be rendered able by statute to sue and be sued in a court of law for the enforcement of contracts and for the acts of their individual members; of the fair-wages resolution passed by the House of Commons being put in operation; and dealing with several other subjects. A resolution in favour of the nationalisation of the land, mines, minerals, and royalty rents was, on the motion of Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., amended so as to include the whole means of production, distribution, and exchange, and this wild and undigested proposal was, after a short discussion, carried amid loud cheers by 219 to 61 votes, and finally, regardless of the president's address, a resolution calling upon the Government to prohibit the landing in the country of all pauper aliens without means of subsistence was carried after a feeble show of resistance. For the moment, however, it was on the eight hours question that the action of the congress turned. The late secretary, Mr. Fenwick, M.P., had given offence by his vote in favour of local option for the miners, and this was fatal to his chance of reappointment. There were three competitors for the post—Mr. Fenwick, M.P., Mr. S. Woods, M.P., and Mr. Tom Mann. Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woods engaged only that they would give as much time to their duties as was necessary for their effective discharge. Mr. Tom Mann undertook to give his whole time, and to sever all official connection with any and every other organisation so as to free himself for the work. But his large promises availed him nothing. He was thrown

out on the first ballot, and the contest thus lay between the two other competitors—Mr. Fenwick, as the advocate of a legislative eight hours day for miners in districts which wished for it, and Mr. S. Woods, as the advocate of forcing it upon all districts whether they wished for it or not. In the final ballot Mr. S. Woods was successful. He had 211 votes against 141 given for Mr. Fenwick. Mr. Woods, as a labour leader and agitator, had gone about the country speaking to excited audiences where he was safe from refutation or reply. He had denounced in no measured terms the conduct of the Government in taking the measures necessary for the public peace and for the protection of property when the Featherstone riots were going on. But, when the subject came on for discussion in the House of Commons, Mr. S. Woods and his fellows were none of them in their places to repeat the statements which they had not hesitated to make elsewhere. Mr. Asquith took occasion to remark severely on the fact, but it seems that the Trade Union delegates did not attach much importance to it.

The general result of the congress went to show that already the Socialists and Independent Labour party, of which Mr. Tom Mann was the chief exponent, if unable to capture the Parliamentary committee, had managed to elect five of their members in that body, after only two years' recognised existence. In one respect they enjoyed considerable advantages over their colleagues in the various unions, for it was admitted that these could not count more than 2,000,000 members at the utmost out of 7,000,000 of adult male workers in Great Britain.

It was not, however, to be expected that the older unions would swallow the Socialist programme without protest, and some of the cooler heads took counsel on the situation created by the Norwich Congress. Mr. Robert Knight, one of the leading members of the Iron Ship-Builders' Union, reported to his society in strong terms, declaring that the Trade Union Congress had become a gathering of advanced Socialists "whose dreamy ideas find vent in strongly worded resolutions." So long as such resolutions were levelled against the capitalist or the employer of labour they found acceptance with the majority of the delegates. On the question of invoking the intervention of the State to lay down rules alike for capital and labour, Mr. Knight, speaking for his society, one of the largest and most successful, declared: "We differ fundamentally and utterly with all such proposals as these, as they would curse labour with restricted freedom, with diminished resources, with arrested progress, with abject dependence and the demoralisation that all these things bring." Collectivism, he went on to say, could never take the place of individualism. "If our friends who shout so loud at congresses would depend more on individual effort, and work a little more for their societies and less for passing wild resolutions, it would be much better for those they are supposed to represent."

The struggle between the rival sections of the Labour party was not willingly prolonged by both sides. At a meeting of the Battersea Labour League (Oct. 7) Mr. John Burns, M.P., speaking in his own constituency, vigorously attacked the policy of the Independent Labour party and the part they had taken at the Norwich Congress, and practically took up a position beside the Moderates of the trade unions. He pointed out that a congress which declared for international action, liberty, fraternity, and equality should not pass Socialistic resolutions and then turn round and by narrow, insular, and intolerant bigotry adopt such a motion as that which dealt with alien immigration. He declared that the Independent Labour party looked too much to Parliament as an institution and were neglecting trade unionism, and he expressed his belief that the result of the policy of the Independent Labour party would be the withdrawal of the older unions. Their true policy was not to alienate these bodies. "Rather should they for a time be content to mark time, and show a policy of conciliation towards men whose heads were sound, and who, if they could not altogether see eye to eye with them, were far enough on the road for them to be trusted in the executive and administrative work for which they had greater experience than nine-tenths of those who called themselves Socialists, but who affirmed the new doctrine of intolerance." Mr. Burns, in fact, whilst anxious to capture the Liberal party in the interests of labour, wished at the same time to press forward that cause by the existing political machinery. In a word he was essentially an Opportunist. Mr. Tom Mann, who replied to Mr. Burns on the following day at Woolwich, took up the position that nothing would be done to help on the cause unless a party were organised on absolutely independent lines, free from all the capitalist influences at work in the Liberal party, and able to dictate its terms to either side in the political game.

Whilst these two sections of the trade unionists were proclaiming their differences the National Free Labour Association took the opportunity of publishing, most *à propos*, its annual report, according to which out of 9,768,073 male persons over twenty working for their living only 1,109,014 belonged to trade unions, the remaining 8,677,059 being non-unionists, or in other words "black-legs," "scabs," or "knobsticks." The report claimed, moreover, that it had already registered upwards of 228,000 seamen as "free labour men," and whilst admitting the advantages and need of combination, protested against the idea of 11 per cent. being allowed to coerce 89 per cent. of the workmen of the country.

The dull season in politics at home and abroad was as usual utilised by the members of the Temperance party to urge their views upon public attention. For reasons unnecessary to discuss, because no means could be found to reconcile assertions so conflicting, the Liberal party had claimed to be the special

champions of the temperance movement, and "local option" had figured prominently on the Newcastle programme. A measure, moreover, had been brought in by Mr. Gladstone's Government, which had also given qualified support to various similar proposals by private members. In preference to the "local option" plan "the Gothenburg system" had been favoured by a certain section of the Temperance party, of whom the Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jayne) and Mr. J. Chamberlain were the most prominent adherents. The bishop had on more than one occasion introduced tentative measures in this sense, but without obtaining any practical support from either Liberals or Conservatives. Speaking at Aberdeen (Sept. 17) in defence of his favourite remedy, Dr. Jayne read an extract from a letter addressed by Mr. Gladstone to Lord Thring, in which the ex-Premier said: "I am friendly to local option, but it can be no more than a partial and occasional remedy. The mere limitation of numbers, the idol of Parliament for the last twenty years, is, if pretending to the honour of a remedy, little better than an imposture. The growth of the system of tied houses continually aggravates the prevailing mischief. . . . For many years I have been strongly of opinion that the principle of selling liquor for the public profit only, offered the sole chance of escape from the present miserable and almost contemptible predicament, which is a disgrace to the country. Of detail I do not speak, but in principles you are working on the only lines either promising or tenable." Such plain speaking naturally threw the council, and more especially the political members of Temperance Associations, into a fever of anxiety. With the approval of the Liberal junta they had as they imagined been making local option one of the tests to be applied to every candidate, and in many districts they had exercised sufficient pressure to be able to turn a doubtful election in favour of the Liberals. The Gothenburg system had received no countenance from the United Kingdom Alliance, or its sister society, and the very fact that Mr. Chamberlain had urged its application in the Birmingham district was sufficient to make Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his friends give it the cold shoulder. Suddenly their late chief, in whose name so many had won their seats at the general election, appears and declares local option little better than an imposture. Pressure was, of course, at once brought to bear on Mr. Gladstone to induce him to explain away his words, and at the same time Temperance apologists at once found that the "Gothenburg system" and "local option" were twin schemes, or that the one was supplemental to the other. Although after a while Mr. Gladstone was ready to write another letter in order to lessen the shock he had given to numerous followers, the breach between the partisans of the rival schemes was undoubtedly widened, and local wire-pullers and election agents did not conceal their anxiety as to the possible results of such contemptuous treatment of one of the

clauses of the Newcastle programme, by its chief and ablest exponent.

Passing by the storm raised by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tweedmouth's cheques to the Irish Members' Fund, as belonging more especially to another section, nothing occurred to disturb the stagnation of politics until Mr. Courtney and Mr. Chamberlain broke silence. With a possible general election taking place at any moment, it was of the utmost importance to the Liberal Unionists to keep themselves and their views constantly before the public. Mr. Courtney, speaking at Glasgow (Sept. 24), devoted the greater part of his speeches to explaining the Liberal Unionist attitude on Home Rule as applicable to Ireland and Scotland. Mr. Courtney had been described as the only survivor of that party, since, perhaps alone, he had maintained the attitude originally taken up by those Liberals who refused to follow Mr. Gladstone in 1886, and his warning that apathy on the part of the Unionists might allow Home Rule to be overlaid with other issues, was specially needed. The Unionists, he asserted, owed their existence to, and maintained their position on, the ground of justice to Ireland. They approached the position not as friends of the landlords any more than as friends of the tenants—not more of the Roman Catholics than of the Protestants. "In order that landlords might have their rights and that tenants might be protected in theirs, in order that Roman Catholics might have their freedom and that Protestants might not lose their privileges, it was necessary to bring to the government of Ireland the over-ruling power, the supreme and instant and active interposition of a united Parliament. When our Unionists realised what the history of that island had been in the past, when we studied and apprehended the condition of parties there now, we could not but feel with what terrible consequences Ireland itself might be visited if a separate and independent Parliament were set up within that island. The necessity of the over-ruling power of imperial justice, of bringing to the settlement of all disputes that unhappily occurred between class and class, and often between creed and creed, occupation and occupation in Ireland—the necessity of bringing to the solution of these difficulties the knowledge, the equity, the judgment, which was provided in the council of the entire nation, was impressed upon every one who studied with a candid and a fair spirit the condition of Ireland itself." Mr. Courtney went on to show how great would be the injury done to Great Britain herself by Home Rule. He did not hesitate to say "they had not only been brought into contact with a quicker, a more agile, and perhaps a more ready-witted race with different experiences; but the Irish members had compelled them to be just where otherwise they might, through mere ignorance, through mere want of vision, have failed to be equitable." In many matters, especially in those concerning

the treatment of the Roman Catholic population of Great Britain, the presence of the Irish Catholic members in the united Parliament had been the security of justice which might otherwise have been wanting for our local administration. At the same time Mr. Courtney had no illusions as to the qualifications of the actual Home Rule members to exercise such an influence as he had described. He was very unwilling "to go into the sordid details of Irish struggles and Irish disputes, but even within the last three months what kind of spectacle of statesmanship had been presented by the leaders of the Irish party? He would not pursue that subject with any minuteness, but he asked how men who could not be trusted to be just to one another could be trusted to be just to those whom they regarded as a common enemy, men who had no moderation, who forgot self-respect, whose language was language which he was glad to think they in England and Scotland never dreamed of applying to their bitterest opponent."

In his second speech at the City Hall, Mr. Courtney dealt almost exclusively with the question of private bill legislation, which was of particular interest to the great centres of Scotland, many of which were put to great expense by the necessity of bringing an army of experts and witnesses to prove a case for a purely local improvement or undertaking. Mr. Courtney suggested whether a tribunal might not be sent to the neighbourhood, and to work done after an inexpensive examination by some permanent body devoted to the work, which should labour under fixed rules and at fixed times, without any uncertainty as to its principle of action, and without any doubt as to its capacity for dealing with the subject. After dealing with the reform of procedure in the House of Commons, Mr. Courtney passed as a natural consequence to the reforms required for the other House of Parliament. The question of the House of Lords, he said, was one which was ripe to be dealt with, and which Unionists would do well to consider.

"Taken by itself it could not be trusted as representative of the people. He would go further, and say that when the House of Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill by ten to one, he for his part thought that majority inconveniently large. He felt that they were brought up on a social stratum, rich, no doubt, in many qualities, but also rich in prejudices, which made it not truly representative of the mind of the whole people. He was persuaded that the balance of intelligence and judgment of character in this kingdom had been, was and would be against Home Rule; but he was not so blind as to think that it was against it in the ratio of ten to one."

Reform of the Upper House must then be faced, but they might reform it in a conservative spirit.

"If the hereditary peers were allowed to elect from among themselves delegates representing the different shades of opinion amongst the peers, we should then have a manageable nucleus

of a House of Lords and a most valuable contribution to a Second Chamber. If there were added to that a large number of life peers, nominated upon the advice of the Minister of the Crown for the time being, and if to these they added, as in France, representatives of the great municipalities and the great counties, they would get a body rich in knowledge and wisdom, and possessing great traditions, which would be a fit complement to the House of Commons in forming the legislature of the nation."

Mr. Chamberlain, for obvious reasons, selected Leeds as the starting point of his autumn campaign. It was a stronghold of his political opponents, and was identified more than any other entire constituency with Gladstonian opinions. In the course of his three speeches (Sept. 25) Mr. Chamberlain set himself to show first the weakness of the Ministerial position and the dangers which beset the Opposition, before indicating the constructive programme of the Liberal Unionists, and the practical benefits it would confer upon the people of the three kingdoms.

In his first speech, addressed to a conference of the Yorkshire Liberal Unionist Federation, Mr. Chamberlain expressed his conviction that the Home Rule policy was entirely unpopular with the people of Great Britain, and contended that all the objections which Unionists had raised to that policy had been completely justified by the character of Mr. Gladstone's bill and by the subsequent course of events. The danger of the present situation was lest the people should be misled by the tactics of the Government, who were putting their main object into the background and raising false issues to divert attention. Social reform, he urged, was the peculiar work of the Unionist party.

In the evening of the same day Mr. Chamberlain addressed a mass meeting held in the Coliseum, where the heartiness of his reception was as genuine as it was unexpected. In opening his speech, Mr. Chamberlain dwelt on the fact that the keynote of the policy of the Government was the absolute and humiliating dependence of the Ministry on the Irish vote, the evil past and probable future consequences of which he vividly described. Social reform would go to the wall in the next session because it would not be likely to provoke conflict with the House of Lords. In foreshadowing the Ministerial programme for next session, he gave the first place to an Irish Land Bill, the second to a Welsh Disestablishment—perhaps running in double harness; next, the latest demands of the Trade Union Congress would require some acknowledgment; and, lastly, the United Kingdom Alliance would have to be placated by a bill for the abolition of the liquor trade. None of these measures, however, was intended to be carried through, for their real policy was embodied in the cry, "Down with the House of Lords." Mr. Chamberlain then went on to criticise the suggestions of the



Leeds Conference on the subject of the Upper House. He maintained that a Second Chamber was absolutely necessary as a check on the House of Commons, for the Lords having been deprived of their suspensive veto, the whole country lay open to the chances of a snap-vote of the House of Commons.

"Three hundred and thirty-six men," said Mr. Chamberlain, "one more than the minority under this system would be more arbitrary than any autocrat that has ever existed. . . . You are asked to put the sacred liberties of this country, your lives, your property, absolutely at their disposal. Are you certain that this majority will be even a British majority? It must be what it has been before—a majority in which the balance is held by men whose character and proceedings are alien to the British spirit, by men who are subsidised by foreign gold, by men who may be nominated by foreign organisation. What sort of legislation, what sort of administration do you expect from a majority of this kind, from such a despotism, if you are weak enough to create it?" In conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain contrasted the aims of the old and of the new Radicals, the former desiring to raise the individual man, and to free him from trammels and fetters, whilst the latter desired to merge the individual in the State, to reduce all to one dead level of uniformity, where the idle, the thriftless and the incompetent were to be treated alike with the honest, the industrious and the capable.

On the following day (September 26), at a breakfast given in his honour in the Town Hall, Mr. Chamberlain, in responding to the toast of his health, after comparing the political and municipal condition of Leeds and Birmingham addressed himself once more to the part which Liberal Unionists might play in the near future, since no party could exist upon a policy of mere negation. He therefore urged the importance of Liberal Unionists putting forward an alternative to the policy of anarchy and revolution with which they were threatened. He did not believe that the working classes had any natural sympathy with anarchy or confiscation. The bulk of them did not favour the new theories now put forward by trade unionism, which were borrowed from foreign sources and he thought incompletely understood. Collectivism was a policy which was neither more nor less than the confiscation of every kind of property—the savings of the poor quite as much as the capital of the rich. If the Unionist party were prepared in place of a policy which was revolutionary and impracticable, and which, if it were practicable, would be mischievous and dangerous, to put forward an alternative policy which would be beneficial, just, and attainable, he was convinced that the working classes would not hesitate which side to prefer. It was right that the working classes should be desirous for progress and improvement; it would be wrong if they sought their individual advantage at the expense of injustice and wrong to

any other class. He did not hesitate to say that the Unionist party was in his judgment peculiarly fitted both by its traditions and by its composition to undertake this great constructive work. The last Parliament had left behind it as its legacy a greater work of social legislation than could be attributed to any preceding Parliament. He hoped they would have a speedy opportunity of carrying on that good work a little further. The Liberal party had to some extent lost its balance by the secession of most of those who constituted its most moderate members. In view of that condition, it might prove too weak to resist the dangerous opinions which continually were being pressed upon it. He therefore thought the time would come when thoughtful Liberals, either inside or outside their own party, would protest against persistence in such courses.

Whilst Mr. Chamberlain was urging upon his party and those outside a policy of domestic and social reform, the leader of the extreme Left of the Radical party, Mr. Labouchere, was urging the precedent abolition of the House of Lords as a necessity for any step in advance. He professed to believe that this opinion was shared by the bulk of Liberal voters, and that the Government was blind in not recognising this truth, and wanting in courage in not putting it to the test. In the absence of more exciting material, Mr. Labouchere's recurrent appeals to the Ministry to carry into execution the resolutions of the Leeds Conference awoke a sort of languid interest in view of the promised manifesto by the Prime Minister, who was to give his party the cue for their autumn campaign.

Meanwhile the report of the Royal Commission on the city and county of London appeared and offered fresh materials for discussion by municipal reformers and political wire-pullers. The commission appointed in March, 1893, had been instructed "to consider the proper conditions under which the amalgamation of the city and the county of London can be effected, and to make specific and practical proposals for that purpose," the signatories being Mr. Leonard Courtney, Lord Farrer, Mr. Robert Holt (ex-Mayor of Liverpool), and Mr. Edward Orford Smith (town clerk of Birmingham). Mr. H. Homewood Crawford, solicitor to the City of London, who was also on the commission, withdrew from it during the course of the proceedings. Having surveyed the history of the question submitted to them, the commissioners recommended that the whole area of the present administrative county of London, including the city, should in future be called the City of London, and should be a county in itself, while the city as now known should hereafter be styled the "Old City." The governing body, that is to say the existing County Council, with eight instead of (as at present) four representatives of the old city, should be incorporated under the historic name of the "Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London," and should

succeed to the present corporation of the old city and the London County Council. A Lord Mayor should be elected by the council from the citizens of London, to be admitted in the same manner and with the same ceremonies as the Lord Mayor of the old city is now admitted. He should be the titular chairman of the council, but "it should not be necessary for him to be present or preside at its meetings." He should be the official representative of the people of London, and exercise generally the rights and privileges of his predecessors in the title. For his "remuneration," or "the expenses of his office," the council should have power "to appropriate such sum as it thinks fit." The commissioners went on to express an opinion in favour of the appointment of a town clerk as head of the municipal staff, rather than of a deputy chairman (as in the present County Council), in other words, of a permanent official, instead of one subject to the changes and chances of popular election. As to the functions of the new corporation, the commissioners "think that everything possible should be done to maintain the strength, authority, and dignity of the local bodies of London, and that, in the partition of functions between the Corporation of London and local authorities, the former should be relieved of all administrative details for which its intervention is not really necessary, and the latter should be entrusted with every duty they can conveniently discharge."

The commissioners would transfer to the new corporation the whole of the general estates of the old city, with all the attendant liabilities; but the new corporation should pay over to the authorities of the old city an annual sum of, say, 10,500*l*. The sheriffs of London should be appointed by the council of the new corporation, and the jurisdiction of the court of quarter sessions and justices of the county of London should extend into the area of the old city, which should cease to be a county of itself. The recorder of London should be chairman of quarter sessions for the county of London, and the present chairman of quarter sessions and common serjeant deputy-recorders. The recorder should in future be appointed, as in other boroughs, by the Crown—the assent of which was already necessary (under the act of 1888) towards the recorder's discharge of judicial functions. Freeman by patrimony, apprenticeship, redemption, and gift should be abolished, and the power of granting and fixing the numbers of the livery of the city companies transferred to a department of the Imperial Government. Dissenting from the recommendation of the London County Council, the commissioners advised that the city police should be incorporated with the metropolitan police, thus passing under the authority of the Home Office; "with whom the control of the police of London, as a whole, should rest, it is not for us to discuss; but we can only say that, so long as it remains under the imperial Government, the police within the area of the old city should form part of it."

It was further proposed that there should be one city or borough land for London, and that there should be a rate levied by the new corporation to be called the city or borough rate. "So far as any functions may be entrusted to the council of the old city which are at present vested in the London County Council as regards the east of London, it would be necessary to have a special fund and rate, as well as a general fund and rate, but we contemplate that the existence of the former should be temporary only. We think it of the highest importance that the relation of the central body to the local bodies should be uniform throughout London, and that the separate funds and rates should only exist until the functions of the District Councils generally are assimilated to those assigned to that of the old city, should the resettlement of the other districts not be contemporaneous with that of the old city."

The new governing body of the old city, which would have practically the authority of the present Commissioners of Sewers, would consist of a local mayor and a council of seventy-two, elected by twenty-four wards each returning three members: with them would be joined the actual aldermen of the city of London as life members, but these would be the last of their famous order.

The recommendations of the commission were, on the whole, well received by the organs of both political parties. The terms offered to the "city" were considered so much more favourable than had been anticipated, that in many quarters the corporation was urged to discuss the proposals in a conciliatory spirit, and to obtain certain amendments and concessions which would be refused at a later period. The chief objection raised against the scheme was that it contemplated the erection of too large and too unwieldy a municipal body, and it was urged that the division of the metropolis into half a dozen or more local districts under the control of small central bodies would ensure greater efficiency and less risk.

The unwonted occurrence of an open struggle for the Lord Mayoralty, happening simultaneously with the publication of the report of the commission, seemed to suggest that in the London Corporation itself there were some who thought some sweeping reforms inevitable. No other explanation could be given to the eagerness of one of the aldermen to put himself forward for the election some three or four years before his succession to the chair would come in its usual course. The extended body from which the future Lord Mayor might—should the recommendations of the commission be accepted—be drawn naturally aroused the anxiety of those who clung to the claims of seniority ratified by the formal vote of less than thirty fellow-citizens.

The political world, however, would have remained undisturbed for some weeks longer but for the scare created by the sudden summons of the Cabinet Council at a moment when all

of the ministers were scattered in various parts of the world, and on the very day after the leader of the House of Commons had left England for a short holiday; coming at a moment when the chief organs of the French press were diligently fomenting ill-feeling between the two countries, this unexpected action on the part of Lord Rosebery was productive of general disturbance. All kinds of stocks fell sharply, the price of wheat rose, and every continental capital was agitated. When the Cabinet actually met, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for War and for India were all absent, and after a short sitting it was announced that its business had been to strengthen British interests in the extreme East. The sudden collapse of China before the advancing Japanese had, it was asserted, rendered the position of our traders in Peking and the southern parts precarious. This version of the Cabinet Council's proceedings was not generally accepted, for the Prime Minister in concert with the First Lord of the Admiralty was invested with sufficient power to take every step for protecting British subjects. The more general idea was that Lord Rosebery had conceived some plan of seizing a Chinese port or island to hold as material guarantee for the safety of our fellow-countrymen, in anticipation of similar action by France or Russia, and that in the absence of the three most important members of the Cabinet, he had abandoned his idea. Another suggestion was that Lord Rosebery's object was to obtain the consent of his colleagues to propose a joint-intervention with the other European powers in the war between Japan and China. What is certain, however, is that a few days after the meeting of the Cabinet the semi-official newspapers of the continent were discussing adversely—except those of Italy—the idea of any intervention between the belligerents, and a day or two later (Oct. 13) an official statement was made from Washington that the United States had declined to join the European powers in a friendly intervention. The Berlin Government, it was subsequently known, had firmly refused to take any part in such overtures, and the Austro-Hungarian Government had followed in the same line. France, although not absolutely refusing, had made an evasive reply, which testified her unwillingness, whilst Russia, in consequence of the Czar's critical condition, could not be expected to give any answer. Every effort was naturally made by the ministerial press, and even by means of a semi-official *communiqué*, to put aside the idea of any other question beyond that of protecting British interests in China and Japan, and speaking a week later (Oct. 12), Sir George Trevelyan distinctly gave this explanation of the summoning of ministers. If this version could have been accepted, it followed that Lord Rosebery had kept his colleagues in complete ignorance of the more important line of policy on which he and Lord Kimberley had embarked. These ministers must either have thought the opinions of their colleagues on

such an important question wholly valueless, or these same colleagues, guessing from what transpired, were anxious to disclaim all knowledge as well as all responsibility for the course pursued.

The confusion produced in the public mind was not much allayed by a subsequent and more explicit statement which appeared in the *Daily News* (Oct. 19) a week later and on the eve of Lord Rosebery's visit to Leeds. That semi-official organ declared somewhat tardily that there was no foundation for the assertion that the object of the late meeting of the Cabinet was the issue of invitations to the powers to intervene in the war between China and Japan. A day or two after the meeting of the Cabinet information (the *Daily News* asserted) came to the country which showed that the Chinese were prepared to enter on negotiations for peace on certain terms. Overtures were then made by the Government to the great powers with the view of arranging for a joint representation to Japan on the basis indicated, and at the same time the Japanese Government was asked whether these terms were such as might form a basis for negotiation. Japan, however, gave no definite reply, and although the *Daily News* assured its readers that the majority of the great powers were in thorough "accord with Her Majesty's Government as to the course pursued, and that there was reason to hope that the other powers would give their assent," the sequel singularly belied the optimist prevision as well as the assurances of the ministerial organ.

In any case the outcome of the business did not improve Lord Rosebery's position, and led many people to infer that he was only too ready to seize a passing opportunity to serve as the starting point of some new enterprise in foreign as in home politics. In the negotiations with Belgium at an earlier period of the year he had shown extraordinary carelessness of the feelings of both France and Germany, looking only to the advantage which he hoped to seize for his own country, with the result of arousing the suspicion of both those powers. He now seemed to be anxious to conciliate their good-will by asking them to join in a policy by which they could advance their own interests, whilst he hoped to obtain in return a certificate of disinterestedness. At the same time he was able to pass before his own countrymen as an advocate for peace, and also as the spokesman for British interests, which might be better protected by the holding of a material guarantee. French and German journalists, more or less officially inspired, were not deceived by Lord Rosebery's attitude, and used their influence in fanning the jealousy and dislike of England by which their fellow-countrymen were as a body animated. Even the Madagascar question, upon which England had no diplomatic right to say a word, was made the subject of bitter wrangling. In 1890 Lord Salisbury had come to an understanding with France by which we acknowledged the

protectorate of France over Madagascar, and obtained in return a recognition of our rights over Zanzibar. This arrangement was equally binding upon Lord Rosebery, and there was probably never any question of his ignoring it; but the French journalists thought fit to assert that England was secretly helping the Hovas, and English journalists replied that the arrangement of 1890 contemplated a protectorate over the island, not its annexation to France. In our own dealings with other parts of Africa we had shown but little respect for such nice distinctions, and it was therefore not only illogical but weakly foolish for us to take umbrage at another power following the example set by ourselves.

The speeches of public men at this juncture were, however, a curious commentary on this newspaper skirmishing, which looked as if foreign politics were of so much interest to the public at large. Mr. Courtney, speaking at Liskeard (Oct. 10), found his constituents more desirous to hear his views about Irish evicted tenants, whilst Mr. Chamberlain's large audience at Birmingham (Oct. 11) were anxious to hear what the Liberal Unionists proposed to do if they should be placed in power. During the past session Mr. Courtney in the debate on the Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill had separated himself from his colleagues and had defended the Government bill, as a Unionist, and as a Unionist wished it success. He laid emphasis upon the necessity of restoring the evicted tenants to the vacant farms as a condition precedent of Irish tranquillity. Having praised Mr. Morley for his firmness in maintaining the law, Mr. Courtney found grounds on the following day (Oct. 11) at Bodmin for praising Sir Wm. Harcourt for his honesty. In 1894, he said the Chancellor of the Exchequer was confronted with a large deficit owing to the exceptional needs of the Navy. To meet this he followed the lead given nine years previously by Mr. Childers, who preferred a graduated system of indirect taxation to any interference with the provision made for the reduction of the national debt. With some of the methods employed by Sir Wm. Harcourt, Mr. Courtney was unable to agree, but he recognised the basis of the system as satisfactory, and looked forward to its application to local as well as Imperial taxation.

Mr. Chamberlain's annual address to his constituents was of more general importance, for he took the opportunity of sketching the programme of the Liberal Unionist party, recognising that the country would not be satisfied with a party which at such a time had not a social policy. The most urgent of reforms, in his opinion, was temperance reform. The Local Veto Bill was a bad bill, not because it adopted the principle of local option, but because it restricted local option. The only safe and tenable principle was to take the control of this trade into public hands, and to deal with it in such a way that all idea of private property and personal gain should be eliminated from

its future conduct, at the same time paying a fair price for the property. Of hardly less importance than the temperance question was that as to the best means of improving the homes of the people. On this head he considered an extension of the principle of the Artisans' Dwellings Act (carried by a Conservative Government) to be both necessary and sufficient. The good of that measure had not been properly reaped because of the cost of carrying it into effect. In fact it was confined to so limited an area that when it was adopted the cost fell upon the community, but the profit went to the neighbouring landlords and occupiers.

"Speaking generally, the fault of the act is that it does not allow the corporations to take the surrounding property, but only allows them to take the property which is unsanitary, and the result is as I have described to you. In order to change that proposals have been made by the London County Council and by various Town Councils for adopting the system of betterment, by which a charge should be made on the surrounding owners for the improvement which is carried out. In principle that is absolutely fair, and I have supported it in Parliament and outside; but, as a practical man, the more I consider the subject the more I am impressed with the difficulties of the case, and the less I believe that that will be a real security for the economy of these transactions, and, therefore, what I propose in place of it is that the local authorities should have in all cases power to take whatever land they require for the purpose of improvement at a fair price; that they should be able to combine a great city improvement—the widening of streets, the making of squares, and so on—with sanitary reconstructions, and in this way the value of the improved property will go to the corporation, and will go far to compensate for the cost of the sanitary work."

Mr. Chamberlain went on to make suggestions by which he claimed that workmen would be enabled to purchase the dwellings they rented on easy terms—the payments spread over a number of years—not only without loss, but with a slight profit to the State. On the subject of old-age pensions he promised shortly to speak in response to an invitation from some of the friendly societies. He would merely repeat, therefore, that he did not propose to give to every one a pension as a matter of right; he proposed to help the working classes to help themselves. At the same time he took occasion to warn his hearers against the "National Old-Age Pension League" which certain persons were endeavouring to set up, and which proposed that a pension should be given as of right to every person of sixty who professed to be in need of it—the money to be provided by the appropriation of charities which were now directed to other objects, and also by the appropriation of the funds of the Established Church.

"It is a detail, perhaps, but it is not altogether unimportant,



that in this precious proposal the cost of such a scheme has been enormously under-estimated, and the funds which it proposes to appropriate are altogether inadequate for the purpose. But I put that aside, and I say that on the face of it this is a scheme brought forward by people who may be very anxious to disestablish the Church, but who are not anxious at all for old-age pensions. I have my own opinion on Disestablishment. I have expressed it to you again and again, and I have not changed it. Disestablishment is an important matter; but I say it is a dishonest thing to put forward a branch of the Liberation Society as though it were a national old-age pension league; and I warn you, if you allow yourselves here in Birmingham to be drawn aside from the scent by the trail of this red herring across your path, that you will have to wait for many generations before anything will be done in the direction which I desire."

Passing to the question of trade disputes, Mr. Chamberlain did not profess to have any absolute remedy for industrial wars any more than for international conflicts, but he proposed that there should be created in every industrial centre an impartial and judicial tribunal of arbitration with all the authority and dignity of an ordinary court of law.

"I should suggest that it should be presided over by a judge who should have a similar position and a similar salary to the judges of the High Court and who should sit attended by assessors chosen for the purpose of each dispute."

The decisions of such a court could not be legally enforced; but public opinion was a great influence in this country, and he believed that there was no case of any party to a strike having been successful if public opinion declared decisively against it. Touching the question of the hours of labour, Mr. Chamberlain made fun of the Trade Union Congress resolution in favour of a universal legal eight hours' day for all trades and occupations; what he did think practicable was local option as to an eight hours' day in mines, and, again, as to a reduction in the hours of shopkeepers and their assistants. On the subject of alien immigration he held that we had the right to do as much for the protection of our own people as foreign Governments were doing for their people. As to employers' liability, his conviction had deepened that "no greater boon can be given to the working people of this country than to secure to them as a matter of right and certainty, without the risk of litigation, that in all cases in which they suffer from accidents or injuries received in the course of their employment they themselves and their families shall be fairly provided for."

There was little doubt, from the hearty reception with which these views were received at Birmingham, that Mr. Chamberlain had correctly gauged the opinions of his constituents. As leader of the whole Liberal Unionist party, however, it was incumbent on him to make a like test of popular feeling in other and less

friendly centres. At a great gathering at Durham (Oct. 16) Mr. Chamberlain urged his hearers not to be discouraged by what they might hear as to the non-existence of Liberal Unionism among the working classes. The same thing had formerly been said of Birmingham and of its neighbouring county constituencies, but when the working men had explained to them the real views of the Liberal Unionists, thousands had been found willing to support those views.

At an evening meeting Mr. Chamberlain addressed a more popular audience, Lord Durham presiding and the Marquess of Londonderry moving a resolution of confidence in the Unionist leaders. After a vigorous criticism of the Irish case and the Home Rule proposals of the Government, expressing the doubt whether the majority of even Irishmen really cared for Home Rule, Mr. Chamberlain passed in review the possible or probable items of the ministerial programme for the ensuing session. With regard to Welsh Disestablishment, he repeated his own preference for voluntarism, but, he added: "Although I shall give my vote to the principle, I do not express my sympathy with the methods by which that principle is to be carried into effect, and I think it is very different from the spirit in which the Liberals and the Nonconformists of old would have treated this question. I do not want to see it treated as a question of jealousy and of competing between sections: I want to see it treated as a question of national and of religious importance. I want to see it treated at least in the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone treated the question of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; and I say for myself, if the Church in Wales is to be disestablished, I shall claim for it that the terms of that Disestablishment shall not be less favourable or less generous than those that were granted to the Church of Ireland, against which there was much more to be said from the point of view of national considerations than can possibly be said in the case of the Church in Wales."

On another important item of the ministerial programme, he was even more explicit. "I am no apologist," said Mr. Chamberlain, "for the constitution of the House of Lords, I am no defender of hereditary legislation, but I am a strong upholder of a Second Chamber, and until you can find me a better, I am going to stick to the House of Lords." The House of Lords was, he thought, in a position in which it could not resist the clearly expressed will of the masses of the people. All it could do was to secure delay, consideration, discussion, and an appeal to the country, which must be on all occasions the ultimate judge. "If we abolish the House of Lords, and at the same time put nothing in its place, we should be engaging upon a most dangerous experiment, and in a short time we should have to retrace our course, or we should find ourselves submitting to a dictatorship and our liberties very materially curtailed."

By strange chance, Mr. Chamberlain's strong pronouncement in favour of the maintenance of a Second Chamber, and in some way of the existing House of Lords, coincided with the secession from the Radical party of two of its members, who, although they had held no prominent place in its ranks, were each in a sense typical personages. Lord Hothfield had on more than one occasion, before accepting a peerage from Mr. Gladstone, done battle for the Liberal cause, and subsequent to his becoming a member of the Upper House had shown no signs of wavering in his allegiance. Sir William Harcourt's Budget, however, appeared to him so unjust in its treatment of the landed interest that he formally announced his withdrawal from the Liberal party. His secession scarcely occasioned surprise, although there was outspoken regret on the Unionist side that the cleavage between parties should become more and more distinctly a cleavage between classes. The withdrawal of Mr. Illingworth, the Radical member for Bradford, was of more significance, inasmuch as he had been regarded as an uncompromising supporter of the most advanced Liberalism. He had steadily voted with his party in favour of Irish Home Rule, he was in favour of the Disestablishment of the Church, and of an effective control of the people over the licensing system, and of a large reform of the land laws. Mr. Illingworth, however, was a capitalist, and as a worsted spinner a large employer of labour. He was unable to go with the Government in their drifting towards State Socialism as shown by their action on the Eight Hours Bill, leaving it an open question instead of making a decided stand for individual liberty of action. He looked upon the cry of the working class, or of its self-styled representatives, for State regulation, as merely a passing phase in the great labour problem, which a strong Government should have resisted. By feebly giving way to a momentary gust of passion the Liberal party was preparing for itself an ignominious retreat "when the working men of the country will be no longer led by men who have nothing better to show than a glib tongue and a disposition to abuse and boycott others who have been working in the public cause." Although Mr. Illingworth did not at once resign his seat, or request the ministerial whips to abstain from summoning him to important divisions, the reasons he gave for not offering himself again for election showed that in the ranks of the Liberal party there were some who still clung to its old creed and its belief in individualism. The trade union leaders, however, showed that they were not to be altogether overshadowed by the Trade Congress speakers. Their Parliamentary committee drew up a statement of their policy, which was formally sent to the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet. In this they laid down the chief planks of their platform, which included payment of members and of the expenses of Parliamentary elections; a stricter Parliamentary procedure which

would deal effectually with obstruction; stricter State supervision in regard to the Truck Act and other points connected with industry; and the prohibition of the landing of "all pauper aliens having no visible means of existence." With the exception of the last article, there was nothing in these demands at variance with old Radical views, but Mr. Illingworth and those who thought with him judged the Government by its willingness to listen to proposals which were outside "the authorised programme" of the trade union leaders.

The result of the Birkenhead election, although bringing about no change in the position of parties, was regarded—and not unfairly—by the ministerialists as evidence that their policy was gaining ground in the centres of industry. Since Birkenhead had been enfranchised, it had always been represented by a Conservative, who was generally returned by an overwhelming majority. Of recent years, especially since the retirement of Mr. Laird, this majority had been steadily waning; but at the general election Viscount Bury held the seat for the Unionists with a majority of only 600. His succession to his father's peerage rendered a fresh election necessary, and his opponent, Mr. W. H. Lever, a large employer of labour, once more came forward to do battle for the Gladstonians. On this occasion the Unionist candidate was Mr. Elliot Lees, who had previously sat for Oldham in Lancashire, but had been defeated at the general election. He was not strictly a local man, and, in addition, had the disadvantage of belonging to that part of the neighbouring county with which the Cheshire working men were in keenest rivalry. Moreover, as member for Oldham, he had been obliged to exhibit an interest in the Manchester Ship Canal, which if successful would threaten the trade of Birkenhead to an appreciable extent. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, he managed to retain the seat for his party, but by a very decreased majority; Mr. W. H. Lever, the managing director of large soap-works at the mouth of the Dee, polling 6,043 to 6,149 given to Mr. Elliot Lees. Thus the Conservative majority, which in 1886 had been nearly 1,200, was reduced to little more than 100, the Radical vote rising steadily at each subsequent election by nearly 1,000 votes, whilst the increase to the Unionist was barely more than 500 at each successive trial of strength. It would be difficult to say on what questions stress was principally laid by the candidates, but they were rather local than imperial. Home Rule was kept in the background by both sides, but the House of Lords was brought into prominence.

With the exception of Mr. Chamberlain, the party leaders on both sides had so far kept almost wholly aloof from platform speech-making. This silence on the part of the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer was more perplexing to their own followers than to their opponents, who could speak without risk as they spoke without authority. The result was that the

subordinate ministers, when addressing their constituents or supporters, were forced to fall back upon threadbare topics or to deal enigmatically with the more immediate question of the moment. They, however, had some compensation in finding that wider publicity was given to their utterances than they would otherwise have received, and more weight attached to their words than they expected. For example, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in addressing his constituents (Oct. 17) at Bradford, revealed a deep-seated determination to put an end to the obstruction of the Lords, who up to that time had never, publicly at least, aroused the animosity of the President of the Local Government Board. His researches into the history of the past had, however, convinced him that they had never performed any true service to the country—a somewhat harsh judgment on members of his own family. He, however, prudently declined to discuss how he proposed to deal with the existing state of things until he had heard what Lord Rosebery had to say, leaving the public to infer that at any rate all the members of the Cabinet were not in the confidence of its chief.

More attention, however, was given to the speeches of the Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, who rightly or wrongly was credited with being the stalwart Radical of the Cabinet, whilst his sudden rise in political life was supposed to indicate the value set upon his talents by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Asquith, in addressing his constituents in East Fifehire, made Leven his first halting-place (Oct. 22), and with very few prefatory remarks plunged at once into his subject. The electors of Great Britain, he said, were entitled to ask what efforts the Government had made to fulfil their pledges, and to this question he claimed to be able to give a clear and distinct reply. "Their first duty had been to embody in a legislative form the proposals for granting Home Rule to Ireland. The Government presented a scheme which he believed was wise, prudent and just, and they carried it through the House of Commons after immense labour. If it met with an unfortunate fate in another place, and the Government had not since been able to proceed further with the scheme, it was not from any slackening of zeal on their part, but from a cause to which he would have to refer later on. The Government had, however, succeeded in passing a Local Government Bill of great complexity, and in regard to finance they had endeavoured, by a readjustment of taxation, not to do injustice either between man and man, or class and class, but so to shift the burden that it might be borne legally and justly in proportion to the ability of those called upon to share it. In the sphere of administration the Government had had to deal with a number of difficult questions. They had largely increased the strength of the Navy, and had taken active steps in Uganda and South Africa to secure the interests of Great Britain.

Mr. Asquith then turned to the more immediate question

of the hour, and with perhaps more boldness than prudence contradicted the very distinct assertions made apparently on authority by the German and French newspapers, and in some measure confirmed by the ministerialist organs in this country. He declared the story that British diplomacy had met with a rebuff in the great capitals of Europe to be a fiction, for which there was not one tittle or shadow of justification. It was impossible, he added, in view of the alarming events which were taking place in the East, and the large interest which Great Britain and other Powers had in the trade of those regions—it was impossible that we could be unmoved spectators of the war raging between China and Japan; but he was speaking only the literal truth when he said that between the Great Powers of Europe there was a practically unanimous accord in relation to this matter, and the story which represented the Government as having proposed heroic measures which the other Powers had rejected and repudiated was a story invented in a reckless excess of party zeal by persons who were not ashamed to invent an imaginary humiliation to their country to be attributed to the incredible stupidity of those who were responsible for its government.

Whether the Home Secretary was altogether well informed as to what had taken place or was taking place at the Foreign Office, seemed a little doubtful by the light of subsequent admissions, but at the moment of utterance Mr. Asquith doubtless gave what he believed to be the correct version of what had not taken place. He was, however, more at his ease and in his element when discussing the far more burning question of the relations between the two Houses of Parliament from the Cabinet point of view. He especially warned his audience that he left it to the Prime Minister to make any announcement as to the precise steps which the Government proposed to take in the ensuing session. Speaking, however, at once with the sense of responsibility which every member of the Government must share, and with that frankness which his constituents had a right to expect, he was ready to explain his own views on the subject. "The Legislature should be constructed so as to reflect and carry out the national will. Let them, then, examine the position of a Second Chamber, such as the House of Lords. A Second Chamber, which claimed to exercise co-ordinate powers with the First Chamber, not being itself representative, obviously prevented the attainment of that object by introducing a deflecting factor. But even the friends of the Lords did not now go so far as to claim for it the exercise of co-ordinate powers with those of the Commons. They only claimed for it that it should act as a check on hasty and ill-considered legislation. How did the House of Lords perform the duty imposed upon it as an impartial and dispassionate revising authority? Its business was to check precipitate legislation, but it must always be ready to defer to the clear

manifestation of the popular will. That was the ideal House of Lords. Let them look at the actual House of Lords. In the first place its composition was hardly what they would expect for this duty of impartial revision, for, practically speaking, its members were all chosen from a single class. The House of Lords when a Tory Ministry was in power passed into a state of political hibernation. What was the case when a Liberal Government was in power? A very different temper then actuated the proceedings of their lordships, as the last two years abundantly proved—for the Lords had not only rejected the Home Rule Bill and the Evicted Tenants Bill, but they practically rejected the Employers' Liability Bill, and disfigured the English and Scotch Local Government Bills. What was the prospect of the measures still before the Government—bills which should carry out the principle of 'one man one vote,' and the establishment of religious equality in Scotland and Wales? Had they any chance of passing through the House of Lords, although the opinion of the country was declared in their favour at the last general election? The truth was that the House of Commons, which was uncontrolled during the six years of Tory rule from 1886 to 1892, was now checked in every direction. Our First Chamber was altered from an omnipotent body when a Tory Government was in power, to an impotent body when a Liberal Government was in power. On the other hand the House of Lords, which effaced itself in the first instance, was a powerful and active instrument for obstruction in the second."

Mr. Asquith then went on to defend the ministerial policy in not taking the sense of the electors on the matters at issue between the two Houses. The Government, he said, were reproached with tinkering at the machinery of Government when their time might be more usefully spent in pushing forward measures of reform. That was an old fallacy with a new face. They could not fabricate the reforms which our time demanded, so long as the action of one of our legislative Chambers was constantly neutralised by the reaction of the other. He agreed that in a matter of such gravity and difficulty they ought to be slow to move, and they ought to be prudent and careful in the proposals they made; but there was no longer any use in blinking the fact that we had arrived at a point in our constitutional development when this great issue must be determined one way or the other. He was confident that as the veto of the Crown was found to be incompatible with the free and full exercise of its functions by the Imperial Parliament, so in turn it would be seen that the veto of the House of Lords was incompatible with the first principles of representative and democratic government.

Two days later Mr. Asquith addressed (Oct. 24) another group of his constituents at Newburgh, where, after assuring them that he looked forward with considerable confidence to

the coming session, he said the Government would not be slack in undertaking the task which Liberal opinion (as expressed at the Leeds Conference) had imposed upon them of placing clearly before them the issue raised between the two Houses, they would yet find time for the fulfilment of pledges undertaken at the general election and still unredeemed. Whilst the opposition as represented by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain had no programme, the Government at any rate had a policy which was definite, which was intelligible, which they were not afraid to expound to audiences of their fellow-countrymen. "The Liberal party had long since made up their mind—and it was the duty of the Liberal Government to carry that opinion into action—that they must get rid of the practice of plural voting. He believed there was equal unanimity as to the shortening and simplifying of the law of qualification, and throwing the necessary cost of the machinery of party elections on the public exchequer. Before Parliament was dissolved the House of Commons would be given an opportunity of carrying a measure embodying these principles into law. Some of their opponents said they did not object to the principle of 'one man one vote' if it were accompanied by 'one vote one value.' He had no objection whatever to that principle."

Passing next to the question which probably more than any other divided the Scotch Liberals Mr. Asquith boldly spoke out his adhesion to the principle of religious equality. "No good was gained by outraging and insulting the fine and honourable sentiment which Church Establishments inspired; but if they had the breadth of view which would enable them to appreciate the existence of that sentiment among their opponents, were they not entitled to claim an equal measure of imagination from them? If they did so they would find that it was believed that the Church had dwindled from the position of being a national Church to the Church of a particular denomination; instead of embracing the whole community it now included only a particular section. They were asked by what title they presumed to ask Parliament to divert these ecclesiastical funds from the uses to which they were at present put. His answer was, 'by precisely the same title by which the present possessors of these funds enjoy the using of them.' That which Parliament had made Parliament could unmake." He thought that if they looked to the experience of other countries—to Ireland, the United States, and the British Colonies—they must have indeed a poor faith in the inherent vitality of the Church, in whatever form it might be embodied, if they did not suppose that it could maintain its position and discharge its functions with at least as much richness, force, and efficacy when it had lost as when it had been protected by the patronage of the State. All the talk about robbing the Church, which had played so ignominious a part in this controversy, was totally without foundation. The Government were determined to



persevere with the full confidence that they had behind them the support of right, of reason, and the principles of justice.

Passing next to the liquor question, Mr. Asquith said that the Government in 1893 had introduced a bill the object of which was to give to the locality control over the sale of liquor. "He was strongly of opinion that the bill so presented to Parliament, and which they should, no doubt, present to Parliament again, was a just and a politic measure, but he also assented to the view that it was by no means a complete settlement of this grave and difficult question. There were a very large number of places in which they did not find a majority of two-thirds who were prepared to get rid altogether of the sale of drink, and he was quite satisfied that local veto would in time have to be supplemented by other measures, in particular a measure which would give the same effect to the population's views in regard to limitation as they had already proposed to give as to the prohibition of the granting of licences." As to the Gothenburg system, he was not opposed to it, but in the first place they had no complete experience to guide them as to the results obtained; then, if the municipality was to undertake the trade it must dispossess the existing publican, and on what principle were they going to compensate? That was a very thorny question which the advocates of the system passed over lightly, but they must be well aware that any proposal to give compensation on the basis that the business was entrenched in the possession of a secure monopoly would receive the most determined opposition from the great mass of the people. Then who was going to fix the prices, and to whom were the profits to go? These were all difficulties, but he should be very glad to see the experiment tried in some one or more of our great municipalities; then after a few years' working, they might be better able to judge whether it was fit for general adoption.

The Secretary for War, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, endorsed his colleague's views when addressing (Oct. 26) his own constituents at Stirling, but whilst it was impossible to deduce from Mr. Asquith's speeches whether he was in favour of two Chambers or one, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was apparently more ready to mend the House of Lords than to end it altogether. He did not attribute all the misfortunes of the Ministry in their attempts at legislation to the perverseness of the Peers. He asserted that the inevitable conclusion to which the Government was driven was that there must be some difficulty in the rules and procedure of Parliament; that our present legislative system and the procedure of Parliament generally were not only inefficient, but even sometimes productive of absolutely mischievous results. He believed that the country had become sick of the contests and personal recriminations of rival politicians; that public opinion had for some time been moving in that direction, and that pressure would be steadily

brought to bear upon them as business men and practical men and common-sense men to recast the whole system and procedure and practice of Parliament. "Many reforms had been suggested, such as a time limit on speeches and the length of debate, but he would only trouble them with one suggestion, which might be impracticable, but which had, he thought, some basis of common-sense. They were aware when Parliament was prorogued that any bill which had not received the royal assent fell to the ground. Why should they not be allowed to take up in one session of Parliament, at the stage at which they left it, the measure with which they were dealing in the previous session?" When they turned to the House of Lords they found a legislative body which had no flavour or pretence of representation about it. It was not delay that they complained of there; it was antagonism and destruction. The House of Lords, having ceased to be a senate, had become a body of violent and reckless partisans. There was a great deal to be said for maintaining a Second Chamber as a court of review and a check upon rash and wayward action; but whether it was useful or not, to take a Second Chamber drawn almost entirely from one class of the community with no representation, unless accidentally, of the commercial and industrial interests, and of the mass of the population, and to set it up as of equal authority and in deliberate antagonism to the democratic Chamber representative of all classes and of all interests, was a plan without parallel in the wildest constitution-mongering that the world had ever seen. The question having been raised, they were bound to go through with it. It was not a question for the House of Commons. The House of Commons, as Mr. Gladstone in that memorable last speech of his reminded them, was itself a party to the cause, and could not be judge in the case. It was a question for the decision of the nation. What the Government would do was, when the proper time came, to lay the issue before the country, the great issue whether an irresponsible Chamber or the representatives of the people should prevail, and they did not shrink from the award.

In the interval between Mr. Asquith's two speeches, Mr. A. J. Balfour had managed to put in a few words (Oct. 23), but as the occasion was the annual conference at Edinburgh of the Church of Scotland Young Men's Guild he limited his remarks to the Disestablishment question. After a few words on the professional agitator who could wrap up a bad policy in fine words, Mr. Balfour appealed to his hearers as well-informed persons to say whether the Scottish Church did not enjoy to the fullest extent an absolute liberty within her own sphere, and that outside that sphere she neither had it nor desired to possess it.

As to equality, it was his inmost thought that what they called "freedom" was not what was thought of the opponents of Disestablishment. The freedom which they desired to give

would only benefit them; the equality which they demanded was undoubtedly demanded, if not to benefit themselves, at all events to injure the Church. Equality in the mouth of those who used it meant nothing more or less or different in any respect than simple direct plunder of that property which the State never gave to the Church, and which the State ought not to take from it. There were aspects of the controversy in connection with the funds of the Church painful to him. He referred to the modern electioneering method of bribing the constituencies with vague and impossible promises based upon the plunder of the Church, with regard to certain secular interests which it was alleged would be aided by the funds thus illegitimately acquired. It was bad enough to plunder the Church without using the proceeds of their plunder for the purpose of political corruption. Surely it was enough that moneys which had for centuries been devoted to religious work should be diverted from that great purpose without also using these funds as an inducement to cast votes in favour of those who desired this peculiar form of "equality."

He hoped this great crime would not be committed in their generation. It would be a melancholy thing if they, in surveying their political past, had to look back upon a transaction so fraught with national discredit as would be the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. Would they not consider it the deepest stain on the national honour to have taken part in appropriating to secular uses, for the most part unknown and unknowable, the property which had belonged to the Scottish Church ever since she came into being, and whether it would not add even a deeper hue to this stain to remember that at the moment when the Scottish Church was plundered she was using the money of which she was deprived day by day for better purposes, that she was spreading her influence under many climes and in many lands, that she was working among the poor in great cities, that she was doing her work wherever the work of Christianity had to be done, and that those who despoiled her were those of her own faith, those who agreed with her in doctrine, those who joined with her in many respects in the noble work of propagating the same beliefs? If they looked at it in that light, the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Scotland would stand out among all modern transactions of which history left them a record black with indelible infamy.

From Mr. A. J. Balfour's point of view the question of Disestablishment was not merely a Scotch or a Welsh question, but one in which the National Churches of the United Kingdom were equally interested. If, however, he dealt on this occasion with only one of the issues between the two great political parties, it was that the Conservative leader, like the other members of the Cabinet, was awaiting with eager interest the Prime Minister's pronouncement at Bradford. But before

explaining the ministerial intentions with regard to the coming session, Lord Rosebery felt it incumbent on him to remove some of the misconceptions which had found currency with regard to the foreign policy of the Government. He therefore took advantage of the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield (Oct. 25), although the Prime Minister had never before appeared at the banquet during the 270 years' existence of the Cutlers' Guild. Lord Rosebery, however, who had won the Derby, was not the man to shrink at creating precedents, and in reply to the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers" he made a review of foreign affairs. Referring to the illness of the Czar, he said there was no one who knew what had passed in Europe during the last twelve years who did not feel the immeasurable debt of obligation under which we lay to the Emperor of Russia, "a monarch whose watchword, whose reign and whose character had been the worship of truth and the worship of peace."

The Premier then turned to consider the late Cabinet Council and the rumours circulated as to the cause of its being held. The reasons put forth were, he said, the imaginings of the silly season. "It seems to me that the process is mainly this—that you first invent an alarming reason for the meeting of the Cabinet in order that you may be alarmed, and then that, when that question has lasted long enough, you invent a reassuring reason in order that you may be reassured. Then, some time after the Cabinet met, we heard at last the real reason—the Cabinet had met in order to discuss a proposal of intervention between China and Japan. It had issued a circular, and it had met with a unanimous rebuff. This, I fear, was not much more accurate than the other explanations. The matter of the intervention between China and Japan was not discussed at the Cabinet. No circular was issued, and no rebuff was received. Let me say exactly on what this report, so far as I can learn, arose. It is a matter of some delicacy, because if I speak too definitely, I may tend to prevent the very object we had in view. But it is well that the country should know what the general policy of the Cabinet has been, even if we cannot give our exact justification for it. You all know what the war is between China and Japan. . . . Well, gentlemen, not long ago there reached us, after the first Japanese victory, information from a source which, for reasons you will understand, I cannot describe exactly, but which I may characterise as, in my opinion, the most authoritative and the most convincing that we could have on that subject, that China was willing to concede honourable terms of peace, such as would considerably exceed the demands of Japan in entering on the war, and which Japan would certainly accept without diminution of prestige or advantage. It seemed to us, then, that it was impossible absolutely to put this information in our pockets and keep it to ourselves, because I think you will agree with me, to whatever party at home you may belong, that no ministry could have

incurred such a responsibility. Representing, as they do, a nation whose interest is peace, a nation so largely engaged in the East—and, let me add without cant, a Christian nation—they could not disregard such overtures. We did not found great hopes upon that, but we did think it our duty to sound the other Courts of Europe and of the United States—to ascertain if, in their opinion, there was any possibility of Japan and China coming to terms upon any such conditions as those I have indicated. The reception of these approaches was extraordinarily favourable. The Powers of Europe seemed to feel that a common calamity overwhelmed them; but in the judgment of one or two of them—only one, I think, but we will say one or two to be within the confines of truth—it did not appear that the time had yet arrived when conditions could be put forward with any advantage for the consideration of the combatants. I do not say that I disagree with that view. I am inclined rather to concur with it. But to represent that if one of the Powers thinks the time has not yet come, and the other Powers are prepared to strain a point and think that the time has come, that there is therefore a rebuff for the Power that has sounded them in the interests of peace, is, to my mind, one of the most preposterous propositions, and one of the propositions most hostile and damaging to the peaceful relations of the world that can possibly be conceived.” Lord Rosebery then went on to say that the Government might be fairly asked why, if they had these conditions in their pockets, they did not take them themselves to Japan. “Why consult other Powers at all? Why not proceed on your peaceful mission alone and unaided?” The answer was tolerably clear. In the first place, in a great catastrophe of this kind, the more Great Powers engaged in peace-making the better for peace. Another reason was that between combatants it was a point of pride not to be the first to ask for peace, and it was a valuable matter, both in public and private life, to have a mediator from whom peace might be accepted honourably, instead of accepting it from the enemy. The last reason was this—that the Great Powers of Europe, the Great Powers of the world, were profoundly suspicious of each other, and, innocent as Great Britain was, there was no Power so little suspicious of others or so profoundly suspected by others as that empire to which we had the honour to belong. We could not open a paper abroad which did not point to every convulsion in politics, and possibly to some convulsions of nature, as due to British influence. But certain he was of this, that in the jealous condition of things produced by the war between China and Japan it would have been madness for this country to have attempted to act as bottle-holder between China and Japan without incurring the suspicion of every Power interested—and all Powers were interested in the East. After touching upon the imaginary difficulties with France on account of Madagascar, which could

not arise as long as France did not exceed her rights under the treaty by which her protectorate was recognised, Lord Rosebery assured his hearers that he could not consider we had given France any reasonable ground of offence. He would have them, however, remember that in discussing these questions it was not the Government alone that sustained the honour of the nation, but the spirit of the nation itself. He believed that the country was united and determined in questions of foreign policy to a degree which had never been known before, and that the "party of a small England, of a shrunk England, of a degraded England, of a neutral England, of a submissive England, had died out."

Such a blast on the national trumpet, whilst it delighted the opponents of the Government, gave very divided satisfaction to its supporters. The Radical press at once fastened upon the "jingo" ring so plainly audible throughout the Premier's speech, altogether at variance with the presumed views of the "little Englanders," who were not without their spokesmen even in the Cabinet. The Radical journals did their utmost to minimise the meaning of the words, and explained them away by the necessities of the occasion, and the obvious reason of not depreciating the chief industry of Sheffield, which was intimately associated with defensive armour and offensive weapons. The Opposition papers, on the other hand, were not slow to point out that whilst Lord Rosebery had been eager to expose the false reason given for the sudden summoning of the Cabinet, he had been especially careful not to give any real reason for an act of which the effects had been felt on every Exchange throughout Europe, and for which ministers were summoned from all parts of the Continent and the United Kingdom. Madagascar was not alluded to, the Chino-Japanese negotiations were not commenced, and nothing disturbed the friendliness of our relations with foreign Powers. The whole matter, according to Lord Rosebery, was a mystification which journalists and stock-jobbers had alone taken seriously. It was perhaps only by a coincidence that on the day after the speech was delivered, it transpired that an identical communication—not distinguishable from a circular except technically—had been addressed to the five Great Powers and to the United States, and of these Italy alone was favourable to intervention, the others declining to act in more or less specific terms. This might not have been in diplomatic language a rebuff, but it carried with it all the consequences of such a reception. Moreover, in an interview with the representative of the *Kreuz Zeitung*, a leading German newspaper, Sir H. Macartney, the Anglo-Chinese Secretary of the Chinese Legation, declared that Lord Rosebery proposed to the Continental powers "to intercede or intervene," and he went on to say: "Lord Rosebery's sudden activity was, if possible, even more extraordinary than his former policy of *laissez-faire*. His proposal to the

Continental Powers to interfere was, to say the least, premature. It was not solicited or even countenanced by either of the two belligerent Powers." Although in certain points Sir H. Macartney corrected the impression given by his interviewer of what had passed between them, he did not deny the substantial accuracy of the conversation.

The Premier's speech at Bradford was looked forward to with so much interest, had been announced so long beforehand as destined to be the starting point of the ministerial policy in the coming session, that it was not surprising that it failed to satisfy altogether either followers or opponents. It was especially on the attitude of the Government towards the House of Lords that Liberals of all shades were anxious to have their leader's definite views. Hitherto the ministers who had spoken had either done so in vague terms, or had shown a divided opinion on the respective advantages of a single Chamber and a powerless House of Peers. In his Bradford speech (Oct. 27), delivered to a large and enthusiastic audience, Lord Rosebery entered with very slight preface on the promised subject. "When the dissolution came," he said, "and perhaps after all it was not possible that the life of the Parliament should be very far extended," the battle of the polls would be fought, not upon the question of Disestablishment, or Home Rule, or local option, but upon the question which included and represented them all, the question of the House of Lords, for dealing with which he considered that the time had arrived. In saying that he quite recognised the advantage which the Peers had just now in representing the English majority against Irish Home Rule. It might also be true that this was a time of calm and apathy in regard to the Upper House; if so, it was a good time for action, because great constitutional questions should not be dealt with at moments of passion and revolution. In any case it was no longer possible to follow Lord Melbourne's general maxim and "let it alone." While everything changed round the House of Lords, that House remained unchanged. But if we were to pull down a street and rebuild it all with the exception of one house, we should probably find in the course of the year that that house would be condemned as a dangerous structure. The House of Commons had been thrice popularised during the last sixty years by large successive extensions of the franchise, and it was now elected on almost the most popular possible basis; the other House was still composed almost entirely of hereditary members, and, so composed, claimed the right to control and veto in all respects, except finance, the proceedings of the House of Commons. Let them see how the case stood. The House of Lords, which contained 5 per cent. of Liberals and 95 per cent. of another party, which he would not define, ruled Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, which sympathised with the 5 per cent., and England, which, except on the question of Home Rule, did, he believed, in fact and in practice, in general

sympathise with the 5 per cent. also. It mattered not what number of Liberals they returned to the House of Commons at the next election—they might return 600, yet there would still be only the thirty Liberal peers in the other House. This was a mere mockery of free institutions. He confessed that in principle he was a Second Chamber man; he was not for the uncontrolled government of a single Chamber any more than for the uncontrolled government of a single man. But if he were bound to choose between no Second Chamber at all and a Second Chamber constituted as the House of Lords was, he should feel that there was ground for hesitation with regard to his principle. It was, to his mind, an absolute danger, an invitation to revolution, that there should be an assembly of that kind occupying the position it did. In his judgment the House of Lords was not a Second Chamber at all, but a permanent party organisation controlled for party purposes. They were told that the Peers never resisted the known will of the people. Well, he wanted to know how the wishes of the people could be better expressed than through the representatives of the people. And who gave the Peers the right or the instinct to decide as to what were or were not the wishes of the people, when those wishes were expressed through their representatives? To allow them such a right would be to imply that Liberal legislation could only be carried under a threat of revolution, as in 1832, when Birmingham and Glasgow were arming, and Bristol was in flames. They had therefore a great national question before them, as well as a great national danger. The issue was tremendous. It was the greatest issue that had been raised in this country since their fathers resisted the tyranny of Charles I. and James II., and the difficulties of dealing with it were enormous. Within the limits of the constitution they could not abolish or modify the powers of the House of Lords except by a bill passed through both Houses. Any other way meant a revolution. But matters would not come to a revolution with the House of Lords. There were means of making the will of the country felt without violent or unconstitutional methods. In his opinion, the House of Commons would have to proceed, in the first place, as it had always proceeded in its contests with the Lords, by resolution. One great example was the resolution of 1678, which asserted the free and uncontrollable right of the House of Commons to represent the people in matters of finance. And the resolution the present Government had in mind—he would not pledge himself to its exact wording—would state in clear and unmistakable terms that the House of Commons in the partnership with the House of Lords was the predominant partner. Such a resolution ministers would invite the House to pass; and that was a very different thing from a resolution proposed by a private member. It would represent a joint demand of the Executive and the popular Chamber for a re-



vision of the constitution. Afterwards the House of Commons would call on a power even greater than itself—on the people of Great Britain—to give them a mandate for dealing with the question. On the verdict of the people the issue would depend. “We fling down the gauntlet,” Lord Rosebery concluded; “it is for you to back us up.”

The Radical papers at the outset were disposed to regard the spirit of Lord Rosebery’s speech as satisfactory, whilst allowing that in adopting the essence of the demand of the Leeds Conference, he had varied its form. One London journal even went so far as to say: “Lord Rosebery’s magnificent speech has the ring of confidence and the tone of strength. It is marked by the fire and the earnestness, as well as by the prudence and wisdom, which enable a true statesman to regulate a national crisis.” It must be admitted this outburst of fulsome adulation found no echo in the provincial press, of which the Liberal organs were obviously alarmed by Lord Rosebery’s “frank and fearless” confession that he was “in principle all for a Second Chamber.” Many of his supporters, too, were obviously perplexed by this confession, more especially as he omitted to give any hint as to the kind of Second Chamber which he would set up in the place of the existing “permanent party organisation.” Others again insisted that before going to the country the proposed amendment of the constitution should be made plain to the electors, and a clear view given of the means by which it was to be carried out.

On the other hand the organs of the Opposition promptly denounced the speech as mere mock thunder, for Lord Rosebery proposed to meet “a great national question and a great national danger” with an indefinite resolution, affirming that the House of Commons was the predominant partner in legislation. Others declared that such a line of procedure was a plain admission that ministers had no policy and no plan, and were willing to get any tactical advantage they could out of an attack upon the House of Lords. By all parties, except a very small section of ministerialists, it was admitted that the Prime Minister, having once given notice of such a resolution, should have it brought forward without delay after the assembling of Parliament, and should take the opinion of the electorate as soon as possible afterwards, unless the Government were prepared to admit that the whole agitation against the House of Lords was hollow and unreal.

It had been arranged some time beforehand that Lord Salisbury should reply to the Premier, and a fitting opportunity was found (Oct. 30) at Edinburgh, where a Unionist gathering, not less important in numbers and enthusiasm than that of the Liberals at Bradford, welcomed their leader. After a few remarks of local interest, Lord Salisbury at once grappled with the question raised by the Prime Minister, describing it as a big red herring drawn across the trail of Home Rule. The country

had just witnessed the unexampled phenomenon of the First Minister of the Crown coming forward to propose the suppression of a branch of the legislature. He did not for a moment believe Lord Rosebery was in earnest. Still, they must deal with his portentous utterance as it was presented them. He claimed to propose something analogous to the foreign *referendum*—to determine what should be the subject of the reference to the electors at the next general election. He had no sort of power to do so. Moreover, it was essential to a *referendum* that it should state distinctly the measure submitted to the electorate. Again and again the Government had brought forward measures which Great Britain had rejected, but with respect to which Great Britain had been overruled by the votes of the South and West of Ireland. In each case the Lords, acting on behalf of Great Britain, remitted the matter for further consideration. “The House of Lords do not, of course, demand that England and Scotland shall have power of imposing new conditions upon the third partner in our confederacy—namely, Ireland—but they claim that when a revolutionary change is to be made in the conditions which already exist their voices shall be heard. And unless you have a Second Chamber you cannot secure that those voices shall be heard.” Of course a resolution of the House of Commons could have no legal value whatever, for the simple reason that the courts of law would take no cognisance of it. However, if the House of Commons did pass a resolution of the kind indicated, probably the House of Lords would have to pass another, and the two would lay the case before the country; and when the dissolution came electors would vote according to the matter which was near their hearts, without giving two thoughts to the resolutions. “And the Parliament will come back, and whether there is a cynical minister to cancel the resolution or not—my impression is that it would not require any very great cynicism on the part of a minister to cancel a foolish resolution—but whether he does or not it will pass into absolute oblivion, and will remain entirely without power.” Very different agencies were required to change, fundamentally, the ancient Constitution of England. Physical force, no doubt, could overthrow the House of Lords; but he should be very much surprised to see the people of this island applying physical force in order to ensure that their own wishes should be subjected to the wishes of the South and West of Ireland. Lord Salisbury went on to remind his hearers that if there was an overwhelming majority of the Peers against the present Government, that was not the normal condition of the Upper House; he could remember how Lord Aberdeen had been backed by a majority of the Lords against Lord Derby and the Conservatives on the question of University tests, and how Lord Palmerston had also been supported against a Conservative Opposition on the question of the China War. Even now a very large proportion of those

arrayed against the Government in the Upper House were Liberals, who had not changed their principles, but who failed to see that the Government represented true Liberal principles. The truth was, it was not the men who had changed; it was Liberal opinions that had changed. There were men who were far-sighted enough to see where the question of Irish policy was driving them. There were men whose affection for Mr. Gladstone induced them to hope against hope to the last. But, whether they came early or whether they came late, they were all convinced that Mr. Gladstone's policy was fatal to the integrity of the empire, and, treating that as superior to all other considerations, they had joined together to make the severance between England and Ireland impossible. But it was absurd to treat a great movement like that as though it were an indication of the permanent attachment of the House of Lords to a particular party. There was no doubt whatever that if the Irish policy of the Government were once out of the way, the House of Lords would settle back into the old position, in which parties were fairly evenly balanced, but in which undoubtedly there was a leaning towards the Conservative side. It was its function to be Conservative, to be a check on party innovation. Meanwhile the struggle now so lightly entered upon would be desperate and long; while it lasted nothing else could be done; and it would be the death-blow to all legislation for the elevation of the masses.

Passing at this point by a natural transition to certain popular demands, Lord Salisbury reviewed the various Socialistic proposals, which he ranged under three heads. One sort of Socialistic legislation—and that the most popular—was pure robbery. Then there was another sort of Socialism, which meant that in the conduct of certain industries the will of the minority shall be subordinated to that of the majority. As to that, there were some things which the State could do better than the individual, while there were some things which the individual could do better than the State, and we must examine each case by itself. With regard to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, Lord Salisbury admitted that he did not precisely understand their nature, but he was satisfied that no taint of confiscation would be found in any plan of his. The poor law—the question of dealing with the aged—had been an old question of Conservative grievance. Scotch poor law distinctly contained the provision that we are not bound to support those who can support themselves, and that Lord Salisbury held to be the essence of wisdom in this matter, and any relaxation of the poor law must be in favour of those who, by increase of age or the visitation of misfortune, were unable to assist themselves. Then there was another question, the purchase by working men of their own dwellings. There again it was impossible to refuse hearty concurrence to the object in view; but it was doubtful whether working men in all towns were

willing to acquire the freehold of their cottages. Any powers given in this respect should be given to local authorities, so that it should only be applied where the need and the wish clearly existed.

Lord Salisbury then turned to the question of strikes, of which the serious effects were at that moment being felt throughout the South-west of Scotland. He warned his hearers that these industrial conflicts between capitalists and working men could only end in both having to give way to the foreigner, and in Great Britain ceasing to be the leading producing country in the world. In conclusion, Lord Salisbury said it was time we had done with tinkering with the Constitution, and declared solemnly that if the movement against the Lords was real, it was one which involved the safety of the empire. The Commons could not be trusted alone; their recent proceedings showed clearly that liberty of speech did not exist there; whilst, for example, an independent House of Commons could not govern India. "There is," he added, "no object of secular endeavour, there is no effort of political combination, which ought in your minds to take a higher place than that of maintaining, as our ancestors and we have maintained, that a Second Chamber is necessary to control the decision of the representative assembly, unless we are prepared to sacrifice all those institutions by which religion is maintained and civilisation is rendered precious to those who enjoy it."

Whatever the merits or demerits of Lord Salisbury's speech may have been, it served to bring out the difficulty of the task on which Lord Rosebery had insisted in his speech at Bradford. Without the consent of the Lords, any interference with their constitutional rights would be next to impossible, unless there was a great wave of popular feeling sufficient to sweep away all barriers and ancient landmarks. To lead a crusade for which no enthusiasm existed, except perhaps in those Irish who earnestly desired Home Rule, required great tact and great generalship on the part of the chiefs, but still more blind devotion and unquestioning obedience on the part of the followers. Although there was doubtless a very large majority of all classes who felt that the actual power of the Peers was an anomaly, and that some re-settlement of the respective functions of the two Houses was desirable, it was equally well known and widely felt that the Peers never exercised their powers in the face of popular feeling, when deliberately expressed. In rejecting the Irish Home Rule Bill they had only given effect to the voice of the "predominant partner" in the House of Commons—a voice which had been overruled by the fortuitous agreement of the junior members of the firm. At the same time, those who were prepared to retain the existing system of two Chambers, but were anxious to make the Commons all-powerful, saw clearly that any reform of the Upper House would be to give it the actual strength, of which

it now only possessed the semblance. In any system of dual government one body would constitute the Upper, and the other the Lower Chamber, and in the nature of things there would be a tendency, if not a natural ambition for men of superior powers, to rise to the Upper Chamber, which would thus in the end overshadow the Lower House of Representatives. As long, therefore, as Lord Rosebery maintained his attitude of reserve with regard to the intentions of the Government, and declined to give an idea of the form his resolution would take, all discussions upon the abstract rights and respective duties of the two Houses were purely academic, and wholly unsuited for platform oratory.

Public attention, however, was for the moment drawn away from domestic politics just as it had been forty years previously to the little peninsula of Russia abutting on the Black Sea. After a long and lingering illness which had been watched with unfeigned anxiety by the rulers and people of every European country, the Czar, Alexander III., passed away. Suddenly called to the throne under circumstances which prevented him from favouring the development of "modern" ideas in his own empire, he had made himself the peace-keeper of Europe, and in that character conferred untold blessings upon the world. Within his own dominions his aim was to make his empire more powerful by rendering it more thoroughly Slav. The German element which at one time threatened to obtain a footing among the governing classes was steadily eliminated, as "Russia for the Russians and by the Russians" was the aim of Alexander's home policy. The task he took upon himself would have taxed the powers of even a great statesman to the utmost, even if he had not been opposed by an unscrupulous section of his own subjects; but living as he did under the shadow of imminent assassination his spirits must often have given way, although his purpose never flagged. His death was the justification of his life, for few, if any ruler passed away amid more universal regret and more sincere gratitude for the benefits he had conferred upon mankind.

The Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet at the Guildhall (Nov. 9), which was attended by several members of the Cabinet, gave the Prime Minister the opportunity to express publicly the feelings with which the sad event in Russia was viewed in this country. Before touching upon these, however, Lord Rosebery, after the way of his predecessors in office on similar occasions, made a general survey of foreign affairs. Touching the political prospect abroad, he admitted that the sky was not entirely clear, but the barometer was not falling. One great source of satisfaction to the Government had been that in their efforts to bring about peace between China and Japan they had been enabled to act hand-in-hand with Russia, the other Power mainly interested. Ever since they had been in office their relations with Russia had been more cordial than he ever

remembered them to have been. They had, as nearly as possible, he hoped and believed, terminated the long-standing difficulty with regard to the limitation of Russian and British spheres of influence in Central Asia; and if the two powers could agree to act cordially together in respect of Asiatic affairs, one great step towards the peace of the world would have been definitely taken. Lord Rosebery then went on to say: "My Lord Mayor, when I speak of Russia I should be failing in my duty if I did not allude to the black cloud which now overspreads that country, and which has to a remarkable degree overspread Europe itself. Since I last spoke on foreign politics, but ten days ago, the blow which we had reason to fear would fall has fallen, and the great Emperor of peace, the master of many legions who never waged a war, has passed away. That is only the second incident of that kind which has occurred this year. It seems but a month or two ago since we were bewailing the assassination of the head of a friendly State—our nearest neighbour. I mean, of course, the President of the French Republic. My lords and gentlemen, on that occasion we could not fail to remember that the country was one with which, in our last war, in our last European war, we stood shoulder to shoulder, and with whom, so far as in us lies, we would always stand shoulder to shoulder, not in war—for war we do not wish for—but in the generous rivalry of commerce and of peace. And now the blow has fallen on Russia. My lords and gentlemen, death is always a terrible thing, though sometimes, and not unfrequently, more terrible to the survivors than to those who are taken. But to all it must always seem that death comes more appallingly to the occupant of the throne. The light that beats upon him is so fierce; he has seemed, up to the moment of removal, so sublime and so uncontrolled, that it would not be in human nature to think the coming of the angel of death did not seem more sudden and more tragic in such a case than in ours. And, indeed, I think we may say this, that sharp and direful as is the strike of the assassin, it is not more terrible than that fatal disease which, seizing on a young man in the bloom and the health of life, removed him from the throne to the tomb in the space of a few weeks. I think that we can only hope now, for I have nothing to add to what I said of late of the deceased Emperor of Russia, and what I felt when he was dying I feel more strongly now that he is dead. I think we may only now express the pious hope that that young head on whom has fallen the terrible responsibilities of that awful Crown—a Crown that involves so much of the destinies and the happiness of the human race—may not prove unequal to that burden. I think he must find some consolation in the universal tribute of regret, and even sorrow, with which his father's death has been received. And in that fact I think that we also, who try to look forward to the future of the human race, may find something

to rejoice in too, because, after all, while it is a tribute to the Emperor, it was quite as much a tribute to peace. There is a character in English history—Lord Falkland, who was killed in the Civil Wars at the Battle of Newbury. He was comparatively a young man; there was nothing to distinguish him from many who died in that campaign; but he has always lived to these times because of his passionate desire for peace. Though he was brave, he was constantly heard murmuring among his companions: ‘Peace, peace.’ He could think of nothing but an end to that war. Well, my Lord Mayor, there are millions of Lord Falklands in Europe now. The one passion, the one secret passion of every breast in this world, is, I believe, putting the past aside, whose unfortunate destiny devotes them to war—I believe the one passion of every disinterested bosom in this world is for peace, industrial and international peace.”

The Premier proceeded to notice “three elements in the present situation which were not altogether reassuring in the interests of peace.” In the first place there were the enormous armaments of the great States, which there must occasionally be the temptation to test and use. Another great danger to good understanding between nations was that mighty engine we called the press. “No one yields to me in admiration for the authority that it exercises and for the high-minded way in which, as a rule, that authority is exercised; but I do not think that the press itself, in the fierce competition which exists between different papers in order to obtain the latest and the most startling intelligence, sufficiently weighs what effect that intelligence may have on the great international understandings of the world.” As examples of news that caused mischief the Prime Minister mentioned the report, which he declared to be absurd, that the Government of New Zealand “had some wish or intention to administer Samoa,” and the wholly incorrect account lately given in a German paper of an “interview” with Sir Halliday Macartney. The third great danger to peace lay in armed exploration; a danger which “must continue until the great powers frankly recognised the sphere of influence of each other in Africa, and until that question was relegated from the region of the uncertain to the region of the certain and of the known.” Meanwhile the foreign policy of the present administration would, though in no party sense of the term, be strictly conservative.

A better endorsement of the Premier’s intentions, however, was to be found in the assurance given at the Guildhall Banquet by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Earl Spencer, that the policy of increasing the Navy had been removed from the domain of party politics—both sides recognising that to make England’s voice powerful in counsels for peace she could show that no unpreparedness for war prompted her to deprecate an appeal to arms.

Lord Rosebery's denial of the correctness of the "interview" reported in a German newspaper (the *Kreuz Zeitung*) had been somewhat discounted by the practical agreement on material points of the two persons most concerned. With regard to the Samoa incident, a very formal confirmation of the *Times* telegram was not long in coming. It was shown that the question of the occupation of Samoa by New Zealand had been discussed by several members of the Ministry, and when at a later period Lord Rosebery's apologists in this country attempted to pass the matter off as a mere joke, the New Zealand politicians indignantly repudiated this travesty of their serious views.

The task, however, of formally replying to Lord Rosebery was reserved for Mr. A. J. Balfour, who, in accordance with his custom, selected the borough or district in which his opponents were supposed to be in the greatest force. On this occasion the conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations was held (Nov. 13) at Newcastle-on-Tyne, under the presidency of the Marquess of Londonderry, and Mr. Balfour, although still suffering from the effects of a recent illness, dealt at some length, though scarcely with his usual vigour, with the leading incidents in the Liberal evolution. Three years had elapsed, he said, since the then leader of the Home Rule party had advertised the programme of varieties which was to be performed under the auspices of his company upon the political stage. Since then, however, a great change had taken place; "the concern is under new management; the old bills have been torn down; of the promised pieces, some have been hissed off the stage; some the authors have never ventured to produce; and it has been felt by those responsible that, unless a new programme could be devised, the old one has entirely lost all power of attracting those masses for whom it was originally intended. The Newcastle programme remains a matter of history; but of history alone; and we now have a young and energetic stage manager, who comes before us and throws into the indefinite background the promises of his predecessor, and pledges himself instead to provide us with all the attractions of a real revolution." He next turned to Lord Rosebery's new departure, and his way of justifying it; that the question of reforming the House of Lords could not be better entered on than at a time when public feeling was entirely calm and indifferent to it. This, said Mr. Balfour, was Lord Rosebery's reason for dealing with "the greatest constitutional question which has been raised for two centuries." When, he asked, did the Government discover that the opinions of the people were going to be swayed at the next general election by the mere fact that the majority of thirty or forty chose to pass resolutions hostile to one branch of the Legislature? When the House of Commons passed, as it sometimes did pass, very foolish and ill-considered resolutions, they were either reversed,



as in the case of Mr. Labouchere's resolution on the House of Lords, or treated as waste paper, like the one passed by the House of Commons dealing with our great Indian dependency. Why should Lord Rosebery's resolution, if passed, not be treated by his successors as had been those referred to? With regard to the rejection of the Employers' Liability Bill by the House of Commons, solely on the ground that one amendment favourable to the interests of a large class of workmen had been passed by the House of Lords, Mr. Balfour held that every workman who had received uncompensated injuries since the rejection of the measure for which he would have received compensation had the measure been passed into law, had been sacrificed to the desire of the Government to accumulate a case against the House of Lords. And if the next five or ten years were to be spent in a barren attempt to destroy the House of Lords, a great host of citizens, who would otherwise have been benefited by social reforms of the same kind, would be sacrificed to the party policy which the Government had thought it politic to pursue. Mr. Balfour denied that the House of Lords had great privileges which were advantageous to themselves. On the contrary, he for his part would not, if he were a member of the House of Lords, ask to have such privileges continued for a single year for his own benefit. The business of the House of Lords, not wholly, but in the main, was to see that the course of our constitutional growth should be a gradual, an even, and a well-considered course. One might look back in vain upon the action of the House of Lords since the Reform Bill of 1867 for anything which could, by any possibility, be twisted into a desire on the part of the Second Chamber to resist the settled will of the community at large. And on several occasions it had prevented sudden and hasty changes which would have taken the country by surprise. In conclusion, Mr. Balfour declared that the whole reason for the attack on the House of Lords was because the Newcastle programme had been a failure, and the Radical wire-pullers wanted a new cry. It might be good party politics; it was very indifferent statesmanship.

On the following day (Nov. 14) Mr. Balfour passed on to a still more Radical stronghold, Sunderland, and was able to find even there a large and appreciative audience. He began by asserting that the Home Rule party since 1885 had started three separate agitations against the Constitution, so that now there was a recognised party in the State which was committed to deferring every other political and social question, firstly, to the destruction of the unity of the United Kingdom; secondly, to the destruction of the National Church in Scotland and the partial destruction of the National Church in England; and thirdly, to the destruction of the House of Lords. He added: "If we hold to our hereditary institutions by so frail a tenure as the casual counsels of some wire-puller, or the dreams of some individual statesman, we hold to them by a tenure far less

secure than, as citizens of this empire, we should desire." He was a believer in democracy as the only system suited to our requirements; but though he held by the Government of the people, it must be that of the whole community. The majority was not the people, for if Lord Rosebery were unseated to-morrow, he was still one of the people. The temptation of democracy was to flatter part of the people into the belief that they were the whole. The main argument against Socialism was that it was at best but a half-truth, for it concerned itself only with distribution and took no thought of the conditions essential to production. As to the eight hours' day he felt sure that in certain trades shorter hours increased output, and in other trades they did not, and his conclusion therefore was that the matter was one for each body of employers and employed, with public opinion controlling both. He believed that social reform, sober legislation for the larger classes, was to be looked for from Unionists alone, and it was to promote such reforms that, if they were returned to power, they would pledge themselves to use it. Mr. Asquith had told his constituents that the party to which he belonged was specially qualified to deal with those social and other questions because they did not consider class, but the community as a whole. "Was that true of the Liberal party or of any single politician who had given public utterance to his views upon this question? They were constantly appealing to sections of the community and ignoring the community as a whole; and they thought it a small matter if injustice should be done here or there provided they could further the wishes of those by whose votes they could retain office." He (Mr. Balfour) did not believe that that policy, though it might be one which tickled the fancy of those to whom it was addressed, would ever really commend itself to the great democracy as a whole.

It was probably by accident that on the same night that Mr. Balfour was addressing the Unionists at Sunderland, Lord Rosebery was encouraging the Liberals of Glasgow (Nov. 14). He had little trouble in ridiculing Lord Salisbury's fears and exposing his exaggerations, but when he came to explain the policy of his own Ministry, he contented himself with arranging the relative precedence of two measures to which his Government was pledged. He complained, at the same time, of the unfortunate position in which his Government was placed, having pledged itself to a vaster programme than any of its predecessors, but supported by an insufficient majority to carry it out. In the ensuing session he admitted that pledges had been given to take, in the order named, the Disestablishment of the English Church in Wales, and then to re-introduce a Liquor Veto Bill, and to press it on as far as Parliamentary time and circumstances would allow. The most interesting part of Lord Rosebery's speech, however, was that in which he discussed his attitude towards the House of Lords, and on some points he

took a more explicit line than he had done previously. He challenged Lord Salisbury to find in any word or speech of his one single adhesion to the principle of a single Chamber, although he admitted that many of the most eminent members of the Liberal party—and many who were not eminent—were in favour of that solution. Lord Rosebery was, however, discreetly silent as to the character and functions of his Second Chamber. At the same time he repeated that he could have no part or parcel in leaving this country to the sole disposition of a single Chamber. It had been said that a reformed Second Chamber might “have the misfortune” to become more powerful than the existing House of Lords. He did not believe that would be the case. “The power of any reformed Second Chamber would depend, not so much on the way in which it was constituted, as on the attributes which you assigned to it. I myself can readily imagine—for that is far off yet—a Second Chamber on a popular basis, with power perhaps rather indirect than direct, perhaps in itself rather consultative than legislative, but which would, at any rate, remain as a high court of justice for the empire, and which might act as a council, in which might be represented those interests of the empire which are at present unrepresented in Parliament.” But the question with which they had more immediately to deal was not the formation of a new Second Chamber, but “the adjustment of the relations of the two Chambers which exist, so that the will of the popular Chamber shall be made plainly and manifestly predominant. That, of course, can be done in one, or two ways. It can be done by obtaining the consent of the House of Lords to the abridgment of its veto, or it can be done by the old Parliamentary system of conference between delegates of the two Houses, in which the delegates of the House of Commons should predominate, and largely predominate, over the delegates of the House of Lords.” In conclusion, Lord Rosebery declared that ministers would proceed in the first instance, as they had already done, by resolution. The efficacy of this method, he admitted, would depend on the support it might receive from the nation. “If,” he added, at an overflow meeting, “you send us back with such a majority as you returned us with last time it is not much that we can hope to effect against the House of Lords; but if you send us back with a majority such as you have in former times given encouragingly to the Liberal party it will not be our fault in any measure if the House of Lords is not made to feel the full force of the nation’s will.”

The reply of a leading Scotch constituency to this appeal was scarcely such as the Prime Minister, unless his words belied his anticipations, could have expected. The elevation of the Attorney-General, Sir J. Rigby, to the Court of Appeal had created a vacancy in Forfarshire, a county containing a large and very varied electorate. For sixty years it had been represented uninterruptedly by a Liberal, for although Mr Barclay

had held the seat as a Liberal Unionist between 1886 and 1892 he retained his Liberal opinions on all subjects except that of Irish Home Rule. In 1892, when he had more completely identified himself with the Unionist party in other matters, he was defeated by Sir John Rigby by 4,943 to 4,077 votes. On the present occasion the Gladstonian Liberals were under the disadvantage of fighting a seat held up to the last moment by their own side, and with a candidate whose local connection was very remote. On the other hand the Unionists had the advantage of an unusually strong local candidate, who for two years had been actively conducting a personal canvass. The two parties were thus pretty equally matched, the Ministerialists having a majority of 866 to rely on, and their opponents the weight of a popular man backed up by certain local sensitiveness against the intrusion of strangers. The result was in every way a surprise for both parties, and a very serious disappointment to the Liberals. Their candidate—Mr. Robson, a London stock-broker—succeeded in polling 4,859 votes, less than a hundred short of the number given in 1892 to Sir J. Rigby, but the Conservatives brought together 5,145 votes in support of Hon. C. M. Ramsay. In other words, a ministerial majority of 866 was converted into a minority of 286 on the first opportunity after Mr. Gladstone's withdrawal. Moreover, the comparison between the 5,145 votes polled by Mr. Ramsay and the number, 1,851, polled in 1885 by Mr. W. A. Lindsay, the last occasion on which a Conservative had stood for the constituency, was a remarkable symptom of a change of opinion. Every possible reason or excuse was put forward for this extraordinary change in the opinions of a large county in less than ten years. The dislike to a stranger, the influence of the Established Church, the neglect of the constituency by the retiring member, probably had something to do with the opinions and votes of a small percentage of the voters; but the larger number must have been influenced by wider and higher considerations, and were glad to exercise their power of dissenting from the views propounded by the Prime Minister in his own name and that of his colleagues.

A curious side-light was thrown upon the perplexities in which the Ministry found themselves involved, at an interview between a deputation of the trade unions and Lord Rosebery, who was asked to bring in a bill to provide for the payment of members of Parliament and of returning officers' fees. The proposal was one of the items of the Newcastle programme, and had been adopted in various senses by different members of the Liberal party. By the Labour party the proposal was supported with great heartiness and unanimity, and they urged that it was but the pecuniary complement of giving to the people the franchise. Lord Rosebery in his reply was obviously anxious not to say anything which might alienate the votes of the Labour party, and at the same time to minimise to the

utmost the cost of a system which failed to commend itself to those of his followers who still adhered to the principles of financial economy. He pointed out to the deputation that of the two obstacles in the way of the realisation of their desires—time and money—the former was the less surmountable. The number of measures to which the Government was already pledged would more than occupy the attention of Parliament during the ensuing session—Welsh Disestablishment and Irish Land Bills having already been promised—and to these a Registration Bill for the three kingdoms must also be added. Nevertheless, the Prime Minister was careful to assure the deputation that he regarded their claim as a just one, but he turned aside at once to another issue casually raised by Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., who had urged that the election charges—paid by the returning officer—as well as his own fee, should be paid by the State. That, said Lord Rosebery, was another question again, and it was a larger question, inasmuch as the payment of expenses at elections would entail, as almost a necessary consequence, the second ballot; so that that would be a considerable measure in itself. With regard to money, Lord Rosebery could say nothing; but he assured his hearers that, as a matter of fact, they could not carry the payment of an income to members of Parliament by a resolution alone. The opinion of the best constitutional authorities was that it would require a bill, so that then they would have another contentious bill for the payment of members alone to compete with the other bills mentioned. Lord Rosebery, however, promised to report to his colleagues what had been laid before him, and the urgency with which it had been pressed; and when they came to frame definitely their Parliamentary programme for the session, he promised that this question should be taken into earnest consideration.

A short conversation followed, which elicited that most of the members considered 300*l.* per annum a desirable income, although Mr. Burns would have been content with 250*l.*, or any sum which covered the cost of subsistence, and would not be so large as to make it in itself an object or inducement.

The Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith) was the first Cabinet minister to address a public meeting after the result of the Forfarshire election had been made known. It was probably his customary adroitness which induced him to pass by the matter as of no importance, for in his speech to the Liberal Association of Birmingham (Nov. 21), his chief aim seemed to be to fix the attention of his audience on the baneful influence of the House of Lords. As, however, it was understood that the Cabinet was divided in its views as to the respective merits of one or two Chambers, Mr. Asquith dexterously avoided committing himself to either alternative. He began his speech by a general defence of Liberalism, as understood by the party of which he was a prominent member.

Being in its essence a progressive and developing creed, Liberalism could not, he asserted, be stereotyped in any set formula. It was enough that its policy should remain true to the best traditions of the party in the past. This, Mr. Asquith proceeded to show, was true of the party in power. With regard to Welsh Disestablishment, for example, no Liberal who took part twenty-five years before in the Disestablishment of the Irish Church could deny that the State had a right to carry out a similar policy in another part of the kingdom; neither on the principles of religious equality approved by all Liberals in 1869, and again in 1870 (with respect to the Education Act), could it be denied that a strong case existed for the intervention of the State in the matter of the Welsh Church. Again, ten years before, the vast majority of the then united Liberal party in Birmingham were opposed to plural voting and in favour of progressive taxation. Passing on to the question of the House of Lords, Mr. Asquith claimed that ministers had not carried through the House of Commons one single measure for which they had not received at the general election the authority of the majority of the people of the United Kingdom. Nor, in spite of their reverse in Forfarshire (against which could be set the great diminution of the Tory majority in Birkenhead), did he see any sign that the constituencies generally had changed their mind since 1892. Yet the Lords had rejected or mutilated measure after measure which had thus been sanctioned by the nation, and next session they were certain to do the same with the Irish Land Bill, should it pass the House of Commons, as well as with the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. He would not enter into a discussion as to whether there should be one or two Chambers. Men of eminence and weight differed on that point. But he wished them to bear in mind that all those who were in favour of a single Chamber were not necessarily in favour of that Chamber possessing an unchecked power to pass into law measures which might be contrary to the settled determination of the nation. There were precautions which might well be taken to prevent the possibility of such a contingency as that. In any case the present House of Lords was totally unfitted to discharge the true function of a Second Chamber. It checked Liberal legislation, but never offered the slightest bar to measures proposed by a Tory Government. That the House of Lords was not perfect most Unionists admitted, and from Mr. Chamberlain's recent speech in that very town they could see that a new Second Chamber was already on the stocks. By an adroit manipulation of the processes of election and selection, by a judicious mixture of new blood with blue blood, it was hoped to produce something which might be a little more presentable to the electorate of Great Britain. "I will say nothing but this about these proposed changes in the composition of the House of Lords. If the House of Lords is to

maintain its present functions, they are changes to which you and I can never assent. We are not going to see the creation, with a fresh mandate of popular authority, of a new and more formidable and irresponsible power in this country." Referring to Lord Salisbury's contention that a campaign against the Peers must mean the shelving of social reforms, Mr. Asquith said that was the very opposite of the reason for which Liberals had undertaken the campaign.

The practical application of this assurance, however, was tested almost at once, for in reply to a deputation from several trade societies, Mr. Asquith confirmed that there was little prospect of the Employers' Liability Bill being re-introduced in the following session. The reason he gave was that the Lords would probably insist upon the introduction of a contracting-out clause, which, however equally the opinion of the working classes and of the House of Commons might be divided on the subject, the Government would be compelled to reject.

Mr. Chamberlain was not likely to allow two such important pronouncements as those of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary to remain unanswered. A large gathering of Unionists at Heywood, near Manchester, presided over by Sir Henry James, afforded both these party leaders (Nov. 22) an opportunity of placing before their audience the counter-policy of those who were more anxious for social improvements than for political experiments. Sir Henry James dwelt at some length on the Forfarshire election, and the answer which it gave to Lord Rosebery's declaration that he was the leader of a revolutionary movement, which, however, could only be carried out with an irresistible public force at his back. Mr. Chamberlain took a somewhat wider range, dwelling more especially on the "social" programme of the Liberal Unionists. He said that though the Premier still professed to adhere to the lines of the Newcastle programme, it was already evident that his Government would, at the utmost, have two measures and a half to submit to Parliament next session. A Welsh Disestablishment and an Irish Land Bill would be brought in: also a resolution against the Peers. The Local Veto Bill, which seemed to be struggling for a place, would practically be shelved. Incidentally, Mr. Chamberlain made fun of Lord Rosebery's talk about bringing in measures as pledges of sincerity, remarking that he seemed to think, like Mr. Micawber, that once he had put his name to a bill, his creditors would be satisfied. After restating the Unionist policy of construction and social reform (which he had lately sketched at Birmingham), as opposed to the Separatist policy of destruction and neglect of social questions, Mr. Chamberlain addressed himself to the vital point as to whether Conservatives were ready to accept the platform of the Liberal wing of the Unionist party. He believed that Conservatives were heartily agreed with Liberals as to the programme he had sketched, and members of that party had brought in bills on

those subjects. Mr. Chamberlain concluded by telling his hearers they would before long have to make their choice. "You may, if you like, try to disestablish and disendow the Church in Wales; and, if you succeed, in my opinion—although I sympathise with the object as a matter of abstract principle—nobody will be one penny the better for it. You may, as I have said, if you like, try to disestablish the Welsh Church, or you may, on the other hand, try to become the owners of your own houses. You may attempt to pass an Irish Land Bill, or you may attempt to get old-age pensions for yourselves. You may try to put down drinking and to prevent any man from having a glass of beer; or you may try, with me, to prevent drunkenness and to restrict the vice of drinking. Lastly, you may enter into a campaign against the House of Lords which will last, as Lord Rosebery himself has warned you, for years, and it may be for generations; or you may prefer what I believe to be the wiser course—you may enter on a campaign against want and misery, and you may try to add something to the sum of human happiness. You cannot have both these policies at the same time." The rival programmes of the Ministry and of the Liberal Unionists bearing upon the Conservatives were now before the public, and it was clear that, so far from maintaining a merely negative attitude, the latter were ready with a constructive policy in which they intended to appeal to the country when the occasion should arise. The Ministerialists, as far as could be gathered from their spokesmen, relied for support on the following—(1) Welsh Disestablishment; (2) Evicted Tenants Bill (Ireland); (3) New Land Bill (Ireland); (4) Local Veto Bill; (5) Resolution against the House of Lords; (6) Registration Bill; (7) Payment of Members; (8) Scotch Disestablishment. On the other hand the Unionists, if placed in power, pledged themselves to support—(1) Temperance Reform; (2) Old Age Pensions; (3) Artisans' Dwellings Act; (4) House Purchase Bill; (5) Court of Arbitration in Labour Disputes; (6) Shop Hours Bill; (7) Employers' Liability Bill; (8) Restriction of Pauper Alien Immigration.

From both these programmes the Home Rule question was altogether omitted, and although Lord Ripon, speaking a day or two later (Nov. 23) at Wells, assured his audience that Home Rule was still in the field, it played a very small part in the speeches either of Parliamentary candidates or Parliamentary leaders. Whether it was by inadvertence or design that Lord Rosebery, in enumerating the measures to be brought forward, forgot to refer to the one which the existing House of Commons had been elected to pass, was not explained; but his silence and that of his colleagues soon aroused the suspicions of their Irish supporters.

The triennial elections for the London School Board introduced for a time some fresh element of excitement into public affairs. Early in the year the majority of the Board, which had



been returned in 1891 chiefly on the ground of their promises to reduce the school rate, found that it owed much of its success to the exertions of the Church party. To merit a continuance of its support it was found necessary to establish stronger claims than the fractional reduction in the rates which the London School Board had effected, especially as this reduction had been purchased, according to the Progressives, by under-staffing and overcrowding the existing schools. Early in the year, therefore, and presumably in view of the November elections, the majority of the London School Board had issued a circular to the various teachers in their employ, which disturbed the compromise arrived at in 1870, under which the "Cowper-Temple" clause of the Education Act had been worked. The clause, whilst forbidding the teaching of denominational formularies in Board Schools, had said nothing about denominational doctrines, and religious instruction had continued to be given according to the views of individual teachers. In the great majority of the schools the doctrines accepted alike by Churchmen and the great bulk of Dissenters, it was admitted, were taught. In some few they were not taught, and the discovery that this was so raised in the minds of the orthodox majority of the Board the fear that this neglect might spread to other schools. A circular was thereupon drafted by the Church party, headed by Mr. Diggle, the chairman of the Board, in conjunction with Mr. Athelstan Riley, insisting upon the introduction of the word "Christian" before "religious instruction" in the directions given to the teachers for their guidance with regard to Bible teaching. The adoption of the word, the definition of its meaning, and the right to enforce it as a test upon the teachers, were points on which days and nights of controversy were spent by the London School Board. The Progressives, headed by Mr. Lyulph Stanley, fought every word of the proposed circular, and succeeded in stirring up no little commotion among the school teachers, even if parents and pupils were alike indifferent to the cause of the squabble or ignorant of its meaning. As the time for the election drew near both parties became more reasonable, and the Diggleites seemed anxious to allow the circular to be dropped, fearing it might be used as a powerful weapon against them by the Dissenters. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were drawn into the fray, and for a moment seemed likely to be found in the opposing camps, but both saw the need of unity and moderation and endeavoured to instil those qualities into the more ardent Churchmen, for both sides gave frequent proof of violence and unfairness in attacking their opponents. When the elections came off (Nov. 22) it was found that the angry controversy had had the one good result of stirring up public feeling to an extent hitherto unknown in School Board elections, about thrice as many voters going to the polls as on previous occasions. The Moderates, to whom the Church party attached themselves,

lost seven seats and gained one, and were thus left with a majority of three (twenty-nine seats), of which one was classed as Independent. The Progressives obtained twenty-six seats and polled upwards of 130,000 more votes than in 1891, and in every case but one (Tower Hamlets) headed the poll by large majorities. Mr. Lyulph Stanley headed the list in Marylebone with 47,480 votes, whilst Mr. Diggle was half-way down with only 31,135. Mr. Riley barely secured a seat in Chelsea, being the lowest on the list of those elected, and in other districts similar results were recorded. The outcome of such a close return was to make the majority little anxious to nominate a chairman from their ranks and thereby lose an important vote on a narrow division. On the first meeting of the new board, Lord George Hamilton, M.P., was brought forward by the Moderates against Rev. T. W. Sharpe, C.B., the Chief Inspector of Schools, and was elected on a strict party vote—29 to 26.

Although certain advanced Radicals, of whom Mr. Atherley Jones was the spokesman, protested against the idea of staking the future of the party upon a campaign against the Peers, the members of the Cabinet were of a different opinion. Had they in their speeches given the public reason to believe that on this great constitutional question there was unanimity amongst the advisers of the Crown, their appeals might have carried fuller conviction. As it was, each Cabinet Minister seemed to have his own special method by which he proposed "to make the will of the people prevail." Mr. Bryce, the President of the Board of Trade, and the author of a valuable work on the American Constitution, in which the functions of a Second Chamber were fully appreciated, was naturally looked to for advice at this juncture. In a speech at Ipswich (Nov. 23), however, he took refuge in vague generalities, and succeeded only in conveying the impression that if there was a division of opinion in the Cabinet he had not made up his mind to which section he would adhere. He began by assuring his audience that the Government had not dropped Home Rule. They were as firm as ever in their adherence to it, and he had not the slightest doubt that before many years it would be granted with the consent of the Tories. That which blocked the way to the permanent pacification of Ireland, and to many other measures of reform, was the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury asked why the Liberals did not leave off the process of tinkering with the Constitution, with which they had been busy for seventy years, but if the machinery was so much out of order that it would not work they must stop to have it mended. The question of the House of Lords was a large and complicated one, and there was much to be said both for and against a Second Chamber, provided that it could be made a good one.

Mr. Bryce then went on to say that Lord Salisbury had endeavoured to raise a false issue when he tried to represent the question as being a question between one Chamber and two

Chambers. It was nothing of the kind. "That there are certain obvious advantages in having a Second Chamber if you can make it a good one is plain enough from the fact that there are so many Second Chambers in the world. That there is not necessarily anything undemocratic in a Second Chamber appears from the fact that the three leading Republics of the world, Switzerland, the United States, and France, all have Second Chambers. In America every new State, as soon as it is ready to be admitted to the Union, equips itself as a matter of course with a Second Chamber. But all these Second Chambers are strictly elective, without a single hereditary member, and such strength as they have is due to their being entirely representative. Is Lord Salisbury and are the Tory party prepared to discuss this question on the basis of utterly expunging the hereditary element from the House of Lords? There are also obvious objections to a Second Chamber in a country like ours. Among them there is the difficulty of finding a means of creating it, unless, indeed, you were to take the plan of the American States and elect your 'other House' by the votes of the same electors, only in different and larger electoral districts. Some have suggested indirect election, but to this also there are objections which will readily occur to your minds. Among them is the fact that in a country like ours, where the Executive depends upon a majority in the House of Commons, you cannot set up another House of equal or nearly equal power without fatally weakening the Executive and incurring a constant risk of deadlocks. I wish merely to indicate to you how large and complicated a question this is. And I repeat that it is a question we need not at present concern ourselves with. What we have to do is to deal with our present difficulties in a practical way—that is to say, to consider whether the House of Lords can be permitted to retain its present powers. Now, I submit to you that long experience has shown the House of Lords to be unfit to retain those powers. It does not properly perform that work of revision which it might have performed, for when it alters bills—at least, all those bills in which any party interest or class interest of its members is concerned—it alters them for the worse. Even the mere record of the duration of its sittings and the attendance of its members shows how little useful work it does. It is out of sympathy with the masses of the people, and so much out of sympathy with great sections of the nation that there is not, and has not been for many years, any peer within its walls who belongs to and represents the party which includes three-fourths of the Irish people. The Lords are too strong already, and we can have no 'tinkering' reform which would make the Lords stronger. Mr. Chamberlain says he has no objection to any reform of the House of Lords which is to give it greater authority and greater representative weight. What we want, however, is to make the will of the people prevail, and to do that we must reduce the power of the irresponsible House,

or, to use a popular phrase, we must clip its wings, and the question before the country is, How far do you want its wings to be clipped? If the country, as we believe it will, declares itself unequivocally in favour of clipping its wings and making the representative House able to give effect to the will of the people, if the country rejects the novel and totally unconstitutional doctrine that the House of Lords have the right to compel a dissolution whenever they choose to disagree with the House of Commons, we will find a means of effecting that object and introducing such a reasonable amendment of the Constitution as to bring it again into working order." Judging by this speech, Mr. Bryce or the Ministry he represented imagined it would be possible to raise popular enthusiasm on a vague cry of "making the will of the people prevail," without the faintest indication on the part of the leaders as to the means by which it was to be effected, or the end to which it was to be directed. The followers were left to lead, and the leaders were ready to follow in any direction.

From one side, at least, the answer was not delayed. Sir Charles Dilke, who had taken a prominent and not always friendly attitude in the last session, at once came forward as the spokesman of the Démocrats and ultra-Radicals. In a speech to a large meeting at Tunstall (Nov. 27) he vehemently protested against any reform of the House of Lords, and put before his hearers in plain language the state in which Cabinet Ministers had left this important question. Lord Rosebery had stated that he was in favour of a Second Chamber, and that he could have no part or parcel in leaving this country to the sole disposition of a single Chamber. At Birmingham, Mr. Asquith, although he did not say so in so many words, showed very clearly that he himself was one of the Liberal leaders who was not a "convinced and ardent advocate of a Second Chamber." It would be easy for the whole Liberal party to agree on a resolution of the House of Commons such as that suggested by Lord Rosebery; but it was clear, after what Lord Rosebery had said, that the present Government would be unable to meet the views of the vast majority of the Liberal party in the constituencies. It followed that the Liberal party, going to a dissolution on the question with a half-hearted leader, would either be defeated, or, if it won, the result of the victory would be the creation of a reformed or strengthened Upper House—unless the Radicals prevented it. The new Upper House of Lord Rosebery's choice would not, apparently, be without a veto; otherwise what did Lord Rosebery mean by saying that he would not leave the country to the disposition of a single Chamber? Lord Rosebery had quoted the example of other countries, but there was no other country in which the Upper House was limited to merely giving advice. It would, therefore, be the duty of Radicals "to fight to the death" against the proposed "reform" of the House of Lords. He did not

believe in the value of the action of the House of Lords as a House, although he believed in the services of many of the distinguished statesmen who sat within its walls—services which would be more valuable if they sat within the popular Chamber. No so-called reform of the Lords which had ever been suggested would represent in that House the Liberals, the Radicals, the Independent Labour men, and the more extreme Socialists in proportion to the strength of their ideas in the community. Whatever was done to it, whatever steps were taken to create Lord Rosebery's Senate, it would probably be a House of Tories; it would certainly be a House of Churchmen when dealing with questions on which the Established Church had views differing from those of the bulk of the community, and on economical questions it would be mainly a House of rich men. It would be necessary for the Radicals to fight, even against their Liberal leaders, to prevent the lengthening of the life of the Parliamentary sick man. To put into the Lords men not trained in the traditions of the great nobles, to create life peerages, to elect by high and complicated suffrages to the Upper House, would be equivalent to an increase of the prospect of obstinate resistance by that House to popular demands. If the Government were in earnest they would begin by supporting three of their opponents—Lord Wolmer, Mr. Curzon, and Mr. Brodrick—and strengthen the popular House by the introduction of an element of highly-trained political intelligence, carrying out the democratic principle of the free choice by the constituencies of whom they pleased to represent them. When the Radicalism of the country became really in earnest, when England took its place in line with Scotland and Wales, the House of Lords would not long block the way. The Liberal party were still hampered by men who wanted peerages for themselves or their sons, and he should not believe that the leaders were in earnest until the Liberal party gave over making peers. The exact form of the resolution which the Radicals who followed the united banner of Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Labouchere—two of the wealthiest men perhaps in the House of Commons—called on the Government to propose to that assembly was "that any measure passed by the representatives of the people shall, without mutilation by the House of Lords, become law in the same session in which it has passed the House of Commons." It was not surprising to find that many less advanced members of the Liberal party hesitated to pledge themselves to a resolution which practically abolished the Upper House and substituted government by a single Chamber.

The Duke of Devonshire, as leader of the Liberal Unionist party, took advantage of a meeting at Barnstaple (Nov. 26) to criticise at great length Lord Rosebery's "revolutionary" programme. He began by showing that the majority in the present Parliament had failed altogether to fulfil the promises they had made or to satisfy the hopes they had held out to their supporters.

Nor was it likely that they would do anything in this direction next session. That would probably be devoted to preparing for the general election, at which the question of the House of Lords was to be put in the most prominent place. The duke contrasted the way in which this question had been brought forward by Lord Rosebery with Mr. Gladstone's method of declaring himself upon great political issues, and said the former had yet to learn that revolutions were the outcome of passionate feeling, of deep conviction, and of a burning sense of injustice and wrong, and could not be brought about by a few disappointed politicians. The only question on which the House of Lords had come into real conflict with the Lower Chamber had been that of Home Rule, and by their action on this question they had given expression to the plain and manifest opinion of the majority of Englishmen. "But if," continued the duke, "we are going to spend, as I suppose we are going to spend, the greater part of next session and most of our time before the next election in discussing the future position of the House of Lords, it would be well that we should ascertain what is the exact policy which the Government is going to recommend to the country. Lord Rosebery has said we are very anxious to know what are the terms of his resolution, but that he will not tell us. I am not in the smallest degree anxious to know the contents of his resolution. I could have dispensed with the information that we are to have a resolution at all; but when he has told us so much I think the country is entitled to know a little more. It is not the business of the Prime Minister of this country to put conundrums to the people. And it is nothing more or less than a gigantic enigma or conundrum which he has so far proposed to us. Let us endeavour for a moment to ascertain what is the position of Lord Rosebery in this matter. He says he is in favour of a Second Chamber, that he will have no part or parcel in intrusting the destinies of his country to a single Chamber. Then he tells us he is not in favour of an hereditary Chamber, and that leads us to think he is about to propose a reform of the House of Lords. He tells us nothing is farther from his intentions. The reform of the Second Chamber is not before us; it is a remote question, and how remote he cannot tell. Well, if he does want to reform the House of Lords we know he will not have members of his own Government with him. Lord Rosebery says the present question is a question of the adjustment of the relations between the two Chambers which exist, so that the will of the popular Chamber shall be maintained and plainly predominant. But in a previous speech Lord Rosebery had shown that the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords would be of no use so long as you retain the power of amendment to the House of Lords, and he also showed that when you had removed the veto and the power of amendment you might for all practical purposes get rid of the House of Lords altogether, that it would merely be a

gilded prison. The members of the House of Lords would prefer to take their chance of election to a popular Chamber rather than retain their seats in an assembly that had lost every vestige of power. Does not Lord Rosebery see—if he does not I think all of us can see—that if he succeeds in passing his resolution, if he succeeds in getting the country to support that resolution, though he might obtain the power of sweeping away or of paralysing the Second Chamber which exists, he will not necessarily obtain the power and he certainly will not obtain the support of his colleagues in putting anything in its place? And therefore he may be doing, and will be doing, that which he has told us he never would be a party to—placing the destinies of his country under the control and unchecked will of a single Chamber.” The Duke of Devonshire concluded this portion of his speech by declaring that Lord Rosebery would find arrayed against him in his campaign against that House all those who had anything to lose. There was a strong Labour party in the country which proposed to place every one’s capital and every one’s labour at the disposal of some one else for the advantage of others, and, though this proposal was not yet included in the Radical programme, it soon might be. The House of Lords formed an effective bar against sudden changes being irrevocably introduced into the Constitution, and at such a time as the present no safeguard of this nature ought to be surrendered.

If there was such divergence among the ministers as to the manner in which the new policy was to be carried, there was no difference of opinion, so Lord Tweedmouth asserted at Liverpool (Nov. 30), on the question of securing the predominance of the House of Commons. Moreover, unless Lord Rosebery was prepared to make a complete holocaust of all his previous utterances on the subject, he was not disposed, as Lord Lansdowne reminded his hearers at Chippenham (Nov. 30), to “reduce the Upper House to a second-rate Court of Revision or to a Debating Society.”

But, as Mr. Balfour showed in his most important speech of the recess, delivered at Nottingham (Dec. 5), Lord Rosebery from his first accession to the Premiership was constantly allowing himself to be overruled or diverted by his colleagues. Mr. Balfour began by saying that ministers had imported a new principle into English party politics—that we were now to consider institutions not on their merits, but as they affected the political organisation to which we belonged. Crediting them with the best intentions, he was driven to the conclusion that they had talked themselves into the belief that a Government representing the Liberal party—or a fragment of that party—necessarily represented the country. But the Liberal party never had been and never would be identical with the people of England. He did not mean that the Conservative party could put forth any such claim either: the people of England were above and beyond all

party. With regard to the attack on the Peers, he put this plain issue to every man in the room, Unionist or Separatist: "Have we not a right to ask that, before any fundamental and revolutionary change is proposed in our immemorial institutions, we should, in the first place, have it clearly shown to us where in our existing system has failed; that we should, in the second place, be told exactly what objects we have in view in making any alteration: and that we should be told, in the third place, what institution is intended to be put in the place of that which it is proposed to destroy?" After pointing out the vagueness of the indictment against the House of Lords, Mr. Balfour laid it down, with respect to the second question, that the essential functions of a Second Chamber were to protect the Constitution from rash and hasty innovations; to remedy legislative blunders; and to prevent legislative jobs. These functions, he proceeded to argue, the Upper House had satisfactorily discharged in the matter of the Home Rule Bill, the Scotch Fishery Bill (which the Peers amended partly in deference to petitions from Radical Town Councils), and the Evicted Tenants' Bill. Mr. Balfour then went on to comment on Mr. Asquith's calm assumption that the Irish Home Rule Bill was merely another application of the principle of decentralisation and local self-government to all parts of the empire, an assertion which seemed to be very much like saying that cutting off one's hands was only the application to a particular case of paring one's nails. He next dwelt on the astounding phenomena of the head of a Cabinet, at the very beginning of his attempt to initiate a great revolution, being over-ruled by other members of the Cabinet. He then contrasted with great force Lord Rosebery's eager personal adhesion to the constitutional value of a Second Chamber with Mr. Asquith's preference for a single Chamber with guarantees against its despotism, or Mr. Labouchere's single Chamber without any limitations. Mr. Balfour, moreover, expressed his astonishment at the premature avowal of a sensational and revolutionary policy by a Cabinet which was not in the least agreed as to what they would institute for the existing Constitution. He concluded by declaring that the first purpose of the Opposition should be to insist upon bringing this revolutionary policy to an early decision by an express appeal to the people on this single and most critical question.

A few days later (Dec. 6), on the very eve of the Brigg election, the Foreign Secretary (Lord Kimberley) explained to the members of the Eighty Club the programme of the Government, and furnished the militant members of that body with subjects for their speeches. He assured his hearers that Irish Home Rule was not shelved, but that in the future it would occupy the most prominent place in the Liberal programme. There were also other "fair and just demands" of the Irish, especially the Evicted Tenants' Bill and an Irish Land Bill which would have a place among the Government measures of



the session. In addition to these, Welsh Disestablishment and Temperance Reform would be put forward. Lord Kimberley, however, admitted that another side of the Government programme was less cheering, as it showed their dependence on the House of Lords, but "it would be the duty of the Government of the day to propose a definite course of action." "Personally," said Lord Kimberley, "I confess I do not see my way to the immediate abolition of the House of Lords. I cannot conceive that it would be possible safely to govern this great empire by one single House with no check whatever upon it. I do not think it would be a safe thing to trust to a vote which might be passed by a very small number upon some very great matter, because I think it would be liable to be reversed and we should not get the full, complete, and matured opinion of the country. But the party would not be satisfied unless such measures are taken as will effectually secure that the will of the House of Commons—of the elected representatives of the people—shall prevail. It is not sufficient to my mind to say that even under present circumstances ultimately the will of the House of Commons does prevail. That is in one sense true, because it would be quite impossible for the House of Lords, constituted as it is, to resist the loudly expressed determination of the whole of the people; but is it tolerable that upon any question which comes up in this country years should be passed to overcome an opposition which yields simply to pressure which they dare not longer resist? It is a peaceful revolution which with your help we are going to do our utmost to carry through. Such a measure as this is demanded by the necessities of the Constitution, by the voice of a great party in this country, and, as I believe, before long by the voice of the majority of the people."

If the Forfarshire election was the reply given by Scotland to Lord Rosebery's appeal at Glasgow it might be asserted that the electors of the Brigg division of Lincolnshire furnished an equally distinct reply to Mr. Balfour's speech. Although the English county could not show such unbroken fealty to the Liberal cause, yet, for ten years at least, the Brigg division, chiefly agricultural, had returned a Liberal, generally of an advanced type. The retiring representative, Mr. S. D. Waddy, Q.C., was a leading member of the Nonconformist body, who were powerful in the division, and the moment of his voluntary withdrawal was presumably regarded by the party managers as propitious for an appeal to the electors, since there was no immediate necessity for filling up the modest Recordership to which Mr. Waddy had been appointed. His majority at the general election had been 427, and his total poll 4,448 votes. Mr. Waddy did not offer himself for re-election, and his seat was, by the advice of the Liberal Committee, offered to Mr. J. H. Reckitt, who would in any case have been the Radical candidate at the general election. For some time he had been

before the electors, and thus was in no better or worse position than his Conservative opponent, Mr. J. M. Richardson. Both were to a certain extent local candidates, but Mr. Richardson was born in the county and had lived there for many years and had twice contested the division. There was, however, very little misgiving on the part of the Liberals as to the result of the election in view of previous polls since 1885, and its great increase in 1892, when the promise of the Parish Councils Bill had, as was supposed, attracted a large portion of the agricultural labourers to vote for the Liberal candidate. The Parish Councils Bill had become law, and the first elections for Parish Councils and parish meetings had been held only three days before the Parliamentary electors were called upon to express their gratitude for the benefits they had desired and obtained. Their reply was scarcely what was anticipated: Mr. Richardson, the Conservative and local landlord, received 4,377 votes, and Mr. Reckitt, the Radical reformer, 4,300. The explanation given by the Liberals of this untoward result was that the poll was taken on a "stale" register, but by what means, under the ballot, it could be proved that Radical voters changed their residence more frequently than Conservatives was not explained. It looked rather as if the labourers, having got all they could hope for from the Liberal party, were now ready for such favours as the Unionists might have to offer in the way of old age pensions and improved dwellings. Taken by itself, the result of a bye-election could scarcely be considered anything more than the predominance of local over general politics, but regarded as answers to Lord Rosebery's passionate appeal for generous support the results of Forfarshire and Lincolnshire could hardly be taken as encouraging. Mr. Labouchere, on being appealed to for some words of comfort to the Radicals, merely replied that this came of putting a second-rate peer at the head of the Government. Sir William Harcourt declined to express any opinion or to leave his retreat in the New Forest and appear on a public platform.

It therefore fell to the Prime Minister to explain aloud the reasons of the constituencies' (Scotch and English) failure to furnish him with the means of carrying out his "revolutionary policy." An engagement to speak at Devonport (Dec. 11) gave him the requisite opportunity, and far from showing any signs of depression Lord Rosebery was so well satisfied with the existing state of affairs that he almost deprecated any change. Speaking, moreover, in a tone of graceful badinage he failed to make those who only read his speech in the newspapers discriminate between what was humour and what was seriousness. So successful was he in this form of speaking that even Mr. Chamberlain was misled, and failed to catch the exact moment when Lord Rosebery ceased to speak of his followers with proper appreciation of their literary qualifications. Referring to the Brigg and Forfarshire elections, he attributed the Liberal reverses to the superior

local advantages of the Conservative candidates. "In the case of Brigg we had to deal not only with an excellent local candidate, but with a good sportsman—ah, gentlemen, election agents are not wise who despise good sportsmen—a gentleman who had the inestimable advantage of having fought the seat twice or thrice already. Now I believe there is one axiom in politics to which I may adhere with absolute certainty, and it is that if a good local candidate likes to persevere in trying to win the constituency in which he lives, he is sure, sooner or later, to succeed. There is something in that attempt that appeals to the sense of fair play in Englishmen." In any case they must expect to lose bye-elections. What had they against them? Almost all the wealth of the country, almost all the press, almost all the local influences of which he had spoken, almost all the men of education. He sometimes doubted if there was a member of the Liberal party who could spell words in two syllables. They had also lost an incomparable leader. Rehearsing the achievements of the Government, the Premier dwelt more especially on the Parish Councils Act, the improvement in the condition of Government employees, and what he held to be the better administration of Irish affairs. With regard to the charge that ministers existed solely by means of the Irish vote, he retorted that the Opposition had a majority of the representation of Great Britain simply by the support of the country south of the Trent. Coming to the question of the Peers, he complained that his utterances on that head had been much misunderstood. Some gentlemen—he rather thought Lord Salisbury was one of them—had discovered an intention on the part of ministers to reform the House of Lords. Ministers were not so foolish as to attempt any such work. The whole question as to the desirability, or otherwise, of a Second Chamber seemed to him a purely abstract one, well suited to debating societies, but not of interest to practical politicians. "You may justly say—'This is all very well, but you have been something of an offender yourself. You have declared yourself a Second Chamber man and illustrated your position with a fatiguing variety of instances.' But I do claim this—that my position on this question is something different from anybody else's. I have made this question of the House of Lords the main study of my life, and when I had to come forward at the head of the Liberal party and proclaim our policy as regards the House of Lords, I was in honour and consistency bound to declare that, so far as my position went, I had not entirely retracted from the basis on which I had started; but with that declaration I, for my part, had done with the subject. I have no intention of wasting any more of my breath, so precious in a hall like the present, on a discussion which I confess can only have one purpose—to divide and disunite the Liberal party." The object of the Liberal party, continued Lord Rosebery, was to readjust the relations between the two

Houses, so that the deliberate will of the Commons should not be overborne by the action of the Upper Chamber. The time had come when the right of the Lords to oppose an absolute veto to the legislation of the Commons should for ever cease. The Government proposed to ask a mandate from the country to deal with that question, and in the meantime they intended to proceed in due course with the work of the session.

He concluded his speech with this peroration, which at the time he probably intended to be the programme of the party, when the moment for an appeal should have come. "The issue at the next election will simply be this—Will you be governed by the House of Lords, or will you be governed by yourselves? So long as the House of Lords has an equal and a concurrent right of legislation with the House of Commons, so long will the House of Lords, as a permanent body and an unchangeable body, and a body subject only to the common doom of mortality, exercise an undue control over the House of Commons, which is an elected, a changeable, and transient body. We ask you this simple question—Will you govern yourselves, or will you let the House of Lords govern you? If you wish the latter, if you wish the House of Lords to govern you, if you dread and distrust those whom you elect yourselves, if you prefer to them those with whom you have no relations, and with whom you are in no sort of touch, if you believe that the Peers have been not merely so wise in themselves, but so marvellously and powerfully wise that they are able to inspire their descendants for all time with wisdom sufficient to govern you and your descendants, then you will vote with Brigg and with Forfar, and you will maintain that condition of things. But if you do that, you will not merely oust Liberals and the Liberal Government for six or seven years, and put the Tories and the Tory Government in their place for that space of time—after all, that, in the history of the country, is but a small matter—but you will confirm and stereotype by that action the indefensible privileges of the House of Lords. You will give them, if you do that, not their present lease of life and of power, but a new lease of life and of power, and, as their present lease has lasted for 600 or 700 years, a new lease of such life is not a thing to be lightly given. That, after all, is a matter for you, and not for me. I have no voice, I have no vote, in this election; but if I had a hundred voices and a hundred votes, I would give them without doubt, without stint, without hesitation, to free the votes and the voice of the people of Great Britain from this indefensible and intolerable control."

No wonder that staid men of the Liberal party found a difficulty in following the rapid changes of their leader's mind, or that they could be eager one day for what was described as "a tremendous issue," and on another, "a readjustment of the relations between the two Houses." Hitherto opportunism, although doubtless largely practised in facilitating the business

of Parliament, had never been openly recognised as a standard of statesmanship, or as the principle of a party. Hitherto politicians who claimed to exercise an influence on their time had been content to wait for public opinion to ripen under their guidance, but in their eagerness to redress long-standing wrongs, social and political, the new school were willing to turn their sails to catch every gust of popular favour and ready to do the bidding of an uncontrolled Democracy.

At the same time, it must be allowed, Lord Rosebery was not blind to the difficulties into which his party might be led by the more advanced Democrats. He thought it politic to go down to Stratford (Dec. 14), a district almost wholly occupied by mechanics, and contiguous to West Ham, then represented by an irreconcilable working man, Mr. Keir Hardie, professing Socialistic views. Lord Rosebery's tendency to opportunism was even here manifest. Whilst strongly exhorting the Independent Labour party to co-operate with the official Liberals instead of assailing them for want of sympathy, he rested much of his plea on the ground that nothing was to be gained by anticipating conflicts which had not so far become practical, on issues which had not arisen or were not likely to arise for some time to come. Lord Rosebery, moreover, claimed, and with justice, that his Government had done much to meet the less extreme demands of the Labour party, and if these had not been satisfied, it was because the extreme men of that party rendered the compromises on which political life in this country was based impossible. Mr. Keir Hardie replied (Dec. 17), in a neighbouring district, that the Gladstonian party was so indifferent to the Labour movement that there was little to choose between it and the Conservative party. He therefore declared that there was no reason for the Labour party to attach itself to either the one or the other, but to employ its votes and its power in the way that Mr. Parnell made the Irish National party a dominant factor between the great rival parties in the State. But as Lord Rosebery pointed out there was an essential difference in the two cases, for whilst Mr. Parnell had a nation at his back, the leader of the Independent Labour party would at most represent a body of working men, a single class of men, who were not agreed amongst themselves upon their primary demands.

But a far more dangerous symptom than that of the Socialist revolt against the Liberal leadership was a speech made by Mr. M'Ewan, the member for the Central Division of Edinburgh, and believed to be one of the most liberal supporters of the Gladstonian party in South-eastern Scotland. Speaking to his own constituents (Dec. 17) Mr. M'Ewan bluntly declared that the Irish Home Rule Bill of 1893 was dead; that no such bill could be carried in this generation, and that the Irish ought to be frankly told that the attempt had failed and must be abandoned. Mr. M'Ewan believed that it would be perfectly

practicable to extend to Ireland local self-government similar to that enjoyed by England and Scotland, its representatives retaining the same powers and privileges in the Imperial Parliament. He was in favour of some scheme by which the "Castle rule" should be, if not replaced by County Councils, District Councils, and Parish Councils, at least modified by them in such a way as to popularise the Irish Administration. With regard to the Home Rule Bill of 1893, he plainly asserted that a considerable portion of the Gladstonian party had, from the outset, recognised the hopelessness of forcing upon England such a measure, but had voted for it simply as a mode of keeping their engagements with the Irish members. Mr. M'Ewan, moreover, did not scruple to condemn in very strong language the way in which the closure had been employed, maintaining that although excessive speaking might have reasonably been restricted, every clause should have been submitted for discussion in the House of Commons. But the most important point of Mr. M'Ewan's speech was his demand not for a weaker, but for a much stronger and more effective Second House of Legislature than the House of Lords. He thought the hereditary principle obsolete, and for that reason wished to have a representative Second Chamber chosen which would not be afraid to crush at once all revolutionary projects. "Some day," he said, "when the Government in power is only in a small majority, a combination of faddists may succeed in getting legislation of the most experimental kind on the Statute-book, which in a very short time might shatter the foundation on which our commercial supremacy rests." He pointed out how hopeless it would be, in that case, for this country, which does not produce half the food it wants for these crowded islands, and depends on its manufacturing energy and resources for the power to purchase the other half, to save itself from utter ruin.

Mr. M'Ewan's speech obviously expressed the feelings of his audience, who could not have anticipated the line their representative was going to take. A vote of confidence in him without any amendment was heartily passed, and the newspapers were left to draw what moral they pleased from the confessions of a sincere Liberal who showed no desire to join the Unionists or the Tories. By some it was said that the speech, or at least its purport, had received the approval of the Premier, who was anxious to ascertain how far Forfarshire represented the feelings of other parts of Scotland. Others declared that Mr. M'Ewan had been employed to speak unpalatable truths to the Irish, which ministers wished to say, but had not the courage to utter.

Whatever might be the practical uses of "a candid friend" in moments of perplexity, there could be little doubt that Mr. M'Ewan's speech came at an opportune moment for those whose expectations of a general convulsion throughout England

had been sorely disappointed. The Local Government Act, 1894, more generally known as the Parish Councils Act, was, according to its promoters and their more ardent supporters, to set going the "rural revolution," of which, it must be admitted, the Conservative party had evinced a very considerable dread. In more than 6,000 rural parishes the inhabitants were to meet (Dec. 4) to select those by whom parish affairs should be managed and parish finances administered. It was freely asserted that the days of landlord and parson ascendancy in village life were numbered, and that in future the labourers, the shopkeepers and the farmers were to initiate village reforms, and so make the richer ratepayers pay their cost. The most regrettable feature of the agitation which platform speakers and extreme newspapers did their utmost to accentuate, was the separation of interests in the parish. It was assumed most often with truth that the clergyman of the Established Church would throw in his lot with the landlord rather than with the labourers. For years the gulf between the clergy and the laity had been widening—the former misinterpreting more regular attendance at Church services as evidence of greater personal attachment to the officiating minister than existed in bygone generations. Those, however, who looked below the surface saw things in a very different light. They realised that whilst a large body of the laity held aloof from the services of the Church altogether, an equally large body drew from those services lessons of equality and Christian Socialism, and caused them to resent the patronage as well as the benefactions of the clergy. The clergy, on the other hand, bound by class-ties and caste-prejudices to the landowner or the squire, were unable to realise, as the Catholic priesthood in most countries, the feelings and aspirations of the lower orders. They had in a word thrown in their lot with the middle and well-to-do classes, and, except in very rare instances, had little knowledge of or sympathy with the toiling masses to whom they came to minister. The Church of England had in the last quarter of a century become more than it had been for centuries—the Church of the people—whilst the clergy had been unable or unwilling to throw themselves into the great democratic movement which was slowly but surely removing all the ancient landmarks, and breaking down the old barriers which hitherto had withstood the action of time and jealousy.

The results of the elections showed that in all parts of the country the parish voters took an intelligent interest in their councils. Here and there it was reputed that no voters attended, or that where an amicable arrangement had been arrived at, the previously settled list was adopted without discussion. As a rule, however, there were trials of strength between obviously conflicting interests, and in those cases where the claims of labour may have been previously ignored, the labourers' representatives found themselves at the head of the poll.

In parishes where the contest was at all keenly conducted, it was seldom that the clergyman—Established or Nonconformist—occupied a prominent place. The apparent ill-success of the Dissenting clergy might have been explained by the mutual hostility of competing sects, and by other more personal causes. In too many cases, those who had no pecuniary interest in the economical administrations of the parish were placed in a majority on the councils; and in some cases the actual rate-payers were wholly unrepresented. These, however, were the exception; and, as a rule, the elections bore testimony to the sober sense of the electors, many of whom had never before been permitted to take any part or to have any voice in their own government. Of the 100,000 persons chosen to sit on Parish Councils, it was impossible to make any partition between the various political parties, but as the organs of all parties expressed themselves equally well satisfied with the results, whilst none claimed any important victory, it may be fairly assumed that so far as imperial politics played any part in the elections, Radicals and Liberals, Conservatives and Socialists, Churchmen and Dissenters, were all fairly represented.

The bill which had given Parish Councils to the counties had also remodelled the whole system by which the vestrymen and poor-law guardians throughout the metropolitan district were to be elected. There was no pretence on either side that the contest would be fought out on local grounds. The lesson which the Conservatives had learnt at the first elections for the London County Council had borne fruit; and in every parish or ward the competing candidates were Progressive or Moderate, or, as they would be classified in a Parliamentary contest, Radical or Conservative. Roughly speaking, the electors for the vestrymen and guardians, and for the County Council, were the same, but for the former case they were broken up into small wards or parishes, and consequently anything like general organisation was out of the question. Probably both sides put out their utmost powers, and both sides met with a sturdy indifference from the great majority of the electors—Londoners especially having earned the reputation of being altogether careless in the choice of those by whom parochial matters are managed. If, however, the polling was light in most districts, the results were altogether surprising. The Progressives had anticipated an endorsement of the policy advocated by the majority of the London County Council, whilst the Moderates hoped at the utmost to retain the control of the central and western districts. When the results of the vestry elections were made known, it appeared that more than three Moderates were returned in proportion for every two Progressives (1,727 to 1,187), and that in some of the poorer districts the defeat of the latter was even more marked. Thus Limehouse was represented by 40 Moderates, 10 Independents and 10 Progressives; Plumstead, 84 Moderates, 3



Independents and 9 Progressives; Poplar, 50 to 30; Whitechapel, 20 to 16; Wandsworth, 100 to 8; and Hammersmith, 59 Moderates to 13 Progressives. In the Boards of Guardians the results were not so marked, although here also, wherever contests took place, the Moderates headed the list in all but two unions—Clerkenwell and Marylebone—although the Progressives claimed on the entire area a majority of twenty out of thirty boards. If those elections, as declared by the London Radical press, were to be “a turning point in the history of the poor law,” it seemed as if the electors were satisfied with the existing methods, which in the eastern unions especially aimed at granting outdoor relief in only exceptional cases, and at forcing the undeserving poor to submit to the discipline of the workhouse.

As the year drew to a close the stream of political oratory slackened, but it was thought advisable not to allow Scotch constituencies especially to imagine Mr. M'Ewan's speech either authorised or unanswerable, whilst, on the other hand, Mr. Balfour was equally anxious to drive home its conclusions as to the steady drift of Scotch politics. To minimise the effect of Mr. M'Ewan's speech, which had already been echoed by another Scotch Radical, Mr. Wallace (*Edinburgh, E.*), the Secretary for War, speaking to his constituents at Stirling (Dec. 19), explained that Mr. M'Ewan had not said that Home Rule was dead, but that the bill of 1893 was dead, “which was an admitted fact.” His proposals, however, in substitution for the bill were open to two conclusive objections. They would not satisfy Irish aspirations, and they would not give “solidity and harmony to the administration of Ireland from the point of view of the executive.” He concluded by pledging himself and his colleagues to a very different course. “He had never halted and the Liberal leaders had never halted in their opinion that Home Rule was necessary and that the Home Rule cause would win.”

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Haddington (Dec. 21), was not less confident that there had not been during the past sixty years a more sure and steady drift of opinion towards the views of his party. He rallied Lord Rosebery on having “driven his first ball from the tee into a bunker,” from which he had since been trying to extricate it. “The Prime Minister comes forward and makes, with every circumstance of pomp and ostentation, a great declaration of public policy with regard to the House of Lords; but it turns out, after he has made it, not only that he has failed to collect the amount of support for his proposals which no doubt he had hoped to obtain, but that neither he nor his colleagues have the slightest idea what it is they are going to substitute for the venerable institution it is their fixed intention to destroy. What I want to call attention to is the comedy of the situation. There are sixteen members in this Cabinet. I believe and suppose each of these sixteen gentlemen

has a private plan for dealing with the House of Lords, and these sixteen private plans are fighting it out among themselves, with no very assured prospect, so far as I can see, that the fittest is likely to survive." Mr. Balfour then went on to argue that the same qualities which had led the Scotch to espouse the Liberal cause thirty years previously were now enlisted against a party whose energies were directed to the destruction of this or that institution of the country. In this zeal "I attempt no forecast of the future; but this I say, that if by the Liberal or Radical party you mean a party which is never satisfied unless it has at the top of its programme—as the first item in its programme—the destruction of some national institution, then the prosperity of this country is inconsistent with the tenure of power of the Radical party, and this country will not be long in finding that out. . . . If we believe, as I most firmly believe, in the common-sense and in the political instincts of our countrymen, I see not why they should succeed less well in their charge than their forefathers did before them. I, at all events, believing as I most firmly do in the solidarity and the mutual dependence and interdependence of every class of the community, rejecting as utterly unworthy of consideration that we should regard ourselves as the guardians of monopolies, or privileges, or special interests, taking the welfare of the whole as the one great object worthy of our endeavour, believe that it will be to the Unionist party, as the best and surest exponents of those great principles, that the mind of the country will in the end permanently turn."

The political history of the year might well have closed with Mr. Balfour's estimate of the aims of the two parties, although only those on his own side might admit its correctness. It was the unforeseen, however, which was to happen, and, to the surprise of all, as Mr. Gladstone had had the first word in the year's history, so also he was to have the last. For some months rumours, more or less accredited, had reached Europe of frightful barbarities committed by the Turkish troops, acting under the orders of the civil authorities, in the treatment of the Armenian Christian populations left under Turkish rule. The Treaty of Berlin, which on paper had provided for their protection, had been on paper treated with the utmost deference. Whenever complaints reached Europe of the heavy hand of the Turk upon his Christian vassal excuses and explanations were promptly forthcoming, the punishment of the guilty was promised, and measures taken to prevent a recurrence of such regrettable incidents. Now and again the cry from the Armenians became louder and the stories of sufferings more harrowing, but the Government of the Porte knew well that in the natural jealousy of the European Powers lay its immunity from anything worse than paper lectures. The Russian Government, which alone maintained a strong and consistent line, found its efforts to assist the Armenian Christians hampered not only by Austria

but by England, where the danger of Russian ascendancy in Asia Minor was one of the few survivals of the Crimean War.

The fatal illness terminating in the death of Alexander III. and the advent of his son to the Russian throne, followed in rapid succession on the first rumours of the troubles in Armenia. For the moment, whatever the Russian policy may have been, all action was suspended, and when the machinery of government was once set in motion it was found that influences which had probably been at work for a long time were making themselves felt. The way to a better understanding between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and London had been prepared by Lord Dufferin and further smoothed by the skilful hand of Sir David Morier. In the later years of his life Alexander III. had displayed, even in Central Asian frontier questions, much consideration for English feelings and Anglo-Indian apprehensions. The Russian outposts had probably been pushed forward, but wherever a fair case for remonstrance was shown they had been promptly withdrawn. In England the jealousy of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea had been gradually growing fainter, and the attempt of a small knot of alarmists to raise public opinion against the passage of the Dardanelles by Russian ships of war had altogether failed. The more friendly relations between the two countries, for which diplomacy had paved the way, were soon seen in the freedom with which the English royal family was able to express its sympathy with the Czarina and her son in their bereavement. On the news of the Czar's approaching end the Prince and Princess of Wales had at once started for Livadia, and although they arrived too late to see the dying Czar, they were able to give help and comfort to their relatives during the ensuing weeks of trial. At the Czar Nicholas' especial request the Duke of York joined the family group; and throughout the mournful state ceremonies attendant on the removal of the deceased Czar's body to its last resting-place at St. Petersburg the affectionate regard which bound the two families together was made plain to all the world. The deference and honour paid by the new sovereign of the half of two continents to the heir apparent of the English throne called forth remark from all observers, and was interpreted to mean the dawn of a friendly understanding between the nations they represented. The organs of public opinion in both countries promptly endorsed this drawing together of the two really Conservative powers in Europe, and the spontaneous welcome given to the Prince of Wales on his return to England showed that his tact and good feeling were thoroughly appreciated by the general public.

It was under this altered condition of popular feeling in this country that the news of the outrage by the Mussulman Kurds upon the Christian Armenians was first bruited. Each succeeding despatch represented as appalling the condition of the province, for the good government of which Turkey was

pledged towards all the great powers, but not one of them seemed disposed to take the initiative in calling upon Turkey to render an account of her stewardship. Remonstrances were probably made in diplomatic language by some of the powers, but not in tones which alarmed the Porte. Dilatory replies were given to requests for local independent inquiry into the truth of the rumours, and obstacles were thrown in the way of those who endeavoured to personally acquaint themselves with the state of affairs in Sassun and the Pashalik of Bitlis, which, according to reports, had been the scenes of terrible outrages by Turkish troops on unarmed villagers. The Turkish version, the truth of which the Ottoman Government would not allow to be verified, was that certain restless Armenians, some resident in the country and others abroad actively sympathising, had stirred up the villagers to refuse payment of their taxes, and that in the attempt to enforce the law collisions had taken place between the Turkish soldiers and the inhabitants, in which the party getting the upper hand had displayed unnecessary cruelty. The real difficulty of arriving at anything like a satisfactory account of what had actually been taking place among the Armenian mountains since August, arose from the fact that the information supplied to the European newspapers was derived solely from Armenian sources. The character which this nation bore in the East did not justify implicit credence being placed in all the stories to which circulation was freely given by the German, French, and English press, and pending the reports from their own consuls and accredited agents these Governments were reluctant to take action or to go beyond the line of friendly remonstrance. Unfortunately for the credit of the Sultan's Government it transpired that the men who were accused by these reports of having taken the most prominent part in the "pacification" of Armenia were made the recipients of special rewards and honours. This cynical indifference to the opinion of Christian Europe did much to revive the deep-seated prejudices against Ottoman rule which existed in this country. In 1876 Mr. Gladstone had found how completely he had been able to stir up national indignation against the atrocities committed by the Turks in Bulgaria, and on the wave of popular favour thus created he had placed his party in power. The Armenians were too shrewd to have forgotten the important part which the persecution of Christian populations had played in English policy, and they believed that although Mr. Gladstone no longer ostensibly directed the Liberal party, its policy would for some time continue to be moulded on his principles. A deputation from the Armenian populations of London and Paris therefore visited Hawarden on the ex-Premier's eighty-fifth birthday (Dec. 29) to offer their congratulations and at the same time to present a chalice to Hawarden Parish Church as a memorial of Mr. Gladstone's sympathy with the Armenian people. In

reply to a short address on behalf of the deputation, Mr. Gladstone made a speech which showed that his mental vigour and his generous feelings towards the oppressed were unimpaired by time. After thanking the Armenians for their appropriate gift to the church, as a token of the sympathy which ought to prevail among Christians, Mr. Gladstone went on to refer to the present condition of things in the home of the donors. "Rumours went abroad, growing more and more authenticated, which represented a state of horrible and indescribable outrage in Armenia. The impulse of every man in circumstances of that kind is to give way to a burst of strong feeling, but I had the conviction that in a grave case of this kind every nation is best and most properly represented by its Government, which is the organ of the nation, and which has the right to speak with the authority of the nation. And do not let me be told that one nation has no authority over another. Every nation, and if need be, every human being, has authority on behalf of humanity and of justice. These are principles common to mankind, and the violation of which may justly, at the proper time, open the mouths of the very humblest among us. But in such cases as these we must endeavour to do injustice to no one, and the more dreadful the allegations may be the more strictly it is our duty not to be premature in assuming their truth, but to wait for an examination of the case, and to see that what we say we say upon a basis of ascertained facts. Well, gentlemen, it was my fate—my fortune, I think—about eighteen years ago to take an active part with regard to other outrages which first came up in the shape of rumours, but were afterwards too horribly verified, in Bulgaria; but I never stirred in regard to those outrages until, in the first place, their existence and their character had been established by indisputable authority; and secondly, until I had found myself driven to absolute despair in regard to any hopes that I could entertain of a proper representation of British feeling on the part of the Government which was then in office. Now I remained silent because I had full confidence that the Government of the Queen would do its duty, and I still entertain that confidence. Its power and influence are considerable; at the same time they are limited. It is not in the power of this country, acting singly, to undertake to represent humanity at large, and to inflict, even upon the grossest wrongdoers, the punishments that their crime may have deserved; but there is such a thing as the conscience of mankind at large, and the conscience is not limited even to Christendom. And there is a great power in the collected voice of outraged humanity. What happened in Bulgaria? The Sultan and his Government absolutely denied that anything wrong had been done. Yes, but their denial was shattered by the force of facts. The truth was exhibited to the world. It was thought an extravagance at the time when I said: 'It is time that the

Turk and all his belongings should go out of Bulgaria bag and baggage.' They did go out of Bulgaria, and they went out of a good deal besides. But, quite independent of any sentiment of right, justice, or humanity, common sense and common prudence ought to have taught them not to repeat the infernal acts which disgraced the year 1876, so far as Turkey was concerned. Now, it is certainly true that we have not arrived at the close of this inquiry, and I will say nothing to assume that the allegations will be verified. At the same time, I cannot pretend to say that there is no reason to anticipate an unfavourable issue. On the contrary, the intelligence which has reached me tends to a conclusion which I would still hope may not be verified, but tends strongly to a conclusion to the general effect that the outrages and the scenes and abominations of 1876 in Bulgaria have been repeated in 1894 in Armenia. As I have said, I hope it is not so, and I will hope to the last, but if it is so, it is time that one general shout of execration, not of men, but of deeds, one general shout of execration directed against deeds of wickedness, should rise from outraged humanity, and should force itself into the ears of the Sultan of Turkey, and make him sensible, if anything can make him sensible, of the madness of such a course. The history of Turkey has been a sad and painful history. That race has not been without remarkable and even in some cases fine qualities, but from too many points of view it has been a scourge to the world, made use of, no doubt, by a wise Providence for the sins of the world. If these tales of murder, violation, and outrage be true, then it will follow that they cannot be overlooked and they cannot be made light of. I have lived to see the Empire of Turkey in Europe reduced to less than one half of what it was when I was born, and why? Simply because of its misdeeds—a great record written by the hand of Almighty God, in whom the Turk, as a Mahometan, believes, and believes firmly—written by the hand of Almighty God against injustice, against lust, against the most abominable cruelty; and if—and I hope, and I feel sure, that the Government of the Queen will do everything that can be done to pierce to the bottom of this mystery, and to make the facts known to the world—if, happily—I speak hoping against hope—if the reports we have read are to be disproved or to be mitigated, then let us thank God; but if, on the other hand, they be established, then I say it will more than ever stand before the world that there is no lesson, however severe, that can teach certain people the duty, the prudence, the necessity of observing in some degree the laws of decency, and of humanity, and of justice, and that if allegations such as these are established, it will stand as if it were written with letters of iron on the records of the world that such a Government as that which can countenance and cover the perpetration of such outrages is a disgrace in the first place to Mahomet, the prophet whom it professes to follow, that it

is a disgrace to civilisation at large, and that it is a curse to mankind. Now, that is strong language. Strong language ought to be used when facts are strong, and ought not to be used without strength of facts. I have counselled you still to retain and to keep your judgment in suspense, but as the evidence grows and the case darkens my hopes dwindle and decline ; and as long as I have a voice I hope that voice upon occasions will be uttered on behalf of humanity and truth."

With these memorable words the political history of the year may be said to have been brought to a close ; but whether the indignant utterances of the Ulysses of the Liberal party were to be taken as words of counsel, or to prove stones of stumbling to his former colleagues, the following year was to show. Public opinion—except that which still clung to the maintenance of Turkey as the safety of Europe against the Slav—was altogether with Mr. Gladstone in his scathing denunciation of the Sultan's government, whilst the more ardent leaders of Liberal opinion urged that the Ministry might find a worse cry than "Justice to the Christians of the East," with which to appeal to the electors, as Mr. Gladstone had done eighteen years before.

For the time, however, the ministers gave no sign of their intentions. They were more concerned with domestic questions which were pressing upon them from within, and were seeking for some means by which the various sections of their supporters might be satisfied in the arrangement of the business of the ensuing session. In addition to this difficulty, rumours of friction within the Cabinet itself were revived as the year closed, but without any apparent reason. The course of events had so completely falsified all the forecasts which had been made by political soothsayers at the beginning of the year, and again upon Mr. Gladstone's retirement from office, that the boldest amongst them abstained from anticipating the future. It could not be said that the Ministry was less strong than when the year began, and in all probability owing to Sir William Harcourt's Budget they were actually in a logically stronger position than the Liberals had found themselves for many years, for they had struck a blow at privileges and vested interests unparalleled in Parliamentary history since the passing of the Corn Laws. In an appeal to the country, come when it might, the Ministry could point to the fact that by their system of finance the cost of defending the empire by means of a powerful Navy had been raised without encroaching upon the earnings of the working-classes or laying hands upon the savings of humble households.

In other respects also the year had been one of progress rather than of disturbance. Of the legislative measures, the Parish Councils Bill was the most wide-reaching and important, giving to the agricultural labourers a direct interest in the management of their local affairs. The administration of the

Poor Law, of the Factory Acts and the Education Acts, had been more distinctly in sympathy with the wants and wishes of the masses they were designed to benefit. The hours of labour had been reduced in the Government arsenals and dockyards in accordance with the generally expressed feeling of the trade unions. Public opinion had widened with regard to the needs of a reform of the Irish Land Act of 1881, and to the obvious benefit to all parties which would follow upon some fair adjustment of the claims put forward on behalf of the Irish evicted tenants. The questions of a reform of the House of Lords, of old age pensions, of the unification of the government of London, had been brought into prominence, but were left for subsequent years to settle; and it was recognised by Liberals and Conservatives alike that the solution of these, and of the many problems which the Labour party with its Socialistic tendencies was pushing to the front as political tests, must be left to the imminent general election, which would indicate the drift for the few remaining years of the nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER V.

### SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

#### I. SCOTLAND.

IN the changes consequent upon Mr. Gladstone's retirement, Scotland had no cause to complain that her representatives had been neglected. The new Prime Minister belonged to that country even more exclusively than his predecessor, and Mr. Marjoribanks, who on the death of his father succeeded as Lord Tweedmouth, found a place in the newly constructed Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal. It was in Edinburgh, moreover, that the new Premier made his first important platform speech (March 7) after his accession to the leadership of the Liberal party. This speech as well as that of Mr. Chamberlain (March 12) have been referred to already, as have also the subsequent visits of Lord Tweedmouth to Inverness, Sir George Trevelyan to Glasgow, Mr. Asquith to East Fife, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman to Stirling, and of Lord Salisbury to Edinburgh, to whom Lord Rosebery replied by a speech at Glasgow.

The principal legislative achievement of the second session of the year was a distinctly Scotch measure—the Local Government (Scotland) Act, by which Parish Councils, framed on the lines of the English bill, were established. The method adopted for discussing the details of the bill was a new departure in the House of Commons' procedure. They were



considered and settled, not by a committee of the whole House, but by a Scotch Grand Committee, consisting of the whole of the Scotch members, with the addition of a certain number of other members so chosen as partly to redress the undue preponderance of the supporters of the Government. The appointment of this Grand Committee was opposed by Mr. Balfour, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Chamberlain, on the ground that it altered the immemorial procedure of the House, and threatened an entire change in constitutional procedure, but it was carried by a majority of thirty-three, and in practice it was found, on the whole, to work well. On one point the action of the Government provoked the wrath of the Scottish Radical members. The Secretary for Scotland, after promising to dispense with the rating qualification, agreed to make payment of the parish rate a condition of exercising the franchise for the election of parish councillors ; and, in spite of serious opposition and much indignation, the amendment was adopted. Under this act the Board of Supervision in Edinburgh was reorganised as the Scottish Local Government Board, with Mr. John Skelton, C.B., the chairman of the former board, as the vice-president of the latter, the Secretary for Scotland being its president.

Of the seven bye-elections five were contested, but the result in one case only, that of Forfarshire, showed any distinct evidence of change in political opinion. The reduced Liberal majorities by which the members were returned for the Leith Burghs, Berwickshire and East Lanarkshire, and the increased majority by which the new Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Shaw, was elected for the Border Burghs, may have been due to local or personal reasons. In any case the shifting of a few score of voters did not betoken any important change of political opinion. In Forfarshire the loss to the Government of a seat which had been hitherto Liberal since the passing of the Reform Bill, was of more significance ; although great allowance would have to be made for the fact that the successful Conservative candidate was essentially a Forfarshire man, wielding wide territorial influence, whilst his Liberal opponent, selected only a few weeks before the election, was a Londoner with no actual connection with the country.

The complaints made by Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) and Dr. Clark (*Caithness-shire*) in the House of Commons as to the unsatisfactory treatment of the Highland crofters were not altogether supported by the members of the Highland League, drawn wholly from that class. At the annual meeting of that body a resolution was adopted expressing satisfaction with the effects of the Crofters Act in improving the holdings of small tenants. The chairman said that no one could imagine the improvement that had been wrought in the condition of the people of Skye since the act came into force. The Duke of Sutherland adopted two schemes for the benefit of the crofters

on his estate. Under one of these it was proposed to break up large farms as they fell in, and to convert them into small holdings for the benefit of crofters who were known to be industrious. The other scheme was intended to facilitate the purchase of their lands by crofter tenants, either by a single payment or by instalments of the price extending over several years. A number of applications for purchase under the latter scheme had been received before the close of the year.

The condition of the Scotch miners was, on the other hand, less satisfactory. A strike of the workers in the coal pits of the Lowlands, which began in May, was not finally brought to a close until the end of October, and then, after entailing much suffering, resulted in failure. The ground of the strike was a demand of the men to get back the last reduction of 1s. a day on their wages, and also to compel the coal-masters to recognise the miners' leaders or advisers in the formation of a so-called conciliation board. The strike had three centres—namely, Lanarkshire, Fife and Kinross, and the Lothians. In the middle of June 40,000 miners took part in a testing vote, when 25,600 voted "strike" and 14,000 voted "work." Before the end of June upwards of 60,000 miners had gone out. The strike was directly organised by the managers, of whom Mr. Chisholm Robertson was the most conspicuous; but it was to a great extent fomented by the English Federation, which held out to the Scottish strikers the hope of material help. The great strike in the English Midlands last year had proved a time of harvest to the Scottish miners, who were kept busy in supplying the English market with coal, and who thereby strengthened the hands of the masters against the men in England. The Scottish strike gave the English miners an opportunity of retaliating, of which they were not slow to take advantage; and by sending supplies of English coal into Scotland they reduced the strength and increased the difficulties of the miners there. The Scotsmen were also misled by promises of strike pay from England—promises which were inadequately fulfilled. At the end of the third week of the strike, the contributions from England amounted to no more than 3s. 8d. per man for the three weeks. The men and their families endured great hardships, which were on the whole very patiently borne; but in September there were riots, accompanied by destruction of property in North Motherwell, and picketing was carried on with energy, but with doubtful success, during the course of the strike. The conflict was undoubtedly prolonged by the influence of the miners' agents, Mr. Chisholm Robertson and Mr. John Wilson; but in the end there were disagreements between these leaders, and the strike collapsed from pure inanition, without the men having secured any of the points for which they had fought. The loss of wages by the strike was estimated at 1,290,000*l.*, while of the union funds a sum of no less than 100,000*l.* was expended. As results of the strike

the men utterly failed in their objects ; the alliance between the English and the Scottish organisations was sensibly weakened ; whilst the strike leaders were discredited, and their influence was seriously impaired.

It would be difficult to estimate correctly whether the agitation in favour of Church Disestablishment had progressed during the year. The election of Forfarshire, it was said, was much influenced by a reaction against the movement, and the reduced Liberal majorities in other elections were attributed to the same cause. On the other hand Sir Charles Cameron (*Glasgow, College*), in the House of Commons, found almost, if not quite, as much support from his Scotch colleagues as in previous years. A curious instance of the ties which involuntarily bound even the Free Church to the State was given at Shieldaig, Inverness-shire, where, as in many other places, there was a strong feeling aroused against the Declaratory Act. On one Sunday the Free Church congregation of that place found the doors of the church locked against them by order of the Court of Session, and they had to hold their services among the hills. When the case came before the General Assembly a resolution proposed by Principal Rainy was unanimously adopted, commending a friendly attitude towards seceding congregations, and recording regret at the separation from the Church of those who had felt constrained to take that step. On the main question a proposal to remit the Declaratory Act to a committee was rejected by the overwhelming majority of 370. In the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland the most exciting debate was concerned with the question of Church defence. Lord Balfour of Burleigh characterised as untrue the statement of the Prime Minister that every Established Church manse had become a Tory agency. A motion was adopted expressing the opinion that, in view of the resolutions hostile to the Church passed by the Free Church Assembly and the United Presbyterian Synod, on the question of Disestablishment, it was not the duty of the assembly to entertain proposals for conference with those bodies on the subject of union. In addressing a conference of the Young Men's Guild of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh in October, Mr. A. J. Balfour said that religious equality meant, in the mouths of those who used it in connection with Scottish Disestablishment, nothing different in any respect from simple plunder of that property which the State never gave to the Church and which the State ought not now to take from it.

The Scottish Universities Commission was prolonged for another year, in consequence chiefly of the difference that had arisen between the University of St. Andrews and University College, Dundee. An attempt made by members of the University Court to settle the difference by reducing the agreement between the two bodies by legal process failed in the Court of Session. A proposal subsequently made in the *senatus* to

dissolve the union by means of a bill in Parliament was defeated, on the ground that it would be disastrous to the best interests of the university, in favour of another proposal to proceed by way of supplementary agreement. A scheme for the transference of the Blairs Roman Catholic College from Kincardineshire to St. Andrews, and to affiliate it to the university, of which the Marquess of Bute was rector, was regarded with favour by some of the university authorities, but excited the alarm of the champions of Protestantism, all the more because Lord Bute stated that the change could not be effected without the sanction of the Holy See. The Edinburgh University Court, after a prolonged resistance, passed regulations admitting to degrees in medicine women taught in recognised extra-mural schools. Several important ordinances were issued by the commissioners during the year. One of these dealt with the election of professors. It proposed that after the candidates for a vacant chair had sent in their testimonials a committee of five professors should prepare "a detailed and reasoned report" on them for the guidance of the patrons. The plan was strongly opposed by several influential bodies interested in patronage, on the ground that it would amount to a system of election by co-optation, since the "reasoned report" would be of the nature of a *congé d'élire*. Another ordinance proposed the institution of a General University Court for Scotland. The establishment of new chairs or lectureships in history, in French, in German, in Old English literature, and in classical archæology had already produced a large amount of intellectual activity in more than one of the universities.

The opening of the West Highland Railway brought into more direct connection with Glasgow and Edinburgh districts which had hitherto been only accessible by indirect means. The line as far as Fort William was ready for traffic at the beginning of the summer, and it was proposed to carry it ultimately to Inverness, which would thus be reached from both sides of Scotland.

## II. IRELAND.

The hopes held out at the close of the previous year of a reconciliation, at least in public, of the rival leaders of the Nationalist party were disappointed, neither Mr. W. O'Brien nor Mr. T. Healy appearing at Kilmacow, Co. Kilkenny, as had been announced. The state of parties, moreover, was still further complicated by the active intervention of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick in support of the Parnellite Mayor of Limerick against the Nationalist nominee. It was noteworthy that almost immediately after the election of the former Mr. J. Redmond took the occasion of the next meeting of the National League to declare that owing to the attitude of the Government towards the evicted tenants, and the non-intro-

duction of Home Rule, the Parnellites were released from any obligations to support Mr. Gladstone. Whether they should vote against the Government was for them a mere question of expediency, and in the near future it would be the duty of the Parnellites to take compulsory measures in that way. A week or two later Mr. Redmond announced more specifically the policy his party proposed to adopt in the ensuing session. Two amendments would be moved to the Address, one calling for the release of the dynamiters, and the other censuring the Government for its action with regard to the evictions on the De Freyne estates. Mr. Redmond further insisted that the Government should first pass an Evicted Tenants Bill, then a Registration Bill, to come into force before the autumn. He was ready also to support a Welsh Disestablishment Bill if time allowed; he was wholly opposed to the Local Veto Bill as likely to divide the Liberal party.

Meanwhile the Unionists were not inactive. An imposing demonstration was held at Portadown, where the Marquess of Londonderry, a former viceroy, was the principal speaker. After alluding to Mr. Dillon's recent threat, "If the Tories ever get back into power before we get Home Rule, I believe there will be one of the biggest land agitations that has ever been seen yet," Lord Londonderry went on to advocate what he held to be the true Unionist policy for the peace of Ireland. He said that the land was at the root of the Irish difficulty, and the true solution was to enable the tenant to become the owner of the soil he tilled. He proved this by the great success, verified by figures, of the Ashbourne Acts, and by the favourable results which had attended the sales of land made by himself to his own tenants. He therefore insisted that the first work of a Unionist Government should be to abolish dual ownership by land purchase, and next to take measures to enable the occupiers to reap the best possible result from the land. He showed that outside Ulster Ireland's prosperity depended upon the development of her agriculture. The efforts to appreciate this fact, begun by Mr. Balfour's Congested Districts Boards, ought to be followed up by the establishment of an Agricultural Department in Ireland for the purpose of spreading amongst the farmers a knowledge of recent agricultural improvements, and assisting them, as was done by foreign Governments, in the improved breeding of live stock. He reminded his audience that England paid about seven millions a year for dairy produce from France and Denmark alone, and pointed out what an opportunity this was for the development of dairy-farming in Ireland. Subsequent events were to show that in the ranks of the Ulster Unionists there was division of opinion scarcely less keen than amongst the Nationalists. Meanwhile, however, the increasing activity of the Parnellite group, and the equal violence with which its members attacked the Government and the Nationalists, were the chief features of Irish home

politics. The meeting of the shareholders of the *Freeman's Journal* (Feb. 10) showed that there was very superficial unanimity amongst the Nationalists themselves, the clerical party, under the leadership of Mr. T. Healy, showing a strong desire to free itself from the restraints imposed upon it by Mr. Sexton and Mr. W. O'Brien.

The aim of the Parnellites was especially to convince the Irish people that their interests were being neglected by the anti-Parnellites, and the speeches of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues were probably intended to goad Mr. McCarthy's supporters to something like overt action in the national cause. The result was that many violent speeches were made on both sides, and wild threats uttered against the Government and the landlords unless the evicted tenants were forthwith reinstated in their former holdings. Mr. Gladstone's resignation came upon both parties quite unexpectedly. The anti-Parnellites (or McCarthyites) felt bound to make the best of it, and the *Freeman's Journal* laboured hard to prove that Lord Rosebery as the nominee and successor of Mr. Gladstone would be better for the Home Rule cause than the ex-Premier himself. On the other hand the Parnellite *Independent* took for granted that Mr. Gladstone's retirement meant the practical abandonment of Home Rule by his party, and attacked the subserviency of the anti-Parnellites for permitting this to be done. The opinions of the Parnellites were subsequently embodied in a manifesto to the Irish people, of which the following were the more salient passages: "As if in mockery of the hopes that were excited in Ireland, the Prime Minister, whose continuance in office was the pledge of Home Rule, is cast aside, and a member of the House of Lords appointed in his stead. In Lord Rosebery and his present Cabinet we can have no confidence, and we warn our fellow-countrymen to have none. They will concede just as much to Ireland as she extorts by organisation among her people and absolute unfettered independence of English parties in her representatives. . . . The time has arrived not only for plain speaking, but for prompt action; and we call upon you no longer to tolerate a policy of national subserviency to English party interests . . . but to carry on, if necessary, the bitter struggle with both English parties rather than continue to be the scorn of one and the deluded dupes of the other." At the same time the satisfaction produced by Lord Rosebery's speech in the minds of Mr. Dillon and Mr. W. O'Brien and their friends was not shared by Mr. Healy and those of whom he constituted himself the spokesman (March 18) when he made a distinct appeal to the Parnellites to join his party. He said: "I declare honestly that I believe that the return of the Parnellites to the fold of unity would be more important to the Irish cause than any amount of declarations by English ministers. If we were united we should have no such speeches as we lately had from Lord Rosebery." And

he went on to refer to his own position in the anti-Parnellite party, where he now forms a minority of one on the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a friend of Mr. Healy's, having been superseded by a Dillonite nominee. Referring to the Dillonites, Mr. Healy said: "Somebody mentioned the *Freeman's Journal*. Well, as they have fired Mr. O'Connor off the Parliamentary Committee, so I am to be fired off the board of the *Freeman's Journal*, . . . but I do not think that in the main either the Parliamentary Committee or the *Freeman's Journal* will be greatly enhanced in public respect by either of the changes."

The "battle of the *Freeman's Journal*" took place a week later, and was in reality a trial of strength between the Dillonite and Healyite shareholders, resulting, by weight of share, in a decisive victory for the former. An inquiry into the financial condition of the paper having been rejected, Mr. O'Brien, who voluntarily retired, was replaced by a partisan, Mr. Gerald Mooney, whilst Mr. Dillon, the other retiring director, was defeated by Mr. M'Donnell.

A few days later (April 3) the Parnellites held a convention in Dublin, at which the chairman, Mr. J. Redmond, said Ireland was almost face to face with the ruin of the Home Rule cause, and was "in a position of disunion, squalid and humiliating personal altercations, and petty vanities." Home Rule was not only hung up, but postponed until the English people were converted. The case of the evicted tenants was put farther back than ever. The amnesty question did not advance, though for himself, however he might denounce a man's method, he would never find fault with an Irishman, "however extreme his methods might be, if he suffered for his devotion to the national cause." The time had come when they should limit their patience and insist on a general election. Constitutional agitation had, in the hands of the anti-Parnellites, sunk into a sham and a farce, and Irish members must re-enter on the path of resolute independence.

An attempt to patch up a better feeling between the two groups was made at a large meeting held at Nenagh (April 8) at which the representatives of both sections attended. But even here the appearance of unity was not maintained, for Mr. Healy, after saying that he would never do anything to bring dissension upon the people of Ireland, went on: "But this I will say, that when I find faithful colleagues like Arthur O'Connor struck down by preachers of unity, I say that I am here to-day to ask a hundred thousand Irishmen to know the reason why." And more in the same strain. Mr. Dillon warmly protested against the divisions amongst the Irish members being brought before the electors of Tipperary.

Mr. Healy, however, was very soon able to show that, if ousted from a voice in the management of the Nationalist organ, he had other means of influencing Irish opinion, and

that the clergy could be counted upon to champion his cause with at least as vigorous language. At a meeting of the Tipperary branch of the Nationalist Federation (April 12) the president, Father Humphreys, C.C., declared that Mr. John Dillon and Mr. W. O'Brien had made New Tipperary the laughing stock of every enemy of Ireland; they had locked up the Paris funds, they had destroyed the *National Press*, and left the country as helpless as it was before that paper was founded. One year more of these two gentlemen would completely shatter the National forces, while they were developing their squalid intrigue to make themselves leaders. A crop of "landgrabbers" had sprung up in Ireland, the National forces had become demoralised, and the enemies of Ireland were rejoicing.

The anti-Parnellites reserved themselves for the Annual Convention of the Irish National League, held this year (May 12) at Liverpool, to give their reply. Mr. Justin McCarthy endeavoured to preserve a diplomatic attitude. "No one knew," he said, "the difficulties which Irishmen had to struggle with in the House of Commons. They had sacrificed time, money, health, sometimes life itself, in fighting the battle of their country in that place." Mr. Healy, however, was more outspoken, declaring that "they could no more have a treaty with the Parnellites than with the Orangemen." But Mr. Healy, though outwardly more circumspect in his reference to his actual colleagues, allowed it to be felt that there was a schism in the Nationalist camp itself. "The chairman had courteously said that he would prefer that no names were mentioned, but he (Mr. Healy) had no fear of his name being mentioned; he had no fear of his acts being discussed, his speeches being referred to, or his public or private character being laid upon the table and dissected." He then went on to say that "he did not machine conventions, nor suggest and draft resolutions for branches, nor did he go through the length and breadth of the land attacking his colleagues;" and added that "he would not go into the miserable performances of the *Freeman's Journal*." At the close of his speech, he told the convention that "they were in the position of jurors, but before they gave their verdict let them know all the facts." Immediately, however, he went on to say that "he had not stated them all, and that he was sure Mr. Dillon would not. After all, there was a decent reticence to be observed by public men when they had a watchful enemy in front." Mr. Davitt tried to pour oil on the waters, but he hardly improved matters, for he dealt a back-handed blow at Mr. Healy. "He was glad," said Mr. Davitt, "that the conference had spoken out clearly on Irish dissension. They could not allow any man to 'boss' the popular organisation, nor would they allow any man to wreck their movement under the pretext of combating 'bossism,' which was simply a manufactured bogey. The only



danger now to the Irish cause was, he was sorry to say, to be found amongst themselves." Notwithstanding these bickerings, Mr. Justin McCarthy found the "general situation, he might tell them, as hopeful as it ever had been in the whole history of the party, and that the party had been working steadily and zealously as one man in support of the Irish cause." Mr. McCarthy had, however, to admit, that the chief need of the parliamentary party was that of funds. Nevertheless as soon as he bestirred himself to collect these by an appeal to the Irish people—the American milch cow having run dry—he was met with a violent protest from Father Humphreys, of Tipperary (May 26), and he found that the evicted tenants had the first claim on Irish generosity, and that everything which went to the parliamentary fund would be taken from the tenants' fund.

For the remainder of the session the interest in Irish affairs was transferred to Westminster and the committee room where the Irish Land Acts and their amendments in the interests of the tenants were being discussed. The outcome was not altogether satisfactory, although it served to pledge both parties to a strictly defined policy. Little worthy of record occurred, apart from the instructive proceedings of the Limerick Town Council pledging itself to support "the suffering felon John Daly" as parliamentary candidate (July 12), which was capped (July 14) by a resolution from the Town Council of Cork urging the Dublin Corporation to reward O'Donovan Rossa by electing him to the vacant office of city marshal. As this post was worth 800*l.* per annum, this act of self-denial was scarcely to have been expected and in the final poll O'Donovan Rossa obtained only three votes.

The fate of the Irish bills in Parliament naturally aroused strong expressions of feeling from both sections of the Irish party. At a meeting of the National League (Aug. 15) Mr. Learney censured the weakness of Mr. John Dillon, who, during the debates on the Evicted Tenants Bill, had "in piping tones pleaded for conciliation," and virtually offered, in exchange for an assurance from the landlords (which would not bind those gentlemen out of Parliament), to abandon the policy of the National League. As to the debate in the House of Lords, he thought that if there was one thing more evident than another it was that the Liberal peers who spoke in favour of the bill did so in a half-hearted fashion. The issue was plain. From the present Parliament they could get nothing. Their duty ought to be to try and compel the Government to make another appeal to the country. Dr. Kenny, M.P., said the only hope of success for any Irish party was in maintaining an attitude independent of any English party. Mr. P. O'Brien had no hesitation in saying that they would not be worse under a Tory Government but better, for they could hardly be worse under a Government of Cromwells. At the fortnightly meeting

of the Irish National Federation the same day, Mr. Kilbride, M.P., who presided, declared that, in throwing out the Evicted Tenants' Bill, Lord Salisbury had taught them the old, bad lesson. Ireland quiet meant Ireland's claims rejected, and to be successful Ireland must be in a state of agitation and turmoil. While he was not going to anticipate the action of the Irish party, he would say, in the name of the people of the country, that the stronger and the more advanced the action taken by the Irish party the better pleased they and the country would be. The views of the evicted tenants were made more directly heard at a meeting of their body held at Cork (Aug. 18) to consider their position in view of the action of the Lords in rejecting the bill intended to relieve them. A resolution was passed asking that, before Parliament rose, a voluntary measure should be passed reviving clause 13 of the Land Act of 1891 for six months, and appointing arbitrators "to fix the purchase price in cases where landlords who are willing to sell and tenants who are willing to buy cannot agree, with power to apply money from the Irish Church funds where cases are settled for the mutual benefit of landlord and tenant." This, said Mr. James O'Connor, a man of influence among the evicted tenants, would be as good as the Evicted Tenants' Restoration Bill, and perhaps better, if the powers of arbitration were added. If the thirteenth clause were revived, with powers of arbitration, and 250,000*l.* were allocated from the Church funds, there were very few evicted tenants in Ireland who would not be reinstated. Clause 13 became inoperative for several reasons. "First of all, Nationalist members of Parliament threw cold water on it, but, strange to say, some of these men recently begged the Government to pass a measure which would not be as good as clause 13, if the latter was made workable." If this was true, why, it was asked, did not the evicted tenants say so before? They might easily have had a re-enactment of clause 13.

A far more ominous event was the reading of a letter from Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., a strong Unionist and Ulster Protestant, at a meeting (Aug. 26) of the Irish Evicted Tenants' Association. In acknowledging a copy of a resolution sent to him calling upon the Government to revive for six months the thirteenth clause of the Land Act of 1891, he wrote: "It must be evident to all reasonable men that your proposal is a belated one. All through I desired compromise and settlement, but the extremists on both sides coerced the leaders, and moderate men had no chance." Mr. O'Connor said that if this clause were now revived, hundreds, perhaps thousands of evicted tenants would avail themselves of it. In 1892 Mr. Morley promised him that something would be done; but had anything been done? In fact the tenants were in a worse position now than they were then, and worse than when Mr. Gladstone wrote to them from Midlothian to say that he would

be glad to see the evicted tenant question kept in front. While the Tories were in power, from 1886 to 1892, more practical legislation for the Irish farmers had been secured than they ever got before. Father Humphreys of Tipperary, however, took a different view and expressed his satisfaction at the rejection of the bill by the Lords as a second act of transplantation which took them back to the days of Cromwell.

As soon as the parliamentary recess had released Irish members from attendance at Westminster, they appeared amongst their constituents, and for a time matters—the existing cleavage being admitted—went on peacefully. It, however, suddenly transpired that some one acting in the name of the parliamentary committee had appealed to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tweedmouth (as well as to many others, although no other names transpired), who had responded by sending each a cheque for 100*l.*, accompanied by their cordial good wishes. Possibly had the matter been kept secret between the committee and the donors, the world at large would have heard nothing about it. As soon, however, as the fact had been made public, Mr. T. D. Sullivan wrote to the *Freeman's Journal*, suggesting that a great blunder had been committed. To help the poor Irish members was for Irishmen an honourable duty, but to ask such aid from English allies was a public disgrace. With this letter appeared another from Mr. Molloy to Mr. Healy, expressing his wonder that these cheques had not been returned with grateful thanks to the donors, and an explanation that there had been some misunderstanding in the matter, and that it was never intended to solicit English aid. "Are we," asked Mr. Molloy, "to endanger our independence? Shall we commit any act now which may in the future hamper our freedom of action?" And Mr. Healy returned for answer that he had never been consulted about this step, and could not conceive how it had come about. Mr. Gladstone, he thought, should rather have received some testimonial of deep gratitude than been asked to help in maintaining the Irish members. "A bad blunder has been committed, but we have steered through whole monsoons of former blunders. The discredit of it does not attach to you or me. Every one knows where the responsibility rests. And if they now appeal to Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, the Lord-Lieutenant, Mr. Morley, Mr. Asquith, and the rest of the Cabinet for funds, I shall only shrug my shoulders and wonder at the moderation which abstains from assessing a levy of 5 per cent. on the salaries of the new revising barristers or clerks of the Crown." Of course the Parnellite organ, the *Independent*, rushed into the lists. It reminded the Irish public that on February 15, 1893, Lord Wolmer had been taken to task by Sir Thomas Esmonde, and the *Times* had been accused of breach of privilege by Mr. Sexton, for saying that the Irish parliamentary party were paid by the "parliamentary organisation now in power," that

Mr. Sexton had denounced that "gross and scandalous" accusation as a "wanton calumny," and had declared that neither to the Government nor to any rich partisan had any member of the Irish party been indebted for a single penny; indeed he expressed his conviction that none of them ever would be so indebted. And finally, Mr. John Redmond, the leader of the Parnellites, rubbed in salt to this very painful and smarting wound, and asked how Mr. Dillon could draw his sword against the party which was helping to pay the Irish members.

The originating cause, however, of this storm in a tea-cup was soon in danger of being forgotten in the fierce and bitter duel of recrimination between Mr. Healy and his colleagues, which ensued. Mr. Davitt intimated that Mr. Healy's supreme purpose was to raise himself at the expense of his colleagues, and declared that "worse things could happen to the national cause than the return of such a political prodigal son to the sheltering fold of factionism." Judging, however, from Mr. Harrington's remarks at the subsequent meeting of the National League (Sept. 18), there was no desire on the part of the Parnellites to extend a welcome to Mr. Healy and his protesting friends.

This reluctance was further marked by the proceedings attendant on the celebration of the anniversary of Mr. Parnell's death. It was calculated that 30,000 adherents to Parnellism, most of them wearing ivy-leaves, came (Oct. 7) to visit Glasnevin Cemetery, in answer to Mr. J. Redmond's summons. The actual numbers behind these were not even guessed at, but it was admitted that the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy towards the Parnellite movement had been greatly modified, although it was probable that at the next general election the priests would adopt an almost neutral position towards both sections. Funds which were earnestly needed by the Parnellites were also arriving from the United States, and Australia had been appealed to for assistance. No speeches were made on the occasion of the visit to the cemetery, and no disorder occurred; but on the following day Mr. John Redmond addressed a great gathering of Parnellites, held in the Rotunda, Dublin, the Lord Mayor, Mr. Henry Parnell, several provincial mayors, and nearly all the Parnellite members, being on the platform. When Mr. Parnell was their leader, said Mr. Redmond, they had a united party and Home Rule was in the forefront of the great imperial questions of the day. Now the Irish were divided, and they had no man as leader fit to combine the various elements of their race, and Home Rule had absolutely disappeared from the list of urgent imperial political questions. The notion that they would get Home Rule through an agitation against the Lords was sheer midsummer madness. If the proposal meant anything, it meant the postponement of Home Rule for this generation. An im-

mediate dissolution, Mr. Redmond went on, was the essential thing for Home Rule. "The plain duty of the Parnellites was, in season and out of season, in and out of Parliament, to force an immediate dissolution." This, if he gauged the signs of the times rightly, the Parnellites would now be able to accomplish.

Whether it was merely by accident or from some other cause the interminable dispute over the "Paris Fund," of which the details and merits were never clearly explained, was brought to a close and the sum in dispute—40,000*l.*—was temporarily paid over to Mr. Justin M'Carthy. According to the *Daily Chronicle*, 14,000*l.* was to be spent in paying off certain "claims incurred by the old Parnellite party," and the rest to be used as a fund for the evicted tenants. This fund, it was settled, should be distributed by a committee of three—two Anti-Parnellites, Mr. Dillon and Mr. Davitt, and one Parnellite, Mr. Harrington—and presumably for the benefit, in the first instance, of the "Plan of Campaign" tenants, who considered they had special claims upon Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, whose tools they had allowed themselves to be made.

If, however, there were many questions about which the various sections of the Irish party were more or less at variance, there was one of which all admitted the pressing importance—the release of the condemned dynamitards. By some they were regarded as the dupes of men more astute than themselves; by others they were held to be the victims of police intrigue; and by a still greater number they were looked upon as patriots who had ventured life and liberty to bring about what all Irishmen desired—freedom from English rule. At any rate they were political prisoners, and Mr. Morley on one occasion had compared them to the French Communards, who, with few exceptions, had been amnestied by the French Government after a prolonged proscription. The practical unanimity of the Irish members on the need of some similar act of clemency placed the Liberal Cabinet in a difficult position. One of the cardinal points of its programme in taking office was to govern Ireland in accordance with Irish wishes, and in view of the absolute dependence of the Ministry for continuance of existence upon the Irish vote, the decision to be taken on this demand was a momentous one. Happily Mr. Morley was not forgetful that the act of clemency demanded by the Irish supporters of the Government would be regarded as one of cowardice by its English adherents, and the example given by Mr. Asquith when the matter was brought before the House of Commons furnished Mr. Morley with a reply on the present occasion.

A deputation, headed by the Lord Mayor and other members of the Dublin Corporation, sought an interview with the Chief Secretary (Oct. 29) to urge him to bring his influence to bear upon the Government to grant an amnesty to the Irish political prisoners, supporting their appeal by an elaborate survey of the points in controversy. Mr. Morley,

who replied at some length (in the negative), declined to enter into the specific cases mentioned. He had no wish to shirk the fullest personal responsibility as a member of the Government for the action which the Government had taken or might take in the matter. The decision which they asked the Government to reconsider was not merely a departmental act of the Secretary of State, but was the collective act of the whole Cabinet, and he wished it to be explicitly understood that the Secretary of State was no more directly personally responsible for the matter than he himself or any other member of the Cabinet. Mr. Morley proceeded to vindicate himself from the charge of having given promises in this matter which he had not kept. At the Leinster Hall, in February, 1888, he allowed that he had used the following expressions: "The French amnestied the Communards, who were guilty of the most atrocious crimes against their Government. The Americans amnestied the Secessionist rebels, who were guilty of a most atrocious crime against their Government. Are the only people in the world for whom there is to be no amnesty, no act of oblivion, to be Irishmen, whose only fault has been that they have used their talents for the benefit of their countrymen, and done the best they could—and much they have done—to raise up the miserable and oppressed and the down-trodden people of their own country? Gentlemen, it is not so. That is no longer—in spite of what eminent men may say—the mind nor the intention of the people of Great Britain. We are here to-night, Lord Ripon and I, to assure you that at least one great party is anxious for an amnesty and an act of oblivion on your side and on ours both." "That," Mr. Morley explained, "was all." "There was not one word about dynamitards." A letter to some of his constituents at Newcastle, dated June 25, 1892, did indeed hold out a hope of clemency towards the dynamitards—when Mr. Morley and his friends had succeeded in their efforts "to bring the old system of Irish government to an end." In conclusion, Mr. Morley hoped the Lord Mayor would forgive him for pointing out that the planting of dynamite in the cloak-rooms of London railway stations, and trying to blow up Westminster Hall or the Tower of London, did not exclusively affect Ireland, but also the people of England. He promised, nevertheless, the Lord Mayor to put before the Cabinet the view of the Dublin Corporation.

The proceedings of the Irish Land Acts Committee have been referred to elsewhere, and the attitude of Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., acting in the interests of the Ulster farmers, has been explained. Time and closer relations between the farmers and their representative had only the result of confirming the latter in his views of the fatal errors to which he considered the minority of the committee had pledged themselves—as spokesmen of the landlords alone. Towards the close of the year, Mr. T. W. Russell explained in a letter to the *Times* (Dec. 19)

his views on the recommendation of the committee, which, as reflecting those of an important class of Ulster voters, indicated that the policy of the minority, if persisted in, would have disastrous results at the next election, and that a large body of Ulster Protestants would be found voting on the same side as the Catholic Nationalists. The main result of Mr. Morley's committee was embodied in the declaration that "the interference of Parliament is required in order to ascertain, and secure to the tenant his right to, the improved letting value which has been elicited by his improvements." This point Mr. Russell held to be not only essentially equitable, but most necessary, on the ground of social expediency. If Irish agriculture was to flourish, some one must be encouraged to make improvements. But the landlords being unable or unwilling to put money into the land under the Irish system, it fell upon the tenant, or nobody. But the tenant clearly would not unless he knew that he would get the benefit of the improvements. Mr. T. W. Russell, however, stated most emphatically that he had no desire to take away from the Irish landlords anything which they had a right to claim. "If the landlord has built the house or contributed to its erection, if he has drained the land or aided in this work, I am for taking whatever he has done into account and making due and adequate allowance for it." The landlord, however, had no right to get rent upon a house and out-offices which the tenant had built at his sole expense. What the landlord was entitled to was a fair rent for the soil and its inherent capacities. "He does not, as a rule, let anything else. And to charge rent upon anything else is simple confiscation of the tenant's property." Whilst endorsing almost entirely the views of the Ulster tenant farmers, Mr. Russell ended by warning Mr. Morley against the danger of listening to "the wild counsels of the Land League in passing his bill."

Turning from the political to the domestic history of Ireland during the year, it was satisfactory to find that the crops, which suffered from continued cold and rain, were after all not so much damaged as was anticipated, whilst even the partial failure of the potato crop was no longer likely to have such disastrous effects as in bygone years, other kinds of food having become plentiful and cheap. On the other hand the cattle trade had promptly recovered from the effects of the drought of the previous year, and the depressing influences of unchecked crime and violence. The generally tranquil condition of the country, for which Mr. Morley's administration deserved the highest praise, had spread a better feeling among all classes, and tempted capitalists to invest money in Irish undertakings.

The Irish fisheries, which under intelligent management were certain to become a source of national wealth, had attracted the attention of the Government as well as of private philanthropists like the Baroness Burdett Coutts, but especially of the Congested

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Districts Board, which, making the Island of Arran its base of operations, concluded contracts for the supply of several important centres, such as Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, etc., with mackerel. The same Board, with the aid of funds placed at its disposal, made various successful attempts to stimulate local industry in the West of Ireland. Poultry farming, cattle breeding, and branches of woollen industry (at Foxford, Co. Mayo) were established, and in most instances the results were found profitable. The purchase of Clare Island, through the Irish Land Commission, for the benefit of the tenants of the Ffrench estates, had not time to be brought to a practical test, but steps had been taken to put an end to the existing system of land tenure (Rundale) and to establish a colony of peasant proprietors. The results, however, obtained at Achill and Belmullet and elsewhere were sufficient to justify the hopes of the Board in the ultimate success of their operations in Clare Island.

The progress of the work of the Irish Land Commission continued to be satisfactory to all except a small knot of professional grumblers. During the period elapsing between November, 1881, and March 31, 1894, judicial rents were fixed in 294,654 cases, having an area of 8,918,037 acres, or nearly one-half of the entire land of Ireland. The former rents in these cases amounted to 6,140,602*l.*, but now bringing in a judicial rental of 4,861,127*l.*, or a reduction of 20·8 per cent. Of these cases 127,660 were from the province of Ulster. The number of cases in Leinster was 46,728, in Connaught 68,366, and in Munster 51,900, showing that three-sevenths of all the land cases heard in Ireland since the passing of the Land Act of 1881 came from the province of Ulster. In addition to these cases, in which judicial rents were fixed, there were 49,182 cases in which applications were made to the courts, but which were afterwards withdrawn or struck out; and 7,641 cases were dismissed out of court, the applicants being held not to be entitled to apply under the Land Acts. The question of appeals from the sub-commission and county courts had attracted a good deal of interest during the recent parliamentary inquiry into the working of the Land Acts. From 1881 down to the present year it would appear that in 3,558 cases in which an appeal was brought a judicial rental of 116,766*l.* was increased to 127,567*l.*; while in 2,588 cases a judicial rental of 117,360*l.* was reduced to 106,453*l.* The remaining cases appealed against on the ground of amount of rent numbered 24,867. The old rent in these cases was 782,003*l.*, which had been reduced to 595,078*l.*, and the reduction was undisturbed by the appeal. The amount of money voted for purposes of land purchase under the Ashbourne Acts was 10,000,000*l.* The amount of money applied for under the acts was 11,378,932*l.*, and the amount sanctioned from the passing of the act of 1885 to March 31, 1894, was 9,907,480*l.* The money voted under the Ashbourne Acts was therefore exhausted, and land purchase in



Ireland was carried on under Mr. Balfour's act of 1891. From the passing of that act to March 31, 1894, 6,246 applications for advances amounting to 2,013,221*l.* were received.

The careful manner in which the Purchase Acts had been administered, and the punctuality with which the payment of the instalments was made, were evident from the fact that there were 23,432 purchasers under the Ashbourne Act of 1885 who owed a half-year's instalment on May 1 last, amounting in all to 193,976*l.* Of that sum on November 1, 1894, 193,503*l.* had been paid, leaving an arrear for the half-year's instalments of only 473*l.*, and the total arrears since the passing of the act of 1885 to November 11, 1894, were 7,087*l.*

The domestic condition of Ireland had thus considerably improved under a more generous political treatment, and Mr. Morley, as Chief Secretary, could be honestly congratulated not only upon the sensible diminution of crime, but also upon the improved material condition of the people. Here and there black spots were still discoverable, and now and again Irish politicians would seem to go in advance of public feeling in denouncing the slow action of the Government in giving the expected relief to their misfortunes. Not the least of Mr. Morley's difficulties was to draw the line at which concessions to local or even popular demands should cease, and the old order of things should not be too rudely disturbed. To assist him in his moderating office he had as a rule the general support of the tenantry at large, who were seldom disposed to go so far as their representatives in pressing demands which were obviously unreasonable. The landowners had been forced to give way on many important points, the tenants were recognised as a powerful and coherent body, and whilst prepared to advance their own interests they were not equally eager to press those of their representatives, who in many instances were strangers imposed upon them by the Dublin Committee. It was Mr. Morley's aim to discriminate between the real and imaginary grievances of the Irish people, and it must be admitted that he, for the most part, arrived at correct conclusions, and boldly acted upon his mature convictions.

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# FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### FRANCE AND ITALY.

#### I. FRANCE.

THE year opened with a sincere effort on the part of the Government to put down with a strong hand the Anarchist outrages on persons and property. By means of wholesale arrests and domiciliary visits in Paris and the provinces, it was hoped that the various groups would be frightened into powerlessness. On the morning of New Year's Day, at a signal given by M. Raynal, the Minister of the Interior, the police suddenly showed themselves in the chief Anarchist centres, and those of the leaders who were not summarily conveyed to prison were subjected to careful but fruitless search. The general impression was that the Anarchist police was better informed than that of the Government, for notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, the intentions of the Ministry had become known to the Anarchists, and not a single document of importance was discovered by the police.

It was satisfactory, however, to find by the result of the senatorial elections (Jan. 7) that these outrages on the part of an extreme group had no practical effect upon the steady Republican opinions of the masses. The majority of the outgoing senators (those belonging to the first series A-G), desirous of retaining their seats for a further period of nine years, found but little difficulty in obtaining a renewal of their electors' confidence. In the department of the Seine, where M. Goblet had created a vacancy by preferring to retain his seat as deputy, M. Floquet, one of the most prominent victims at the general election of the previous year, found himself raised, probably somewhat against his will, to the Second Chamber. The Royalist senators were, however, less successful, for out of fourteen who offered themselves for re-election, only six were returned to their old seats at the Luxembourg.

On the re-assembling of the Chambers (Jan. 8) M. Challemlacour was re-elected President of the Senate without opposition, whilst in the Chamber of Deputies M. Ch. Dupuy was

seated in a like position by a large majority, due in great measure to the energy he had displayed in the case of the Anarchist Vaillant, who was found guilty and condemned to death on the day following the re-assembling of the Chambers.

It was understood that finance questions would prominently occupy the attention of the Chamber, and M. Burdeau, the Minister, at once (Jan. 15) submitted his plan for the conversion of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Government stock into an equivalent sum bearing interest at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., an operation which would lighten the coming year's Budget by no less than 68,000,000 francs. It was a matter of greater difficulty to decide upon the class of taxpayers who should profit by this advantage. The Socialists, through the organ of M. Jaurès, took advantage of the moment to re-open a propagandist campaign. Up to this time the collectivists had addressed themselves solely to the artisans of the capital and of the chief industrial centres, paying no attention to the agricultural labourers, who represented four-fifths of the entire population of France. The Socialists consequently decided to enlist recruits to their standard, not only among the day labourers, but also among the small farmers, whose condition was often scarcely less miserable.

With this object M. Jaurès insisted that the profits of the conversion scheme should be applied to the reduction of the tax on landed estates, not built upon; by 266 to 235 votes this apparently simple proposal was accepted in the Chamber. Encouraged by this first success, the Socialist spokesman then went on to further reveal his intentions, and pleaded that the benefits should be guaranteed only to those landholders who themselves farmed their land. On this occasion the result was even more encouraging, for by 392 to 71 votes this principle was endorsed.

At this moment, however, the Government thought fit to intervene just as the entire law (or third reading) was about to be put to the vote. M. Burdeau protested in the name of all the traditions of financial policy against the new principle of applying special receipts to the discharge of specific charges. The two sides of the Budget formed a compact and homogeneous whole, the one increasing or diminishing in proportion with the other. M. Casimir-Périer, the Prime Minister, threw the weight of his influence into the scale, and M. Jaurès' amendment was defeated by 282 to 186 votes, and the ministerial arrangement was adopted without conditions attached.

The bill passed the Senate without opposition, and a few days later the conversion was effected with the utmost success. In fact, the result could scarcely have been otherwise; the three per cents. were quoted at par, and the Government was legally entitled to insist upon the conversion at any moment it might think advisable; and each holder of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock was satisfied with a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock in lieu, coupled with the

understanding that no further conversion should take place for eight years.

The session, however, was not destined to produce many equally practical results. Interpellations, degenerating generally into sterile and irritating debates, absorbed the greater part of the sittings. For instance, an entire day (Jan. 20) was occupied with the discussion, raised by M. Vigné d'Orton, deputy, socialist, and *décadent*, of the reasons for prohibiting the performance of Hauptmann's drama, "*Les âmes solitaires*." The piece had been translated into French by the Dutch socialist, Cohen, who had been expelled from France for complicity in certain anarchist outrages. His friends looked forward to the performance of Hauptmann's piece to make a demonstration in favour of the translator. In reply the Home Minister, M. Raynal, read to the Chamber a number of letters, filled with ill-natured remarks about the French, found in Cohen's possession. The extreme Left violently objected to the publication of such documents, but the minister was supported by the other groups, and in the general uproar which ensued, the author managed to withdraw his interpellation without putting it to the vote.

The Ministry next found itself attacked by the Colonial Deputies, on the subject of Madagascar. M. de Mahy, who represented the Island of Réunion, and had been Minister of Marine in a previous Cabinet, asserted that the French Society of Evangelical Missions associated itself with the British missionaries in obstructing the spread of French influence through the island. The Chamber eventually voted an order of the day, expressing confidence in the firmness and vigilance of the Government, but the question was discussed by the press for some time longer with much acerbity. A feeling, however, was growing up among the extremists on both sides that the President of the Council, M. Casimir-Périer, and his colleagues, were disposed to press heavily upon their opponents, and the poet-deputy, M. Clovis Hugues, made himself (Jan. 27) the mouthpiece of those who considered themselves outraged by the domiciliary visits and inquiries to which they had been subjected earlier in the year. The debate which ensued was more than usually violent, and M. Thivier, the Socialist deputy for Montluçon, generally known as *l'homme à la blouse*, in consequence of his costume, overstepped the limits of parliamentary decency by shouting several times "*Vive la Commune!*" For this he was called to order, censured, and excluded for a month from service in the Chamber, and having refused to obey the order to withdraw, the President ordered a file of soldiers to clear the Chamber, and to expel by force the recalcitrant deputy. The debate raised by M. Lockroy on the waste and absence of naval stores at various dockyards was far more serious. For some months previously, M. Clémenceau, who had been rejected by the electors of the Var, had in his news-

paper, *La Justice*, been carrying on a lively campaign on the subject of these dockyard scandals, supporting his case by official documents which showed that even the ships of war were not free from the same taint. Such an enormous mass of evidence had been placed at the disposal of M. Lockroy, that the debate was prolonged for several days, and the Minister of Marine, Admiral Lefevre, and the Minister of War, were equally called upon to defend their respective departments. Public opinion was aroused to such a pitch of indignation by the disclosures that it was found necessary to make a concession. A committee of inquiry was appointed, on which, amongst other competent authorities, places were given to M. Lockroy and to M. Brisson, to these were added certain senators representing the chief military posts, civil representatives of the Admiralty and War Office. The composition as well as size of the committee was at once attacked by the Radical papers, which pointed out that the majority could scarcely fail to be supporters of the Ministry. M. Lockroy therefore called upon the Chamber to insist upon the nomination of a purely parliamentary committee, but the Government refused to accept this proposal, and the Chamber by 344 to 151 votes supported its refusal. On this occasion the Government found itself supported by 279 Republicans of various shades, 20 Rallied, and 45 members of the Right.

Not less decisive was the victory gained by the Home Minister on the subject of the re-opening of the Paris Labour Exchange, which had been closed since the previous July. By 372 to 166 votes the Government was supported and left untrammelled in its action.

The attitude of the Government on the question of raising the custom duty on foreign corn was less firm, and it naturally paid the penalty of its indecision. The Protectionists in 1887 had imposed a tax of five francs per quintal on all foreign corn imported into France, but, notwithstanding this assistance, the price of wheat continued to fall steadily, and the agricultural electors had taken advantage of the electoral period to induce candidates to pledge themselves to further duties in order to protect national products. A heated debate ensued, the representatives of the seaport towns being especially eager in their opposition to a proposal of which the first effect would be to aggravate the crisis through which Marseilles and Havre and a dozen other ports were passing. To add to the confusion, the Protectionists were unable to agree among themselves as to the tax to be levied on imported corn. Some of them professed themselves ready to be content with eight francs and others with ten francs per quintal, whilst others again demanded at least twelve francs—in other words, nearly seventy-five per cent. of the cost of the grain itself. The southern departments, however, were unable to close their eyes to the fatal prospect thus presented to them. They saw the days coming when they

would be no longer able to sell their wines, and gave vent to their feelings by denouncing the valuelessness of the protection they enjoyed against Italian and Spanish wines, and doubtless their grievances would have taken a more disagreeable manner of declaring themselves if the corn-growing departments received too great consideration. The Government, hoping to extricate itself from the dilemma, proposed a seven francs duty on imported corn, and after a discussion lasting, with some intervals, over ten days (Feb. 12-21) this compromise was accepted by 371 to 172 votes.

It was about this period also that an epidemic of Anarchist bombs declared itself in Paris. A violent explosive of some kind was thrown (Feb. 12) into the midst of the crowd assembled at the Café Terminus, near to St. Lazare railway station, and several persons were fatally or seriously injured. The perpetrator, after a violent struggle, was arrested in the street, and proved to be a young man of superior education, about twenty years of age, who was subsequently recognised as the author of the outrage in 1892 (Rue des Bons Enfants), when five police officers and others had been killed. After a careful inquiry, he was tried, found guilty, and executed. A week after the first explosion two others took place in different parts of Paris, doing, however, but comparatively little damage, and shortly afterwards the supposed author was himself the victim of his own explosives, one of them bursting in his hands in the doorway of the Madeleine, which, it was assumed, had been marked out as the scene of the next outrage. The Socialists, in view of the popular feeling excited by these attempts to terrify society, hastened to dissociate themselves from the Anarchist plots. They took occasion, however, to throw all the blame on the Government, which had set itself to hinder every democratic reform, thereby perpetuating popular discontent.

The Socialists, on their side, gave the Government plenty to do, and in those towns where they had captured the municipal powers their methods of dealing with municipal funds required the closest scrutiny. In nearly every district these Socialist municipalities had disorganised the local police, and at every moment quarrels were breaking out between the mayors, the watch committees, and the commissaries appointed by the Home Office. These conflicts of opinion arose in great measure out of the municipal law of 1884, but had assumed a more acute form since the elections of 1892. One of the most serious was that at Carmaux, where the mayor, M. Calvignac, the author of the disastrous strike in that coal district, was suspended by the Prefect of the town for grave irregularities in the preparation of the electoral lists, by striking out the names of duly qualified voters and inserting others which had no right to appear. At Roubaix the mayor, who was also the proprietor of a tavern called *Le Bagne* (the hulks), and of which the select society called themselves *les Forçats*, thought fit to celebrate the

Mi-Carême *fête* by a grotesque cavalcade composed of insulting caricatures. At Saint Denis, the Socialist mayor, not satisfied with having disorganised the whole system of municipal finance, prohibited the exhibition at funerals within the district of all religious emblems. This matter was brought before the Council d'Etat by the *curé* of the principal parish, and thence had found its way to the Chamber, where it gave rise to a violent debate. M. Henri Brisson was closely questioned as to the ecclesiastical policy of the Ministry, and M. Spuller, speaking as Minister of Public Worship and Instruction, expressed himself in terms which found an echo throughout the country: "I say that the time is come to fight against all forms of fanaticism. You may count at once upon the vigilance of the Government to maintain the rights of the State, and on the new spirit (*l'esprit nouveau*) which animates it, and aims at reconciling all citizens of the French society."

"*L'esprit nouveau*" as a catch-word obtained a wide popularity. The clericals interpreted it as a promise of repentance and concessions; the rallied Republicans as the forerunner of capitulation. For the moment the Chamber was ready to support the Ministry, and accepted by 280 to 120 votes an order of the day, presented by two of its youngest members, MM. Barthou and André, expressing confidence that the Government would maintain Republican laws and defend the rights of the lay State.

In the provinces the new attitude of the Ministry was looked upon with misgiving by the entire Republican party. It was regarded as irritating towards the Chamber, and pleasing only to the leaders of the Conservative party. The oldest and best-tried supporters of the Republic throughout the country complained that they were put aside in favour of their more insinuating opponents, because the latter had thought fit to label themselves with the Republican ticket.

The Government was not long in realising the blunder it had committed, and in order to appease the misgivings of the majority seized the opportunity afforded by an interpellation by M. Baudry d'Asson on the application of the law respecting the accounts to be rendered by bodies having the control of ecclesiastical buildings (*conseils de fabrique*). A certain number of bishops had refused to submit to the control of the Government inspectors, notwithstanding the advice and conciliatory orders of the Pope. M. Spuller on this occasion (March 10) explained his attitude: "The Government of the Republic takes no cognisance of canonical laws. The State considers that the administration of matters pertaining to the temporalities of the Church and the buildings is exclusively under its control. It is a right which this State has always exercised, and will continue to exercise in every particular without compromise and with inflexible moderation." Notwithstanding the praiseworthy endeavour, obvious in this elaborately-prepared phrase,

this speech failed to reassure the minds of many Republicans, and it failed to produce the same effect as the former words spoken without premeditation. In vain in his subsequent speeches, both in the Chamber and at public meetings, did M. Gambetta's friend and colleague attempt to explain what he had meant by "*l'esprit nouveau*." The interpretation fixed upon it by public opinion was not to be eradicated, and from that day the Cabinet was doomed; and its opponents found, as they thought, abundant proof of its despotic treatment of Parliament and of its complacency towards the clergy and the Conservatives.

Amongst the other subjects which the Chamber had discussed before Easter, those of M. Turrel on the grievances of the wine growers, and of M. Trarieux on the wrongs of the holders of Portuguese railway bonds, occupied the most time. The most important, however, though in many ways the most useless, was a debate raised by M. Goblet on a revision of the Constitution; the real object of the discussion being to show the strength of the coalition of the Radicals and Socialists. M. Goblet's demand for inquiry was rejected by 295 to 206 votes.

On the eve of the Easter holidays a crisis was nearly provoked by the attitude assumed by the Under Secretary of the Colonies, M. Maurice Lebon, in consequence of the strained relations between his department and that of the Minister of Marine. The latter under the circumstances declined to resign, and the Government in bringing the matter before the Chamber announced its intention of creating an independent Colonial Department. The Chamber willingly consented to this proposal, but as it was voted at the last sitting of that body (March 17), and sent to the Senate on the afternoon of the same day, the latter declined to discuss the matter until after the holidays. The President of the Council, M. Casimir-Périer, thereupon intimated to the President of the Senate that he was determined to resign unless the bill was forthwith passed by that body. It was in vain that the President, M. Challemeil-Lacour, objected that the Chamber having adjourned the Senate could not legally hold a sitting without infringing the Constitution. M. Casimir-Périer held to his point and the senators were summoned (March 19), and after a vigorous protest from M. Halgan, the creation of a Ministry of the Colonies was adopted by 200 votes, and the funds were voted for its establishment. Like more than one of the previous victories of the Cabinet, this high-handed proceeding was fraught with many dangers, and aroused much sleeping ill-will.

The new Minister of the Colonies was M. Boulanger, a senator representing one of the eastern districts, who had shown very considerable acquaintance with financial questions, but was better known as the managing director of the Paris Omnibus Company. His nomination gave rise to an amusing incident. It was necessary to find quarters for the newly-



created Ministry, but the State had no building in Paris in which it could be lodged, except the Pavillon de Flore, in the Tuileries. For the time, however, these rooms were occupied by the Prefect of the Seine for his private residence, although a splendid suite of rooms was provided for him in the sumptuously decorated Hotel de Ville. M. Poubelle was consequently invited by the Minister of the Interior to remove to the building intended for the holder of his office. Here a fresh difficulty arose. The majority of the Paris Municipal Council, composed of Autonomists and Socialists, had inscribed on their programme the creation of a Mayor of Paris, and it was for this important official—when created and recognised—that the rooms which M. Poubelle was requested to occupy, were reserved by the councillors. The proposal of the Home Minister was at once regarded as an unjustifiable usurpation. The councillors were hastily summoned to meet in the Cabinet of their president, M. Champoudry; but it soon became clear that their opposition had no legal basis. When the plans of the new Hotel de Ville were under discussion in 1872, the Municipal Council had voted specific sums for the installation of the Prefect, and consequently the opposition to M. Poubelle's occupancy was limited to an indignant protest, representing the act of the Government as one of a long series of provocations of which the Municipal Council was keeping the score.

No special event marked the Easter meetings of the Provincial Councils, which restricted themselves to the discussion of local topics; but the re-assembling of the Chambers (April 23) was the signal for renewed hostilities. The Minister of Finance (M. Burdeau), in anticipation of its discussion, had distributed copies of his Budget among the deputies. The principal features were a general re-casting of the direct taxes, the removal of the tax upon doors and windows, and the imposition in lieu of a tax on domestic servants, graduated in favour of the heads of families. M. Burdeau expressed his desire to introduce new elements of justice into the fiscal laws, and by means of an adjustment of taxation to give the Budget a democratic but not a socialist bias, by maintaining the principle of proportional taxation.

Whatever may have been the drawbacks to the proposed scheme, M. Burdeau's Budget was certainly the boldest presented in recent years. The Conservative organs attacked it vehemently, as upsetting all hitherto accepted principles, and the other papers feebly defended it, failing to grasp its practical import. From the committee to which it was referred it received a very cold welcome, although amongst its thirty-three members were to be found MM. Rouvier, Lockroy, Cavaignac, Deluns-Montaud, Terrier, Poincaré, H. Brisson, Siegfried, and Jules Roche, all members of previous Cabinets, and some of them specialists in finance. M. Brisson was the Radical candidate for the chairmanship of the committee, but

the choice fell upon M. Rouvier. This was regarded as the self-assertion of those who had been hardly treated in the revelations of the Panama scandals. M. Poincaré was elected reporter of the Budget Bill, and did not long wait to show his objection to M. Burdeau's proposals, and M. Cavaignac astonished his friends by declaring himself a supporter of a progressive income tax.

The public sittings of the Chamber had, meanwhile, been occupied with violent altercations. M. Jaurès resumed the discussion of his interpellation (adjourned from before Easter) on the clerical or capitalist accomplices of the Anarchists, but beyond a good deal of wild talk, and the re-appearance of M. de Mun, the clerical champion, the results were inappreciable, and the order of the day, pure and simple, was carried by the Government by 340 to 179 votes. Satisfied with this support against the Anarchists, M. Casimir-Périer started for Lyons to be present (May 1) at the opening of the Exhibition in that city, and took the opportunity to express his views to the local Radicals. "I often hear," said he, "a good deal of talk about the association of the principle of authority with that of reaction. Nothing is further from the truth; Government authority is not only the guarantee of order, but also the condition of progress." Order, it must be allowed, was being well maintained throughout the country, and no trouble, not even where strikes had been going on, was reported from either Paris or the provinces, but at the same time the Government spared no pains to repress with a heavy hand the first appearance of disorder. For example, at Trignac (Loire-Infer.), the deputy, M. Toussaint, who had taken part in a strikers' demonstration, was arrested on the charge of assaulting the gendarmes. On being set free after a few hours' detention, he was brought before the magistrates, and the Government requested the sanction of the Chamber for his formal trial. The *rapporteur* on the application of M. Millerand, a leader of the Socialist party, reported against the request, which then became a question for the entire Chamber, and on a vote of confidence, the Government was supported (May 8) by 291 votes against 220, for pressing the charge, but the minority numbered the votes of more Republicans than the majority, so that here again the Government had purchased its victory dearly.

Meanwhile in the provinces the policy of conciliation taken up by the Government continued to disturb the Republican consciences, and, emboldened by the favour they enjoyed, a number of clericals hit upon an idea by which they hoped to discredit the authorities in public esteem. For some time previously, extending over several years, a number of writers and publicists had drawn together with the object of reviving in France the memory of Joan of Arc. A former professor of philosophy who had become a senator, M. Fabre, exerted himself to the utmost to commemorate by a national *fête* the

anniversary of some important event in the patriotic career of the Maid of Orleans. He had been unusually successful in gaining over to his views a large number of senators and deputies, probably on national grounds. Suddenly and apparently in a manner quite unforeseen, the Catholic Church took up the question, and rehabilitated the girl it had burnt as a witch and a heretic, whilst a committee of French bishops raised amongst themselves the necessary sum to ensure her canonisation by the Pope. As soon as this unexpected news was made public the Conservatives, supported by the clergy of the whole country, sought to turn to their account the popularity of the new saint. Religious services and thanksgivings were organised in every district, and the departmental and military authorities in full uniform were everywhere incited to take part in the ceremonies. The Comte de Paris even thought it advisable to put forth a manifesto, in which the wish to enrol the soldier-maiden in his service was obvious. This manœuvre, however, served only to discourage a large proportion of those who could have willingly rendered public homage to Joan of Arc. The Senate, as a matter of courtesy, supported M. Fabre's proposal to celebrate as a national *fête* the anniversary of the relief of Orleans (May 8), but it was with the foregone conclusion that the Chamber would not endorse the proposal, and the only net result of the crusade was to weaken still more the situation of the Cabinet.

The actual collapse was not long delayed, although the crisis was brought about in a wholly unexpected fashion. A congress of workmen belonging to the various syndicates had assembled in Paris, and invitations had been addressed to the various railway companies to send delegates. M. Jonnard, the Minister of Public Works, on being questioned (May 21) in the Chamber as to the action of the Government, replied to M. Salis in such evasive terms that a simple question was at once transformed into a formal interpellation. M. Jonnard, thus forced to explain more fully, declared that he could not consent to employees on State railways belonging to any syndicate or trade union. At once a coalition formed itself almost spontaneously between the two extreme parties, and two orders of the day were drawn up—both censuring the Government—one proposed by M. Millerand, and the other by M. Ramell. After a long discussion, at the last moment the President of the Council intervened, demanding on behalf of the Government the order of the day, "pure and simple." This was refused by 265 to 225 votes, and the chief of the Cabinet at once announced his resignation, and as he and his colleagues left the Chamber, cries of "Vive la Commune" were raised by some members of the extreme Left.

The crisis thus provoked was in a sense unpremeditated; but a careful analysis of the votes showed clearly that M. Casimir-Périer's Cabinet owed its defeat to the preponderating

influence of the Radicals. It was to them, therefore, that M. Peytral advised the President to turn, and suggested M. Léon Bourgeois as its proper chief. M. Carnot accepted this advice, but the deputy for Marne declined to undertake the adventurous task—a refusal which was generally regarded as an admission of the weakness of a party honeycombed by the intrigues of the Socialists. M. Dupuy was next appealed to, and after some hesitation and difficulties laid before the President the following list of the members of his Ministry: M. Dupuy, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior and Public Worship; M. Poincaré, Finance; M. Delcasse, Colonies; Jules Guérin, Justice; Lourtres, Commerce; Leygues, Public Instruction; Barthou, Public Works; Viger, Agriculture, and Félix Faure, Marine. General Mercier remained at the War Office, and the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs was confided to M. Hanotaux, a diplomatist, and formerly a deputy, but since 1889 without a seat in either Chamber.

The leading characteristic of the new Cabinet was the youthfulness of its members, which caused it to earn the title of the *Ministère des Jeunes*. The programme with which it presented itself to the Chamber was modest and unassuming, and it obtained a favourable reception. Its first skirmish arose out of the old-standing grievances of the inventor, M. Turpin, who on more than one occasion had forced himself and his pretended discoveries upon public attention. The Ministry took the opportunity raised by the inventor's fresh demands to obtain a vote of confidence, which was accorded to them by 403 against 90 votes.

M. Dupuy's nomination to the leadership of the new Cabinet caused a vacancy in the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, and M. Casimir-Périer was elected to that seat. The new Ministry, finding itself from the outset worried by the Socialist group, adopted an attitude of indifference, which but for the forbearance and union of the majority would have proved a dangerous policy. For the moment, however, the fear of a fresh ministerial crisis was for the Right and Centre a salutary discipline. For instance, when M. Goblet questioned (June 4) the Government on its general policy, the President of the Council declined to discuss the question seriously, contenting himself with the remark that he had not renounced the desirable post of President of the Chamber without making the sacrifice of some aspirations. He found himself and his colleagues supported by 315 to 169 votes on an order of the day, expressing the confidence of the Chamber that they would foster the union of the Republicans by a policy of democratic reform, and by defending the rights of the laity. A few days later (June 7) the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Hanotaux, scored a Liberal success by his reply to an interpellation by MM. Etienne and Deloncle on the subject of the Congo, the Hovas and Egypt, obtaining by his eloquent speech absolute

unanimity of 527 members in an order of the day which pledged the Government, relying on their international engagements, to cause the rights of France to be respected. This majority, however, was for practical purposes too large, and the construction of a fresh group was not long postponed. This time it was "the friends of Gambetta," who separated themselves from their associates, and undertook to revive the brilliant traditions of that statesman.

The aggressive attitude of the Socialists gave little breathing time to the more moderate supporters of the Ministry. M. Leygues, Minister of Public Instruction, for some reasons had seen fit to shift from the posts they occupied certain professors. Called to explain his action, M. Leygues acquitted himself poorly, asserting first that the conduct of these teachers had rendered their employment impossible, then adding that in reality they had only received promotion. M. Jaurès at once fastened upon this illogical explanation, and ironically claimed for all functionaries "liberty as under the Empire." The Chamber, however, by a large majority supported the ministers, who were on the point of accompanying M. Carnot to Lyons.

The President of the Republic had after some slight hesitation consented to pay a formal visit to the "Exposition Coloniale," organised by a private individual at the great industrial capital of South-eastern France. A magnificent reception was organised (June 24) by the Lyons Municipality and Chamber of Commerce, and at the close of a grand banquet given in his honour, M. Carnot had said a few words which conveyed his intention to withdraw into private life on the expiration of his term of office. On his way from the Bourse de Commerce (where the banquet had been given) to the theatre, where a gala representation was to take place, the President was stabbed as he was driving at a slow pace. The assassin, an Italian Anarchist, named Santo Caserio, had come to Lyons with the intention of doing this deed from Cette, where he was working. M. Carnot was at once carried to the Hotel of the Prefecture, but he survived scarcely three hours.

The terrible catastrophe produced a feeling of universal horror, not only in France, but throughout Europe, and if anything could have lightened the national grief, it was the sympathy offered to the nation and to the family of the murdered President by the crowned heads and royal families and rulers of all European and American States, of those even which were supposed to be least friendly to French aspirations. When the French people recovered from the first shock of this sad event, the authorities responsible for the President's safety were held up to general blame, as it was generally admitted that such an attempt could never have been made but for the unaccountable carelessness of the police and the authorities. It was asked how it happened that the Government, which in

1893 had obtained the enactment of rigorous laws against the Anarchists, had never put them to any use, whilst others inquired how it happened that the assassin, who was well known as a dangerous Anarchist, had been allowed to take up his residence on French territory.

Moreover serious complications might at any moment arise out of Caserio's nationality. It was feared that the violent drama of Aigues Mortes might be re-enacted on the larger stage of Lyons, for on the very night of the murder the public peace was seriously threatened. Shops, cafés, *confettéries*, of which the tenants bore Italian names, were stormed and sacked by a band of roughs, amongst whom were several escaped Italian convicts, who were among those who cried most loudly "A bas l'Italie!" The civil and military authorities exerted themselves to the utmost to arrest the authors of these outrages, and to prevent the extension of this dangerous epidemic to other centres. It was chiefly owing to the vigilance and firmness of the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhone, M. Deffès, that Marseilles was spared the horror of which certain streets of Lyons had been the theatre.

The struggle for the Presidency, which, under other circumstances, would not have opened much before the close of the year, thus in a moment became critical. M. Challemlacour, as President of the Senate, and consequently of the National Assembly, lost no time in summoning the latter body to meet at Versailles, on Wednesday, June 27, instead of on the preceding day, as urged by some of his advisers. From the first M. Casimir-Périer was indicated as the probable choice of the Assembly, but from the outset he was made the object of countless secret intrigues. In spite of these the first balloting gave him an overwhelming majority over all the other candidates, 451 voting for him, 195 for M. Henri Brisson, the Radical candidate; 97 for M. Charles Dupuy; 53 for Général Février; and 22 for M. Emmanuel Arago. The transmission of power took place in a small room adjoining the Congress Hall, and M. Casimir-Périer, in simple, but dignified fashion, intimated his acceptance of the honour conferred upon him.

A magnificent public funeral was accorded (July 1) to the late President. His body was conveyed with all the outward manifestations of ceremonial and public grief from the Elysée to Notre Dame, where the funeral service was performed by the Archbishop of Paris. Thence the body was conveyed to the Panthéon, where it was placed near the remains of his grandfather, which had been brought back from Magdebourg in 1889, and placed in the Panthéon soon after his own succession to the Presidency of the Republic.

It was with some surprise that the Chamber learnt that the Dupuy Ministry would retain office without any modification, and the President's message was therefore awaited with much interest. The following were its most essential passages:

“ Resolved to foster the habits necessary to the well-being of a republican democracy, it is to other hands that after seven years the destinies of France will be transferred. So long as they are confided to me, respecting the national will, and imbued with a full sense of my responsibilities, I shall hold it my duty neither to abandon, nor to disregard, nor to prescribe the rights which the Constitution confers upon me. . . . It will be for Parliament to show that the Republic, far from being the battlefield of the sterile rivalry of personal ambition, is constantly searching for something better, materially and morally, for the nation.”

The election of M. Casimir-Périer to the Presidency of the Republic vacated that of the Chamber of Deputies, and gave occasion to the first trial of strength between parties. The Radicals felt that M. Henri Brisson's chances were for the moment sensibly weakened by his recent defeat at Versailles, and they therefore put forward M. Léon Bourgeois as their candidate. The Government, supported by the Republican groups, favoured M. Auguste Burdeau, and at the first ballot the latter was elected by 228 votes. The business of the session was resumed without further delay, and in view of the fact that the Minister of Finance had not had time to prepare his plan of financial reform, the taxes which had been voted for the current year were re-imposed (July 13) without change. The only incident which marked the debate was a proposal by M. Jaurès to the effect that the profits arising from the conversion of the four per cent. stock—about 69,000,000 francs—should be applied to the relief of the small landowners. The Government distinctly declined to accede to this suggestion on the ground that the benefits obtained were divisible amongst all classes of taxpayers. The Chamber supported this view, and M. Jaurès' amendment was rejected by 357 to 118 votes.

A more serious struggle was to follow with little delay. In order to cope more effectually with the Anarchist propaganda, the Ministry brought forward a measure which was keenly discussed for upwards of ten days (July 16-26), the Radicals openly joining hands with the Socialists to oppose it. M. Henri Brisson adjured the Chamber (July 17) to refuse to furnish to the existing Government arms which in a moment of crisis—as on the preceding May 15—might afford less scrupulous ministers the means of dealing a deadly blow at both liberty and the Republic. The opposition of the Socialists was that of obstruction in the shape of at least a hundred amendments to the bill. What was more significant, not a single independent member of the majority raised his voice, either to defend the bill or to refute the arguments of its opponents. This duty was left to the ministers and to the reporter of the bill, but the majority silently supported the Cabinet, and by 289 to 162 votes decided to pass to the committee stage.

The debate on the details of the measure led to a consider-

able confusion of the points at issue, and on the discussion of the second clause it was found that some additional words had been adopted which were altogether at variance with the preceding clause, and it was found necessary to send back the bill to the Select Committee for revision. This proof of weakness was naturally seized upon by the opponents of the Government, and even the staid *Journal des Débats* went so far as to say that the Ministry had ceased to exist. A Cabinet Council was hurriedly summoned (July 22), and it was then and there decided that no amendment of any tenor should be accepted, that the text of the bill should be maintained without the least change, and this decision was notified to the Chamber by its President. The press, with few exceptions, protested against this autocratic proceeding, but the majority of the Chamber supported the Government, and by 269 to 163 votes the bill was passed (July 26) in its entirety, and on the following day the Senate passed it also by 197 to 37 in a single sitting, and it became law forthwith.

The chief point of the measure was the transfer from the Assize Courts to the Correctional Police of all cases in which persons were charged with Anarchist propagandism—by public speeches, in private conversation, or even by private letters—and increased powers of punishment were accorded to the tribunals. At this moment (July 28) there still remained on the order book of the Chamber a number of Government measures for which urgency had been voted; nevertheless, in order to avoid an interpellation on some financial matters announced by M. Paschal-Grousset, the Government suddenly (July 28) prorogued the session, which had been singularly barren of practical legislation, but had been marked by more than ordinary tumult and disorder.

The recess did not bring with it the rest and tranquillity which the Ministry had hoped. The Anarchists, however, were not the cause of much trouble. The trial and condemnation of Santo Caserio (August 3) and his subsequent execution (August 11) led to no disturbance. The trial at the Paris Assizes (August 6-12) of the thirty persons charged with Anarchist propaganda was not a brilliant success for the Government, the jury acquitting all those charged with only holding subversive opinions, but allowing the others who had been guilty of offences against common law to expiate their crimes in the ordinary manner.

The meetings of the Conseils Généraux gave rise to violent debates in various parts of the country, especially where the Radicals and Socialists found themselves in sufficient numbers to pass resolutions condemning the bill aimed at the suppression of "free speech," as they described the Anarchist propaganda. At Marseilles, where a vote of this kind was passed, amongst those who signed the protest were a police magistrate, a teacher, and an official connected with the Lycée. The



Ministry, without hesitation, took the high hand, and forthwith reduced the magistrate to a lower grade, dismissed the teacher who shortly afterwards was elected deputy, and transferred the other functionary to a distant part in disgrace. At this moment the President of the Council, M. Dupuy, who was spending his holidays on the Pyrenees, was seized with illness. The police pretended to connect the illness with an Anarchist plot hatched in Spain, but the proofs were not forthcoming, and the attention excited by this foolish affair damaged the reputation of all whose names had been connected with it, and not a few remarked that the President of the Council showed much more anxiety for his own safety than he had done for that of the late President of the Republic.

These incidents gave rise to a newspaper campaign, far exceeding in violence and intensity any previous display of party polemics. It was not only against the Ministry, but against the President himself that the torrent of abuse was directed. Naturally, the party of order retaliated by recourse to the ready expedient of press prosecution. The *Petite République*, originally founded by Gambetta, but now the organ of the Socialist group, was the first singled out. It was condemned to several penalties, one of which was to have important results before the year closed. The principal charges brought against the Government were its bestowal of favours upon the "Rallied" and its readiness to sacrifice devoted Republicans to the ill-will of the Clericals, and the dismissal of M. Robin, the director of the Refuge-school of Cempuis, for bad management, and leanings towards Anarchist doctrines. This dismissal was destined to be brought up again before the General Council of the Seine, and the Chamber of Deputies. There was no question that M. Robin had done much to merit reproof, but on the other hand the Government was open to the reproach of making too many advances towards the recently converted monarchists; an unnecessary policy on their part, for the death of the Comte de Paris (Sept. 8) had dispersed and divided still more the adherents of the royal family. Not a few royalists who had remained faithful to the prince thought but little of the cause, and the disappearance of their cultured, affable and dignified chief destroyed the hopes of his more attached adherents. The attitude assumed by the Duc d'Orléans was not approved by many of the party, and the newspapers devoted to his interests were guilty of a serious blunder in recounting the reception organised by the young pretender.

The workmen's question was forcibly illustrated by the strike at Graissessac, a small mining town in the centre of the Cévennes. The company which worked the pits, finding that in consequence of the tariff war with Spain there was no outlet for their coal, decided to send away a number of their workmen. The remainder, however, declared themselves bound up

with their companions, and refused to work. They opened a public subscription, and the secretary of the Southern Miners' Federation, Roudet, having in his speeches insulted the gendarmerie, was arrested, handcuffed, and in other respects treated like an ordinary criminal.

Exasperated by this arbitrary conduct the Socialists, instead of attacking the over-zealous police agents, poured out their wrath upon the President of the Republic. They united their efforts to return a Socialist for Nogent-sur-Seine, the seat vacated by M. Casimir-Périer on his elevation to the Presidency. The semi-official journals, like the *Temps*, unwarily fell into the net spread by the Socialists, and exaggerated the importance of the issue by imploring the electors to remain faithful to their former principles. The first vote was indecisive, but at the second ballot (Sept. 23) M. Bachimont, a Socialist and mayor of the town, was placed at the head of the poll. The Socialist organ at once seized upon the pleas put forward by their adversaries, and argued that it was M. Casimir-Périer himself who had been defeated, and the first decisive blow was dealt to the Presidency.

It was in vain that the chief magistrate, by his presence and attitude at the autumn manœuvres in the Beauce and at the grand review at Châteaudun, endeavoured to establish his popularity. The silence of the curious who thronged his passage contrasted with the sympathetic greetings with which M. Carnot was habitually received. From the north the disaffection spread rapidly to the south. At Nîmes and also at Dax (Landes) disputes had arisen between the municipalities and the central Government on the subject of bull fights. The President of the Council, in his quality of Minister of the Interior, in prohibiting these revolting spectacles, took his stand upon the *loi Grammont*, enacted for the protection of domestic animals. The Southerners, passionately devoted to these fights of the arena, protested violently against this prohibition, and *les courses* were held in spite of the Government. Proceedings were undertaken against the organisers of the sports and the toreadors, but the courts inflicted only the minimum fine on the ground that bulls were not domestic, but wild animals in every sense of the term. The practical outcome, therefore, of the crusade was that the minister who piqued himself on his power to strengthen the principle of authority was made the subject of common ridicule.

An opportunity of asserting himself more creditably seemed to offer itself at Toulouse. This ancient city had for some years been a stronghold of the Radicals, and the Municipal Council was wholly in their hands; but certain charges of fraud were brought against the authorities, it being asserted that both in the preparation of the electoral lists, as well as in counting the votes, the grossest scandals had prevailed. The charges rested chiefly upon the assertion of an informer, but the Govern-

ment considered the evidence sufficiently conclusive to justify the dissolution of the Municipal Council. The administration of the city was placed in the hands of five commissioners, a number of subordinate officials were placed under arrest, and the préfet, M. Cohn, was transferred from the Haute Garonne to the Department of the Loire. The dissolution of the municipal body naturally called forth a manifesto from its members to the electors of Toulouse. Two of the former, who were also professors at the Lycée, having signed this protest in common with their colleagues, were summarily deprived of their posts by the Minister of Public Instruction, and transferred to comparatively insignificant towns.

The Government, however, was not yet at the end of its worries of the recess. The Court of Assize of the Seine was called upon (Oct. 12) to give judgment in a number of cases in which the magistracy had been grossly insulted. Amongst these the *Petit Caporal*, *La Libre Parole*, and *La Petite République* held an unenviable prominence. The proceedings in each case ended in an acquittal, the juries possibly attaching no importance to the insolence displayed by these papers. A few days later a worse scandal was rumoured, and an artillery officer attached to the staff was arrested on the charge of having sold to Germany papers referring to the mobilisation scheme.

The Budget Committee, summoned to meet a few days before the re-opening of the session, did not establish a favourable impression by its choice (Oct. 9) of M. Jules Roche as reporter, following as it did upon the election of M. Rouvier as president, both of them being regarded, probably without reason, as more or less implicated in the Panama scandals.

The final struggle, however, was postponed until the opening (Oct. 23) of the session. If the majority had had the energy and foresight which a sovereign assembly should display, it would have insisted upon placing and retaining the discussion of the Budget as the first order of the day. But the deputies on all sides seemed equally incapable or careless of parliamentary discipline. The little band of Socialists, led with infinite tact and abundance of wit and oratory by M. Jaurès, seemed to hypnotise the assembly, and by their constant insistence, rather than by obstruction, gained complete direction of the business of the Chamber. They were not actually able to extract a vote in favour of a general amnesty, and a proposal to this effect, prepared by M. Paschal-Grousset, was rejected; but a few days later (Oct. 29) the Chamber had before it a report of the Cour des Comptes on certain exorbitant expenditure incurred by the permanent chief of the Ministry of Commerce on the occasion of the Universal Exhibition of 1889. M. Jaurès at once proposed a resolution referring back to the Minister of Justice the conclusions of the Cour des Comptes, and inciting him to follow up the matter.

This motion was passed unanimously in a Chamber of 522,

and the Socialists were able, with some show of reason, to pose as the true guardians of public morality. They were, however, not the less implacable enemies of the President of the Republic, whom their journals continued to assail without truce or pity. These insults culminated in the appearance of an article in an obscure illustrated paper, *Le Chambard*, founded by M. Gérault-Richard, who wrote also in the *Petite République*. For gross defamation M. Gérault-Richard was cited before the Assize Court (Nov. 5). He claimed to be defended by his friend Jaurès, who was not an *avocat*, but before becoming a deputy had been a professor of philosophy. The President of the Court, however, consented to hear the counsel thus chosen, whose speech was nothing more than a long diatribe against the President, his father, and, above all, his grandfather, who had been Louis Philippe's minister. M. Gérault-Richard was all the same condemned to the extreme penalty—a year's imprisonment; but M. Jaurès' speech remained unpunished in virtue of the law, although it was in itself a still more infamous outrage on M. Casimir-Périer.

It must be admitted, at the same time, that if the Socialists attacked the head of the Republic, they should have no greater regard for the rulers of other nations. The death of the Czar, Alexander III., had called forth many sincere expressions of sympathy with Russia and the imperial family. The Government decided to be represented at the funeral by a special embassy, of which General de Boidreffe was appointed the chief. The Chamber was requested to vote the necessary expenses, and would have done so unanimously, but for the intervention of the Socialists, eighteen of whom recorded (Nov. 13) their votes against the grant.

The efforts of the majority to shake off the domination of this turbulent group were more numerous than successful. A small band of Progressists, under the leadership of M. Gustave Isambert, separated themselves from the Radicals, and spontaneously offered their services to M. Casimir-Périer; but the withdrawal of this section did not modify the policy of the remainder. An interpellation was raised (Nov. 20) by M. Jules Guesde, the leader of the Collectivists, on the subject of a decree issued by M. Veil-Durand, Prefect of the Nord, annulling an order of the Municipal Council of Roubaix. This local assembly, in which twenty-eight out of thirty-one members were *cabaretiers*, had attempted to the utmost of their powers to put to a practical test the Collectivist doctrine. They proposed to found a municipal pharmacy, which was to dispense drugs at cost price. The apothecaries of the town, seriously threatened by this novel competition, appealed to the prefect, who promptly forbade the experiment. The proceeding, having been duly brought before the Chamber, furnished the apostles of rival political systems with materials for interminable debate. M. Jules Guesde developed at length the Collectivist

theories, which were elaborately discussed and controverted by M. Paul Deschanel on behalf of the Ministerialists, and by M. Léon Bourgeois in the name of the Radicals. By 325 to 128 votes the Chamber adopted an order of the day, rejecting the Collectivist doctrines, and expressing its confidence that the Government would meet them by social reforms, at once progressive and practical.

These brilliant tournaments of words, however, did little to push forward the discussion of the Budget, which had again to be adjourned in order to allow the votes for the Madagascar Expedition to be granted. The Government had despatched M. Le Myre de Villers with an ultimatum to the Hovas, and this having been rejected, the Ministry asked for a credit of 65,000,000 francs and 1,500 troops to undertake the conquest of the island. A long and intricate debate ensued, in the course of which M. Henri Brisson, the leader of the Radicals, declared himself ready to vote the men and money, but M. Camille Pelletan attacked with some vehemence the financial arrangements by which the money was to be raised. The proposal, however, was ultimately adopted in the Chamber (Nov. 26) by 372 to 135 votes, and in the Senate (Dec. 6) without serious opposition.

Once more the Budget had to be postponed; for public attention had suddenly been called to certain newspaper scandals. It was discovered that several managers of important Paris newspapers had attempted to form a syndicate for turning to profitable account all sorts of scandals—social, financial, or judicial—of which the heroes might desire to purchase the silence of the newspapers, and possessed the means of purchasing it. The Socialist deputy M. Marcel Habert was the first to raise this matter in the Chamber (Nov. 29), and was promptly supported by MM. Devechaux and Millerand. Good luck waited on the Government once more, and an order of the day, presented by MM. Charles Ferry, Chevallier, and Francis Charmes, expressing confidence in the vigilance of the Government, was adopted by 354 to 136 votes. The Ministry did not neglect the warning thus given, arrests were of daily occurrence, and the cells of the Mazas Prison were constantly receiving fresh occupants, for the most part wearing the Legion of Honour. Since the days of the Panama scandals the excitement had not been so intense in Paris.

At length the Chamber found time (Dec. 3) to take in hand the discussion of the important financial question raised by the Budget. M. Cavaignac opened the debate in a lengthy speech, in which he insisted upon the necessity of restricting expenditure, and of finding a fresh source of revenue by a progressive income tax. He estimated the total public expenditure in France at 4,354,000,000 francs, which gave an average tax of 113 francs per head of the population, as compared with 95 francs in England, and 62 in Prussia.

At this initial stage of the debate, the sudden death of M. Burdeau, President of the Chamber (Dec. 12), interrupted further proceedings, and necessitated the election of a successor. The Radicals supported M. Henri Brisson, to whom the Moderates opposed M. Méline, now thoroughly out of favour with the Free Traders and the representatives of the larger towns. He had, moreover, shown himself in 1889 incapable of directing the Chamber and maintaining order. It caused, therefore, but little surprise that a Chamber, in which the moderate element predominated, showed itself by 249 to 213 in favour of the stronger, though Radical, candidate.

The need of a firm hand was never more apparent than in the last sittings of the year. M. Barthou, the Minister of Public Works, having laid on the table a new contract with the Southern Railway Company, and asked the consent of the Chamber, the Socialists asserted that the company was in a state of insolvency, and demanded the adjournment of the debate. The voting showed 257 to 253, or, in other words, that the motion had been carried by the votes of the ministers themselves. This was virtually a check, but it was further emphasised by the action of the Senate, which a few days later refused absolutely to discuss the convention. The assertions of the Socialists were speedily justified, for the company was declared bankrupt, its directors were placed under arrest, and a new scandal, in which the credit of the Government was seriously compromised, was added to the long list which the year had produced.

The Government, however, were to receive another rebuff before the year closed. M. Hovelacque, a Radical deputy for one of the Paris districts, having abandoned politics for anthropology, the Socialists determined to put forward as their candidate M. Gérault-Richard, who had just been condemned to a year's imprisonment for insulting the President. An appeal to the electors, largely signed, was placarded on the walls of Paris, and amongst the signatories was M. Mirman, a deputy for Rheims, who at that moment was in barracks going through his obligatory military service. The rules of that service prohibiting the publication or signing act without official permission, the soldier-deputy was punished with fifteen days' arrest. On the matter coming before the Chamber on the motion of M. Millerand (Dec. 22), General Mercier appealed to the requirements of military discipline, whilst the Socialists protested in the name of individual liberty, and of the sovereignty of the people. The Ministry found themselves supported by 359 against 49 votes, but, nevertheless, there was the feeling that a blunder had been committed, and another false situation created.

The final blow of the year (Dec. 24) arose out of a military question. A Council of War sitting in Paris had condemned to transportation to a fortified place, and to military

degradation, a Captain Dreyfus, of the artillery, attached to the staff, convicted of treason. A few days previously a Council of War in the provinces had condemned to death a private soldier convicted of raising his hand against an officer. The absurd disproportion between the two offences and their respective sentences could not fail to strike the public mind. The Socialists at once proposed the revision of those articles of the military code relating to assaults or attempts to assault during the period of service, and to abrogate altogether the death penalty. At the same moment the Government brought forward a bill punishing with death acts of espionage and treachery in time of peace. The latter bill, however, was so negligently drafted that the Military Commission, to which it was necessarily referred, returned it in a scarcely recognisable form. In the Chamber (Dec. 24), M. Jaurès, after bitterly arraigning the ministers, exclaimed, alluding to the previous sitting (Dec. 22), that "they were indeed bold on the morrow of the day on which they had endeavoured to shelter against the Chamber a portion of that cosmopolitan *bande* over which hangs——" He was unable to finish the sentence, for M. Barthou, leaping to his feet, shouted, "You lie!" He was at once called to order; but M. Jaurès promptly replied, "Lies are the portion of those who for years feeling their political power and social influence alike threatened, still pretend to play the part of patriots." At this outburst the Chamber cried out "*La Censure!*" and the President, having appealed without success to M. Jaurès to withdraw his words, took counsel with the Chamber on the penalty to be inflicted. The deputy for Carmaux was suspended for a fortnight, and excluded from the precincts of the Assembly. His private grievance with M. Barthou was settled by a duel, in which, after two shots had been exchanged without results, honour was declared to be satisfied.

Obviously the discussion of the Budget had been put aside whilst these personal and often puerile matters were occupying the attention of the Chamber. A few insignificant points of the Finance Minister's proposals had been touched upon, but no attempt had been made to grapple with the changes and reforms it was proposed to introduce. The only course for M. Poincaré was to ask for six months' supply on account, and to this expedient the Chamber and Senate consented without demur, but the public noted that the first year of the new Chamber had been marked by greater disorganisation in the ranks of the majority than had been previously revealed, and that the situation was as nearly becoming revolutionary as it had been at the close of 1892, when the Panama scandals seemed to shake the political world to its foundations.

The last noteworthy event of the year, already too rich in scandals, was fresh evidence of the corruption in the Administration. In examining the papers of the director of the *Paris* newspaper, charged with extorting money, the

magistrate had come upon letters transmitted by M. de Lanessan, the Governor-General of the Indo-Chinese territories, and the post arriving after the director's arrest had brought further papers addressed to him from the same source. These papers for the most part were duplicates of the official reports, simultaneously addressed to the Minister for the Colonies, and were of an especially confidential nature, and grave suspicions were aroused that the representative of France in the extreme East was stimulating a fierce campaign against the Government at home. On this occasion the Ministry showed no lack of decision, M. de Lanessan was dismissed (Dec. 29) by telegram, and ordered to return to France immediately, and M. Rousseau, a member of the Council of State, was appointed to be Governor-General, with especial instructions to confirm or deny the optimistic despatches with which his predecessor had beguiled the public in France.

## II. ITALY.

AT no period since the consolidation of United Italy had the political and financial position of the kingdom been more sombre than at the opening of the year, nor had any previous crisis lasted so long or threatened so many interests. Riots were reported from all sides. In the province of Bari and other districts the unsaleableness of the wines had produced the most frightful misery; Sicily was in full revolt, whilst in the provinces of Massa and Carrara, as in the Nigurian Marches, popular risings were imminent, and anarchy everywhere was gathering fresh forces. The most absurd rumours flew about, as, for example, when General Ponzo Veglia was appointed Minister of the Royal Household in succession to Count Rattazzi, who had been named senator, it was sedulously whispered that on the advice of his new minister the King had withdrawn from the Italian banks the bulk of his personal fortune—about 100,000,000 lire—and invested it in English securities. Nor was the political situation improved by the result of the trials at Augoulême, where the jury had acquitted the persons charged with complicity in the murders which had followed the outbreak of lawlessness at Aigues Mortes in the previous years.

A state of affairs so critical called for energetic remedies, and Signor Crispi made no scruple as to the means by which order was to be maintained or restored. He began by making short work of certain demonstrationists, who, if they had been allowed a free tongue, might have brought about still more critical relations with the French Republic. The Prefect of Palermo, Signor Collmayer, having proved himself unable to maintain order in that city, was suspended, and this instance of determination sufficed to put fresh heart into other officials, and the French embassy and consulates having been placed



under military protection, the threatened popular demonstrations, against which the weather also combated, did not take place.

At the very commencement of the year (Jan. 2) a Cabinet Council was held at Rome, at which it was determined in the first place to repress at all costs any attempts at rioting and insurrection, and, secondly, to give no excuse for such manifestations in future by steady introduction of social reforms. It was the first part of the programme only which was vigorously pushed forward, the other part being left to drift with the tide of opportunism.

The first step was to despatch to Sicily with full powers Lieutenant-General Morra de Lavriano della Monte, who had given proof at Naples of singular firmness and foresight. The general, on arriving at Sicily, where martial law had been proclaimed, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants urging them to range themselves on the side of order, and warning them of the severe penalties in store for the insurgents and their accomplices. The deputy, De Felice, the principal organiser of the Socialist groups known as the *Fasci dei Lavatori*, was arrested. A large body of troops drawn from the reserves of 1869, numbering 24,000 men, was brought over from the mainland (Jan. 5), and the island, thus thoroughly occupied, enjoyed a temporary rest from agitation in consequence of the sternness of military law and of the additional money spent by the troops in occupation.

Whilst a state of siege was doing much to re-establish order in Sicily, the press was endeavouring to throw upon the external enemies of Italy the responsibility of the recent calamities. The United States Consul at Palermo was openly charged with having been the means by which funds were passed to the Sicilian Socialists from their friends in France. The consul formally denied the truth of the charge, and through the United States Minister protested to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs against this calumny.

From Sicily the contagion of revolt spread to the mainland. Calabria, Ancona, and Lombardy by turn showed the unrest from which the kingdom was suffering, but for the time numerous and prompt arrests, and the calling out of more troops of the reserve, prevented any serious outbreak, until (Jan. 14) the workmen of Carrara and Massa gave the signal. The excuse put forward by the men was the sudden calling back to service of the reservists of 1888. The chief objects of attack were the Guards' barracks, which were sacked and afterwards barricaded, but at the first moment of the outbreak fresh troops were summoned from Pisa and Leghorn, and the rumour of their arrival caused the rioters to abandon their quarters and to seek refuge in the mountains. This prompt suppression of an insurrectionary movement which, as was known by the Government, threatened to spread over the entire peninsula,

was a matter of congratulation, for the success of the insurrection would have involved the downfall of the monarchy and the establishment of an Italian Republic. It was perhaps as a sign of strength that shortly afterwards permission was granted to Signors Cavalotti, Cantis, Mascagni, and Mussi to open a public subscription in favour of the distressed Sicilians.

A financial panic followed close upon the swell of the Socialist scare. Rumours were sedulously put about (Jan. 19) concerning the solvency of the State Savings Bank. These were met by the action of the bank in keeping open its offices until all demands were settled. The Government, moreover, came to its help (Jan. 23) by increasing the circulation of the paper of the National Bank by 125,000,000 lire, of which one-third was to be represented by a metallic reserve. At the same time the Chambers were adjourned for a period of six weeks in order that the Ministry might draw up its proposals of financial re-organisation. The groups forming the Opposition took advantage of this delay to attempt to come to some understanding. The extreme Left, putting aside their personal differences of opinion, formed once more a united party, and decided to oppose vigorously the proposal of any new taxes, and to insist upon sweeping retrenchment of expenditure. On the other hand Signors Giolitti and Zanardelli made no effort to conceal their hostility to the President of the Council, who seemed destined to have only the two Centres and his personal friends on whom to depend, or less than half the Chamber.

The opening of the session was consequently looked forward to with much interest, and the general impression was that, in face of the strong array against them, the Ministry would retire or be forced to dissolve Parliament. Both solutions were destined to be falsified. On the opening day of the session (Feb. 20) Signor Crispi began by depriving his opponents of one means of attack by refraining from anything in the shape of a ministerial programme. He announced his readiness to accept any interpellations which might be addressed to the Government after the statement on the financial situation had been made. After a short disturbance, rather than a discussion, provoked by Signor Imbriani, this was agreed to. On the next day Signor Sonnino laid before the House the views of the Ministry. He admitted that the deficit amounted to 177,000,000 lire and the floating debt to 500,000,000. To meet the requirements of the Budget he proposed to reduce the expenditure by 45,000,000 lire, and to increase the revenue to the extent of 100,000,000 by means of taxes levied on land intended for building purposes, but not commenced, and upon successions to property.

The first skirmish between parties took place (Feb. 22) on the election of the President of the Chamber. The Opposition put forward the candidature of Signor Zanardelli, and the Government that of Signor Biancheri, who after a second

balloting was elected by 191 to 187 votes. This slight majority at first sight seemed ominous for the Ministry, but in fact it was pregnant of future success. A few days later (Feb. 26), in a discussion upon the domestic policy of the Government, Signor Crispi forced the admission that the insurrection in Sicily had been premeditated, and this was followed by the refusal of the Senate in a secret sitting (Feb. 28) to confirm the election of the senators nominated by Signor Giolitti on the eve of his resignation.

Meanwhile "the Truce of God," for which the Prime Minister humbly craved, was refused by the Opposition, who were carried away by their unexpected success in obtaining a majority in the committee appointed to examine Signor Sonnino's financial proposals, and still more by the rejection by 126 to 105 votes of a lottery scheme, by means of which it was proposed to defray the expenses on the exhibition at Rome in the ensuing year. It must, however, be admitted that the Government had never shown very much enthusiasm about this proposed exhibition, regarding the moment as inopportune; and the rejection of the lottery loan was rather advantageous to them in popular estimation. The choice of Signor Fortis as President of the Budget Committee by seventeen votes to nine given to the candidate of the extreme Left, and the adoption by the Senate of the monetary convention with France, were also encouraging to Signor Crispi's Cabinet, and the prospects of the session were on the whole favourable.

The Easter holidays, although causing an interruption in the sitting of the Chambers, were not without elements of political excitement. The Roman Appeal Court having had to revise the sentence of a rioter, condemned for having taken part in the disturbances at Massa to twenty-three years' imprisonment, reversed the judgment on the ground that military tribunals were not competent to take cognisance of events happening prior to the declaration of a state of siege. In the next place, the Commission of Inquiry into the financial scandals elected as its chairman Signor Vacchelli, an openly declared opponent of the ministerial proposals. Finally the Administration decided that all Customs' payments were payable in gold, and that paper currency would only be accepted at the rates current on the 'Change of Genoa, Naples and Milan. This last decision fatally depreciated the rate of exchange, and aroused violent protests from foreign merchants. On the re-assembling of the Chamber (April 2) it seemed as if the days of Signor Crispi's Ministry were numbered, and at once guesses were hazarded as to his possible successor. But the spring like the winter session was destined to be fertile in surprises. The death at Turin of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, was the occasion of a magnificent funeral oration pronounced in the Chamber, and taken up by the press, it seemed to open the way to a reconciliation with

France by recalling the memories of the campaign of 1859. The King, moreover, took the unwonted step of giving an interview to a French journalist, in which he gave expression to the most pacific sentiments, and accused the press of being mainly responsible for the misunderstandings which had arisen between France and Italy. These remarks were naturally displeasing to Signor Crispi, who through his own newspapers hastened to declare that the King could not have expressed himself in such a way; and even went so far as to deny that the interview had ever taken place, on the ground that the King had no right to speak on matters of foreign policy; so far did Signor Crispi's dictatorship extend.

The Venice *fêtes* came as a pleasant respite from the turmoil of party strife, and the King, accompanied by two of his ministers, was glad to welcome his ally, the Emperor William II., and to do the honours of the Queen of the Adriatic. Whilst these two members of the Triple Alliance were interchanging friendly courtesies, the third party to the compact was engaged in dismissing the Municipal Council of Trieste, which council was to have contemplated erecting at Rome by means of a lottery a charitable institution in honour of the silver wedding of the King of Italy. It was not surprising that when Signor Barzilai attempted to bring this matter before the Chamber, means were found to avoid giving a reply.

At last (April 16) the Ministry expressed their willingness to lay before Parliament and the public their remedies to meet the financial and political ills of the State, and not satisfied with indicating the means by which the desired result was to be obtained, Signor Crispi insisted upon being the arbiter and director of the debates. The Chamber was in the first place to vote all the estimates of expenditure in the different departments, and would then proceed to examine Signor Sonnino's financial proposals, the new taxes he proposed, and, finally, the new administrative arrangements decided on by the Prime Minister. The Cabinet, however, undertook to do nothing with provincial or municipal government, but claimed an entirely free hand in the resettlement of districts (*circondarii*). A commission with purely consultative powers was to be associated with the Government officials, to whom the task of drawing up these modifications was assigned. In conclusion the Cabinet intimated that there was no idea of a general election, especially as the times were troublous, and for this reason the Chamber would do well to accept the ministerial programme.

The tone as much as the matter of this communication aroused prompt opposition. Signor Imbriani protested (April 17) with his usual vivacity against the tactics of the Government. He saw in them an attempt to intimidate the representatives of the nation and to favour the interests of some minister, and he added that a passive acquiescence would be little

better than an act of treason. Signor Crispi, at once rising to reply, gave a further proof of his astounding suppleness ; as an old parliamentarian, determined to avoid the charge of dictating to his colleagues, he asserted his entire devotion to legal methods, and apologised to the Chamber for the vivacity of his language on the preceding day. Whilst, however, he apparently gave way, he at the same time managed to carry his point as to the order in which the three separate features of the Budget should be discussed.

The Navy Estimates first gave rise (April 20) to acrimonious debate ; the Opposition endeavouring to show that much useless expenditure was incurred on account of that service, but after some further explanations, the minister obtained his vote by a small majority. On the Army Estimates the Opposition made a longer stand, insisting upon the reduction of the *corps d'armée* from twelve to ten. The War Minister held his ground, and a prolonged discussion ensued. Signor Crispi, recognising that public opinion outside the Chamber was roused on this point, set off to Milan to assist at the opening of an Industrial Exhibition. The unfavourable reception he met with in the capital of Lombardy was followed by a demonstration of Piedmontese feeling at Aosta (May 13). By this time, however, Signor Crispi had managed to sow dissension among the ranks of his opponents. The Centre and the followers of Signor Nicotera decided to support the Ministry, whilst the friends of Signors Rudini, Giolitti, and Zanardelli opposed them, and finally (May 21) after a long and tedious discussion the Government carried the War Minister's Budget by 239 to 98 votes, and the position of the Cabinet seemed stronger than it had ever been since the beginning of the session.

Signor Crispi lost no time in following up his success, and on the same day it was decided that the discussion of Signor Sonnino's financial proposals should have precedence of all others. In the debates which ensued, however, the Opposition were able to make their own views heard. Signor Luzzatti, in a brilliant speech in which he developed his own plan, bitterly attacked the Minister of Finance for finding no other way out of his difficulties than by a general increase of taxes, and by declaring a sort of State bankruptcy with his proposal to reduce the interest on Government funds. In vain Signor Sonnino attempted to remove the unfavourable impression created by his opponent's speech, which had produced a strong feeling in the country. Signor Crispi at once grasped the weakness of his position, and two days later (June 2) announced that the Government was prepared to withdraw Signor Sonnino's financial scheme, and at the same time requested the Chamber to indicate the retrenchments to which it would agree. This unforeseen proposition placed the Chamber in a difficulty, but at length (June 4) it was decided by 225 to 214, with six

abstentions, to appoint a committee, composed of eighteen members, to report before June 30 on the reductions proposed by the Government. Signor Crispi, in face of so slight a majority, decided to tender his resignation, probably rather to frighten the Chamber than to convey his real intentions. The King, however, obviously understood them, for after a show of hesitation he entrusted to the out-going minister the construction of a new Cabinet, which was promptly formed of the materials of the old one. Signor Boselli passed from the ministry of Agriculture to that of Finance, and Signor Sonnino from the Finance Department to the Treasury.

The new Cabinet was received (June 14) by the Chamber with mixed feelings, but the only strong expression of opinion was provoked by Signor Boselli's announcement that the nomination of the famous committee of eighteen, voted ten days previously, would be adjourned until the meeting of Parliament in the November following. It needed an attempt at assassination, of which Signor Crispi was the intended victim, to revive enthusiasm for the Ministry. An Anarchist named Lega fired at the Prime Minister as he was driving through the streets of Rome and wounded him slightly. Nothing could have happened more opportunely, for demonstrations of popular sympathy were made in all the large towns, and Signor Crispi once more was restored to public favour. He was not the man to throw away such an opportunity; but, taking advantage of this shift in popular opinion, hurried forward the discussion of his financial proposals and new taxes. The tactics of the Ministry were to create division among the Opposition by negotiating with each separate group of which it was made up, and by this means even the unpopular increased salt duty was carried (June 22) by 201 to 135 votes.

At the same time the Government, supported by a considerable body of publicists, were endeavouring to bring about a better understanding with France on tariff questions, and a grand *fête internationale* was organised to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of Solferino (June 24). It was also the day on which Caserio dealt his fatal blow, and the Ministry, supported by the Chamber, expressed their feelings of horror for the deed, and of sympathy for France, which all law-abiding people felt. The Chamber made a practical commentary on its expression of sympathy by voting the sum of 100,000 lire for the repatriation of the Italian workmen who had been forced to quit France. A few days later, on the day of M. Carnot's funeral, an old friend of Garibaldi, who had become director of the *Gazetta Livornese*, Signor Bandi, was fatally stabbed in his office by an Anarchist in consequence of an article which had appeared in that paper condemning the recent outrages.

The Italian Government was by this time fully alive to the dangers of the situation arising from the unchecked licence of the Anarchist press, and a series of resolutions were directed against

the unbridled licence of certain journals which openly preached revolt. These with the financial proposals were at length voted (July 11), and the Chamber adjourned for the holidays. The Senate, unwilling to adopt a hostile attitude, consequently (July 16) sanctioned the measures against the Anarchists, and (July 21) by 146 to 51 votes approved of the fiscal arrangements of the Government. The news of the occupation of Kassala—which reached Rome on the same day—gave the Opposition the chance of demanding an explanation of this act and its probable consequences. Signor Crispi assured the Senators that this act would lead to no further hostilities, and was only undertaken in order to protect Italian lives and interests. His audience was more than satisfied by this declaration, and the President, Signor Farini, in the name of his colleagues, standing bareheaded, pronounced a warm eulogy on Signor Crispi and his Administration.

The Premier had only waited for the close of the session to hand over to Signor Barazzuoli the portfolio of Agriculture and Commerce. This Tuscan deputy had in 1876 played an important part by detaching from the Right a considerable group of deputies from his own province, thereby bringing about the fall of Minghetti, and the advent of the Left to power. On the present occasion Signor Barazzuoli's presence in the Cabinet was needed to attach more firmly to Signor Crispi certain members of the Left centre whose fidelity seemed questionable, especially in presence of the attacks arising out of the Banca Romana scandals.

The accused in this case, which had dragged on for months, were formally acquitted (July 28) by their judges and welcomed by popular opinion. What weighed chiefly with the jury was that the counsel for the prisoners were able to show that several important papers, which would materially lessen the responsibility of the administrators of the bank, had been removed. The scandal was so great that the Minister of Justice thought fit to name a commission to examine the judges by whom the evidence in the case had been originally sifted, and to inquire whether all legal formalities had been observed. It was then shown that Signor Giolitti, the head of the previous Cabinet, was responsible for the disappearance of some important documents. Signor Bonghi, a former minister, and a deputy, insisted that Signor Giolitti should be put on his trial, and in this demand he was supported by Signor Cavallotti and the organs of the extreme Left.

Whilst this scandal, with its attendant mystery, was agitating public opinion, the Prime Minister was occupied in taking measures to alleviate the difficulties of the political situation. He undertook to propose to the King the advisability of raising the state of siege in Sicily, and urged upon Signor Sonnino the necessity of finding a further sum of 50,000,000 lire to balance the Budget of 1895. He further took steps in view of the approach-

ing municipal elections to conciliate the Catholics, so far at least as to prevent their coalescing with the Socialists against the Government candidates. These manœuvres, however, did not escape the notice of the declared enemies of the Vatican; and at a Congress of Freemasons held at Turin, the Grand Master for Italy, Signor Lemmi, was urged to strike Signor Crispi's name off their list. Undeterred by this attack, the Government notified the Prefect of Bologna to forbid the Socialist Congress, which was to assemble at Imola, and simultaneously domiciliary visits were made at the Socialist lodges (*fasci dei lavatori*) at Venice. At the same time he granted an *exequatur* to the patriarch of that city, a courtesy to which the Pope replied by creating an Italian apostolic prefecture in Abyssinia. Finally, at a grand banquet at Naples (Aug. 10), at which the leading politicians of Southern Italy were assembled, Signor Crispi astonished his audience by introducing into his speech an invocation to the Deity. This surprise was increased when it became known that this departure from his usual attitude had not been intimated to his colleagues, who first learnt their leader's "conversion" through the newspapers. The motives of his sudden change of front towards the Church were, however, speedily made known, and found to be as much personal as political. The President of the Council was anxious to come to an understanding with the Papacy on the religious organisation of Erythrea, and he was also desirous of obtaining the Pope's goodwill in a family matter. Signor Crispi was about to marry his daughter to a member of the Neapolitan nobility, but the ceremony could not take place until his own position had been ecclesiastically regularised. The Pope throughout showed great delicacy and tact, and by giving permission for the long-delayed benediction of Signor Crispi's marriage, he obtained a decree (Sept. 28) assigning a residence at Karen to the apostolic prefect of Erythrea, and conferring upon the Capuchins of Rome permission to discharge ecclesiastical functions in the Italian territories. At home, concessions were made to the advanced parties by the liberation and amnesty of the persons implicated in the revolutionary movements in Sicily, and at Massa and Carrara; but the campaign against the Anarchists was carried on with vigour. Conviction followed fast upon arrest, and numerous offenders condemned to hard labour were huddled together on the island of Ischia until a fitting spot for a convict settlement was found in Africa.

The Socialists were more difficult to deal with, for no law allowed them to be prosecuted on account of their opinions. The Government, however, did not hesitate to pronounce the dissolution (Oct. 22) of all associations of workmen belonging to the Socialist party, and suspending all newspapers devoted to the spread of Socialist doctrines. The provincial governors, and especially those in the north, received stringent instructions



to watch and hinder as much as possible the propaganda of Socialist opinions. These measures necessarily provoked the protests of the deputies of the Left. Signor Cavallotti telegraphed at once to his various adherents, urging them to enter upon a campaign against the Government without delay, and at Milan an association—embracing all Italy—was founded for the protection of public liberty, which attracted to itself a large number of the more prominent University professors. It was to the credit of the Italian Government that no steps were taken by it in consequence of this display of independence, a course which was in marked contrast with what was going on in France.

Meanwhile questions of foreign politics were daily acquiring increasing importance. The supporters of the Triple Alliance had commenced a series of violent attacks on the representatives of Italy at the three most important foreign posts. Signor Ressiman, the ambassador at Paris, was especially singled out. He was accused of being too courteous in his dealings with Paris society, and of having made no attempt to curb the offensive diatribes of the Paris press against Signor Crispi. It was, however, notorious that the relations of Signor Ressiman with his official chief, Baron Blanc, were more than usually strained, with the natural result that the Minister of Foreign Affairs got his own way, and Signor Ressiman was at last recalled, and the relations between the two countries became more delicate.

Count Tornielli, the ambassador at London, was scarcely better treated. He was reproached with having done nothing to bring about a fixed understanding with England on the subject of the Soudan; and Count Lanza di Busca, who represented Italy at Berlin, was accused of allowing the fervent friendship of Germany for Italy to grow cold. Inasmuch as all these attacks appeared in the official papers, the conclusion was obvious that the Government, to say the least, was not altogether satisfied with the outlook abroad, and the subsequent recall of the three ambassadors was a matter of necessity as well as of expediency.

If, however, the Quirinal was disturbed, the Vatican was jubilant. The Pope, having brought about a reconciliation between the French Conservatives and the Republic, followed up this success with receiving Don Emilio Castelar, from whom he obtained the assurance of the Spanish Republican Possibilists that they would support the monarchy of Alfonso XIII. At the same time the negotiations with Russia for the maintenance of a permanent representative at the Vatican had taken a favourable turn; whilst in Germany, the Government seemed anxious to purchase the support of the clericals in the conflict with the Socialists, by concessions—perhaps even by the readmission of the Jesuits. Finally, the Pope had taken in hand a matter which he was pleased to describe as the greatest act of his pontificate.

This task was nothing less than the reconciliation of the schismatic Eastern Churches with the Roman communion. There was no question—at least, at present—to entice back to the papal fold the orthodox of the Russian Church. Too many difficult political considerations rendered such an attempt utopian ; but in the Turkish Empire, as well as in the Balkan provinces, were many who seemed disposed towards reconciliation. At the invitation of Leo XIII., the patriarch of the United Armenian Church, Mgr. Azarian, had come to Rome, and shortly afterwards conferences were opened (Oct. 24), presided over by the Pope, to discuss the question of re-union. A programme of reconciliation was ultimately agreed upon, of which, by an Encyclical addressed to all the Churches of the East, the Pope urged the acceptance. Unfortunately the news of the massacres in Armenia, arriving about the same time, prevented further negotiations.

The opponents of the Triple Alliance meanwhile were exerting themselves to the utmost to discredit the ruinous policy to which the country was pledged. At Perugia a Peace Congress attracted considerable support and attention from different parts of the kingdom ; and at Bari a powerful association of agriculturists and wine-growers was formed to urge the necessity of a commercial understanding with France. At the same moment, however, an unfortunate incident occurred. Captain Romani, a French officer, was arrested on Italian territory in uniform and wearing his sword. He was charged with being a spy, and after a tedious investigation he was sent to Corri for trial, and subsequently sentenced to a year's imprisonment for treason against Italy.

These events were now utilised to the utmost by the Opposition in their campaign against the Ministry, which nevertheless relaxed nothing of its policy against the Socialists. Without noise or display the new laws of repression were sternly applied throughout all the provinces alike. Socialist deputies were not free from prosecution ; Signor Prampolini was obliged to take refuge in Switzerland in order to escape arrest, and Signors Aquini and Fesci were seriously inculpated. All this time the ground upon which the Government was resting its hopes of stability was being undermined. Signor Giolitti, finding himself bitterly attacked by the official organs, and charged with having retained papers relating to the prosecution of the Banca Romana, ended by admitting that he had in fact put on one side certain documents likely to arouse terrible scandals. These papers, he asserted, did not concern his own honour, but that of his adversaries. The parliamentary leaders of the different groups forming the Opposition, Signors di Rudini, Zanardelli, Cavallotti, Colombo, Carmine, Marcora, Fortis, and Coppino, on the invitation of Signor Giolitti, met in a committee room at Monte Citorio. After due deliberation they decided not to examine the papers produced by Signor

Giolitti, but they were unanimously of opinion that, in view of the attention and scandal excited by the matter, silence should no longer be observed. Signor Giolitti then promised to place the Chamber in possession of all the documents immediately on its meeting. Several papers announced that Signor Giolitti had been placed under arrest, but that even may have been the wish of the Ministry; in presence of the expression of public feeling at the simple rumour, it was promptly abandoned.

The last few days of the parliamentary recess were darkened by a terrible catastrophe in Southern Italy. An earthquake, renewed several times, laid in ruins a number of towns in the provinces of Reggio, Calabria, and Catanzaro. Hundreds of families were buried beneath the ruins of their houses, and hundreds more were rendered homeless. The Government despatched Signor Galli, Under Secretary for the Home Department, with full powers to deal with the suffering, and to grant exemptions from taxation in such cases as were deserving.

On the eve of the re-assembling of Parliament the Ministry published in the official gazette a royal decree reorganising the Army, reducing the number of artillery regiments, and lessening the total expenditure. These modest economies, however, were insufficient to balance the Budget, but, as in other cases, Signor Crispi trusted to his good fortune to be able to obtain from the Chamber the necessary sacrifices.

The King opened the new session (Dec. 3) in person, and almost for the first time made no reference in his speech to the Triple Alliance. In this silence, however, Signor Crispi had only followed the lead given by Count Kalnoky at the opening of the Austro-Hungarian Delegation. The passages of the King's speech which met with the heartiest reception were that in which he praised the conduct of the people during the recent earthquakes, that in which a reduction of public expenditure was promised, and the conventional reference to Rome, "unassailable and immortal."

The absence of a large number of the Left (Dec. 4) removed all difficulties in the way of the election of a President of the Chamber, and Signor Biancheri, the ministerial candidate, was installed. Upon taking his seat in the presidential chair, Signor Biancheri took the opportunity of referring in eloquent terms to the late President Carnot, and of paying a tribute to his memory. Signor Crispi further announced that he would not be able to accept an interpellation in the troubles at Istria inasmuch as they were mixed with the internal affairs of another country. The report of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into the prosecution of Banca Romana was then read, and plainly admitted that on the evidence adduced the Italian magistracy was not independent, even if it desired to be impartial. But possibly things might have been allowed to go on for a while quietly, had not Signor Giolitti solemnly placed (Dec. 11) on the table of the House a bundle containing

the papers which he stated had been withdrawn for State reasons from the briefs in the trial. He explained that these documents referred to certain political personages who had relations with the bank. Signor Bonghi thereupon proposed a motion to the effect that the President should return the documents to Signor Giolitti, to make such use of them as he thought fit. This resolution was accepted by 239 to 24 votes; thereupon Signors Cavallotti and Coppino, notwithstanding the protest of the President, carried a totally different resolution, appointing a committee of five members to examine the papers in the interests of the Chamber. In vain Signor Biancheri, as President, pointed out the irregularity of this proposal. It was carried against him, and Signors Carmine, Cavallotti, Chiniaghia, Cibrario and Danna were named as members. Signor Biancheri at once placed his resignation before the Chamber, but was persuaded to withdraw it on the following day.

The eagerness with which the committee set about its task was such that a report was presented (Dec. 13) forthwith, and in it several political persons, including the Prime Minister, were declared to have received considerable sums of money from the Banca Romana. The money thus obtained was generally paid over to newspapers or to electoral committees. The effect produced by these revelations was intense. The leaders of the extreme Left, Signors Jonniani and Cavallotti, insisted upon the immediate discussion of the committee's report. By a secret ballot this resolution was negatived, and a few hours later, at 8 P.M., an extraordinary number of the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* appeared announcing the prorogation of Parliament, and throwing upon a knot of disturbers the responsibility of this measure. If not a *coup d'état*, it was at all events a *coup de théâtre*. The Radicals protested loudly, but vainly. The *Pieramosco* of Florence published an article urging the people not to pay the new taxes until they had been legally ratified by Parliament. For this apparently legitimate advice the journal was confiscated. But by this time the fight was between Signor Crispi single-handed and the majority of the Chamber. The Piedmontese group declared against the Prime Minister; the Marchese di Rudini obtained an audience from the King, to urge him to dismiss his present advisers, but without effect. Summoned to resign, Signor Crispi remained impassive, allowing the storm to pass by, and holding on to power, if not with the approbation, at least with the assent of the King—a situation of which few parallels could be found in the history of constitutional government.

## CHAPTER II.

## I. GERMANY.

THE first event of importance in Germany during the year was the opening of the Prussian Parliament on January 16. The speech made by the Emperor on this occasion proved by subsequent events to have been of special significance. He began by pointing out the growing deficiencies in the Estimates, and said that the difficulties arising from this state of things, and from the increasing demands made by the empire upon the individual States, could only be obviated by a reorganisation of the financial affairs of the empire, and by an adequate increase of its own resources. The Government, he added, continued its efforts to promote the prosperity of agriculture, and, in order to enable the latter to cope with bad times, was endeavouring to effect the requisite changes in the laws relating to landed property. To this end he regarded as necessary the co-operation of agricultural representative bodies, which should act as advisers to the Government in the preparation and carrying out of legislative and administrative measures intended to improve the existing credit system, to remove the evils arising from the excessive indebtedness of landed property, and to ameliorate the conditions under which landowners at present obtain loans. With that object a bill for the establishment of Chambers of Agriculture would be presented; and the speech concluded as follows: "In view of the ever-increasing bitterness of the conflict of opinions and interests, our object should be to reconcile existing differences by sincerely striving to attain the great aim of promoting the welfare of the Fatherland. May God bless and prosper this task."

The chief subjects dealt with in this speech came before both Houses of the Legislature on January 18. In the Upper House, in reply to a question put by the Conservatives as to the agricultural distress in the kingdom, the Minister of Agriculture stated that the Government aimed, not so much at a temporary, as at a permanent cure of agricultural distress, but that this was incompatible with debt and the principle of equal inheritance. The Government, therefore, proposed to create obligatory Chambers of Agriculture. He added that to render immediate help to the sufferers was impossible. As regards the silver question, he declared that the scientific investigations were ended, and that the purpose of the inquiry announced was to ascertain what practical steps could be taken in order to restore or increase the price of silver. He read the following statement on behalf of the Government: "To this end the question is to be investigated in the light of the latest measures taken by the United States and India, whether and how a restoration or increase in the price of silver and a mitigation of its fluctuations should be attempted, and, further, whether Germany can

promote this end by legislative measures, single-handed, or whether, and how far, an international agreement is necessary and expedient."

In the Lower House Dr. Miquel, the Finance Minister, in introducing the Budget, which showed a deficit of 70,200,000 marks, or 12,400,000 more than last year, delivered an extremely gloomy speech, the essence of which was that such a state of things could not be permitted to continue, and that it was high time to get rid of the main cause—*viz.*, the want of a fixed relation between the finances of the Empire and those of its component States.

On January 28, Prince Bismarck, at the express invitation of the German Emperor, who went to Friedrichsruhe for the purpose, arrived at Berlin for the Emperor's birthday. This event, which showed that the sovereign and his late Chancellor were reconciled at last, produced great rejoicings all over Germany, and was followed by a considerable rise in the quotations of German and Russian stock. On February 19, the Emperor paid a return visit to the Prince at Friedrichsruhe, and the resumption of friendly relations thus manifested awakened a belief that Count Caprivi's star was no longer in the ascendant, and that the "new course," which had been so bitterly condemned by Prince Bismarck's organs in the press, would be modified, if not reversed.

The question of the succession to the throne of Coburg of the Duke of Edinburgh was brought forward in the German Parliament on February 5. Professor Friedberg, National Liberal, asked the Chancellor "whether the Federal Governments deemed it consistent with the interests of the German Empire that a Prince of the German Federation should be at the same time a subject of another State, or should receive instructions from another State. I am induced to put this question," he said, "by the situation in Coburg-Gotha, but I must guard against the possibility of my question being interpreted as directed in any way against his Highness the Duke of Coburg-Gotha personally. Remarks humiliating to German national feeling have been made in the English Parliament—for example, that the English taxpayers are not bound to contribute to the maintenance of a German sovereign. The simplest solution of the difficulty would be for his Highness to renounce his British nationality, and it is unfortunate that he has not done so. The Princes of the German Federation wield the power of the empire, and possess the sovereign rights of the empire. But sovereignty is an exclusive property; one either possesses it or one does not. It is out of the question, however, that foreign interference with German affairs should take place through the instrumentality of a German Prince. The consequence of the present position of the Duke is that he is bound to be a Prince of the German Federation, and nothing else."

After pointing out that the Duke is a German born, the "Prince Regent" Albert having retained his German nationality, Herr Friedberg insisted that, as foreigners are at liberty to exercise their right of succession to German thrones, they should in all such cases be required to renounce their foreign nationality. He considered it a regrettable omission in the Constitution of the German Empire that it contains no such stipulation. "I, therefore, ask the Chancellor," he added, "whether the Federal Governments have provided against the possibility of a foreigner ascending a German throne."

Count Caprivi, in reply, said: "The last speaker concluded by putting the question of principle, whether it is under any circumstances admissible that a foreigner should succeed to a German throne. There is no practical reason for entering into this question, either at present, or in the early future. Moreover, the position is perfectly clear. The Duke is undoubtedly a lawful sovereign. As such he has to send a plenipotentiary to the Federal Council, which has then to decide whether he can *de jure* represent his country in that assembly. This view is not a new one, but was put into documentary form by my predecessor. I believe that even the last speaker does not dispute that the Duke of Coburg-Gotha is the lawful sovereign of that country. It is all the same whether he has or has not at any time ceased to be a German, for the moment he became the lawful sovereign of Coburg-Gotha he recovered his German nationality. He is, therefore, unquestionably first a German, and secondly the lawful sovereign of Coburg-Gotha. The fact of being a German sovereign in itself excludes all dependence on another State, and it is impossible that a German sovereign can, at the same time, be a subject of a foreign power. The professors of jurisprudence may discuss this question as much as they please. I maintain that it is impossible, and it is more clearly so in the case of war between the German Empire and the State of which the new sovereign is supposed to be a subject in, so to speak, a subsidiary capacity. The courts of that State might prosecute him for high treason for taking part in the war as a German Prince; but that is so evidently impossible that I shall not pursue the matter. The Duke of Coburg-Gotha is a German and a German sovereign; he has the duties and rights of a German, and cannot be a subject of another power. We have, therefore, no ground for anxiety, especially as at his accession he took, in the presence of his Majesty the Emperor, steps which show that he is resolved to perform all his duties towards Germany. It is his affair to examine how far his duty to England extends, and how far he will fulfil it. It is within my knowledge that he is firmly resolved to regulate it in such a way that it shall not clash with his duty to Germany. Interference on our part would, therefore, have no practical object, especially as we cannot alter the opinions of the English. On the contrary, we should only thereby hamper the Duke's freedom of action."

An Ultramontane member, who followed, advocated an alteration of the Constitution as regards the succession question, and Herr Richter declared the whole affair to be "a storm in a teapot," which had never interested the people, but had only excited a few national Liberals and their organs. Professor Friedberg then made another attempt to show that his views were in accordance with German national feeling, but the discussion died out after Doctor von Bonin, the plenipotentiary of Coburg-Gotha in the Federal Council, had remarked that he was expressly empowered by his Government to state that the Duke, as a Sovereign Prince of the German Federation, no longer had the status of a subject or recognised any obligations towards England incompatible with his present position.

In a long article, said to have been semi-officially inspired, on the same subject, the *Cologne Gazette* pointed out that the acceptance by the Duke of Coburg of his appanage as an English prince lays upon him no more political obligations than if he had received a capital sum instead of an annuity on the occasion of his marriage, and that according to the existing Constitution the Reichstag is not entitled to discuss this question, which is one to be settled solely according to the Constitutions of the respective countries and the laws of their dynastic houses. The Federal Council is entitled to co-operate only so far as it lies within its rights to verify the status of its members. If the council is satisfied in this respect, the matter is settled. Every sovereign who has ascended the throne of one of the Federal German States, and whose representative is recognised as a plenipotentiary in the Federal Council, must also be recognised by the Reichstag as a reigning German and Federal Prince.

"The German Constitution does not provide," the writer continued, "that every successor to a throne must have been born and educated in Germany, nor is it possible at present to make such a law without innumerable dynastic and other changes, and the payment of heavy compensation to all in the line of succession. It is indisputable that the sovereign of a German country acquires, the moment he ascends the throne, the nationality of his State, and consequently the German nationality, under the third article of the Imperial Constitution. Moreover, as regards the representation of the empire abroad and the questions of war and peace, the Imperial Constitution gives the German Empire perfectly adequate powers; and even if one of the Federal States allowed an anti-German sovereign to occupy its throne, this would not in the least affect the relations of the empire to foreign Powers."

The marriage of two of Queen Victoria's grandchildren, the Duke of Hesse and the Princess Victoria Melita of Coburg, was celebrated at Coburg on April 19. It was a splendid ceremonial, at which the principal figures were her Majesty, the German Emperor, the Prince of Wales, and the Czarevitch.



The most important event of the session of the German Parliament, which closed on April 19, was the third reading, by a majority of twenty-three, of a motion for the repeal of the act excluding the Jesuits from Germany. No effect, however, was given to this motion, and it was generally recognised as a purely academical one, it being well known that neither Prussia nor the other Federal States were inclined to repeal the Jesuit Act, and Count Caprivi having stated, in his capacity as Prussian Premier, that Prussia would never consent to its withdrawal.

On May 16 the International Miners' Congress met at Berlin, and the *Cologne Gazette* made the following interesting remarks on the occasion :—

“Even at the earlier international workmen's congresses the observation has been made that the representatives of the various countries differ very considerably in their demeanour. The French and the Belgians were generally the noisiest. The English and the Germans knew best what they wanted, but there was a very great difference between them. The English insisted with emphasis on permitting complete freedom of speech to all, including opponents; they tried to exclude all theoretical disputes, and strove for practical and immediately attainable aims only, with little respect for declarations. If all the members of the congress spoke as Mr. Burt did, we, *bourgeois* as we are, could sympathise with such workmen's congresses better than now. Another English delegate, Mr. Pickard, said, ‘We have not come to awaken the hatred of one class against another and to excite envy.’ If Germany could once hear her Socialists sincerely express themselves in similar terms, the solution of the social question in Germany would be considerably facilitated. But they are far from sharing the opinion that ‘the main purpose of international congresses is to educate the working people.’”

At the second day's sitting a resolution, proposed by Mr. Cowey, was passed as amended by M. Calvignac, the notorious Mayor of Carmaux, to the effect that the principle of eight hours' work from bank to bank should be laid down by law for all miners, whether under or above ground, and also a resolution that all women's work in mines should be forbidden. Among the other resolutions passed at the congress was one proposed by the Belgian delegates, demanding indemnification from employers for all accidents, including even those due to the victim's own fault, which was opposed by all the English members of the congress, and two others, proposed by the English delegates, advocating the organisation of the miners with a view to obtaining a “living wage,” and recommending “all nationalities to use every legitimate means to prevent over-production of coal by limiting the output, and by seeking by legal means to prevent unskilled labourers from entering the mines in future.”

A great sensation was produced in Germany by a speech addressed on September 6 by the German Emperor to the chief dignitaries and nobles of East Prussia in the Royal Palace at Königsberg.

The following are the principal passages of this speech, which was remarkable both as an example of the Emperor's autocratic spirit and as foreshadowing the crisis which broke out a month later:—

"Agriculture has been in a seriously depressed state during the last four years, and it appears to me as though, under this influence, doubts have arisen with regard to the fulfilment of my promises. Nay, it has even been brought home to me, to my profound regret, that my best intentions have been misunderstood and in part disputed by members of the nobility with whom I am in close personal relation. Even the word 'opposition' has reached my ears. Gentlemen, an Opposition of Prussian noblemen, directed against their King, is a monstrosity. Such an Opposition would be justifiable only when the King was known to be at its head. The history of our House teaches us that lesson. How often have my predecessors had to oppose misguided members of a single class on behalf of the whole community! The successor of him who became Sovereign Duke in Prussia in his own right will follow the same path as his great ancestor. The first King of Prussia once said, '*Ex me mea nata corona,*' and his great son 'set up his authority as a *rocher de bronze*.' I, in my turn, like my imperial grandfather, hold my kingship as by the grace of God.

"Gentlemen, that which bears heavily upon you oppresses me as well, for I am the largest landowner in our State, and am fully alive to the fact that we are passing through hard times. My daily preoccupation is how best to help you; but you must support me in this endeavour, not by clamour, but by the means employed by the professional Opposition parties so often justly combated by you, but by approaching your sovereign in a spirit of confidence. My door is at all times open to each one of my subjects, and I lend him a ready ear. Act up to that in the future, and I shall regard all that has passed as over and done with.

"Gentlemen, let us regard the burdens that oppress us, and the crisis through which we are passing, in the light of the Christian doctrine in which we have been educated and in which we have grown up—as a trial imposed on us by God. Let us keep a tranquil mind, and endure with Christian patience, with unshaken fortitude, and in the hope of better times, in accordance with our old motto '*Noblesse oblige*.' We witnessed an inspiring ceremony the day before yesterday. Before us stands the statue of the Emperor William, the imperial sword uplifted in his right hand, the symbol of law and order. It exhorts us all to other duties, to the serious combating of designs directed against the very basis of our political and

social fabric. To you, gentlemen, I address my summons to the fight for religion, morality, and order against the parties of revolution. Even as the ivy winds round the gnarled oak, and, while adorning it with its leaves, protects it when storms are raging through its topmost branches, so does the nobility of Prussia close round my house. May it, and with it the whole nobility of the German nation, become a brilliant example to those sections of the people who still hesitate.

"Let us enter into this struggle together. Forward with God, and dishonour to him who deserts his King!"

Another remarkable utterance in the same spirit was made by the Emperor at the consecration of the new Prussian colours, in front of the statue of Frederick the Great, on October 18. The following is an extract from the speech he made on this occasion: "I now turn my eyes to the year 1861, to the reorganisation of the Army by William I., which was misunderstood by many and opposed by still more. The King was victorious then, and then, as now, discord reigned among the people. To-day, too, many things are wrongly understood; but to-day, again, the Army remains the only firm pillar, and therefore we must stand by it—stand by it ever in fidelity to Emperor and empire."

Prince Bismarck also made some interesting speeches about this time, chiefly to express his disapproval of the conciliatory policy which had been adopted with regard to the Poles. Addressing a deputation of Germans from the Polish province of Posen, on September 15, he said that he regarded the presence of the deputation from that province as a recognition of his share in the present constitution of Germany, which afforded additional guarantees for the maintenance of Posen as an integral part of the empire. Taking the population of Germany as a whole, there were 48,000,000 Germans and 2,000,000 Poles, and naturally, therefore, the latter could not be entitled to a casting vote. No one would deny the statement that Alsace would never be surrendered until the Army was lost, and just as little could Posen ever be given up. Alsace was necessary for the protection of Southern Germany, and Posen for the protection of the eastern frontier. The lack of friendship between the German races had formerly been much greater than now, and the country had made rapid strides towards national unity. Not only the watch on the Rhine, but also the watch on the Warthe and the Vistula must be maintained.

In regard to the hostility of the Poles to the Germans in 1831 and 1848, Prince Bismarck pointed out that this was to be ascribed chiefly to the Polish nobility and the clergy, the lower classes playing only a secondary part in the agitation. When Polish estates were bought for settlements he would have preferred to see them become State domains, as the tenants would then have been under the control of the Government. Ger-

mans in many cases thought more of their faith than of their nationality, but with Poles and Frenchmen the reverse was the case. It was a matter of importance at the present time to know whether the Government was resolved energetically to support the Prussian nationality or not.

"The Warthe and Vistula territories," he continued, "are more certain to remain German than Alsace. It would be a short-sighted policy to support the Polish nobility on the eastern frontier. What you may learn from the Poles is to hold firmly together. I trust it may also be the case that Germans, when their position is assailed, will belong to no party, but to the nation alone; and may you win over the women of Germany to these views. In the hope that this may be achieved, I say 'Long live the German women and the Grand Duchy of Posen.'"

Prince Bismarck's speech was followed by one from the German Emperor, on September 23, to the Burgomaster of Thorn, in Posen, which seemed to indicate that he was being converted to the Prince's views on the subject.

"The words you have just spoken," he said, "in expressing the loyalty of the inhabitants of your town, went to my heart. The history of the town of Thorn is one of the most chequered and interesting among all the towns in my kingdom. In all the vicissitudes of fortune it has constantly borne in mind the fact that, like Marienburg, it has always been a German town. I was glad to notice that Thorn is endeavouring to preserve its German character, and I hope that the words spoken by me the other day will be rightly understood in Thorn as well as elsewhere. I have learned that your Polish fellow-citizens here, unfortunately, are not behaving as might be desired and expected. I may tell them that they may reckon on my favour and interest in the same measure as the Germans only if they feel absolutely as Prussian subjects. I remind you of the words I spoke the other day at Königsberg, 'To battle with the parties of revolution.' Only those may be assured of the royal favour who regard themselves absolutely as Prussian subjects. If we are to hold our own against hostile efforts, all my subjects must stand shoulder to shoulder behind me."

These utterances were ominous of a coming storm, and it broke out on October 26, when Count Caprivi tendered his resignation to the Emperor, who at once accepted it, Count Eulenburg, the Prime Minister of Prussia, being at the same time also relieved from his duties. The two ministers represented two conflicting tendencies of policy, which had for some time been battling with each other in the Emperor's mind. The former, able, clear-sighted, and transparently honest, had done all in his power to carry out the "new course" which had been adopted by his sovereign upon the dismissal of Prince Bismarck, with the result that after four years of office all the great parties in the Reichstag were bitterly opposed to him, and that his position as Chancellor had consequently become

practically untenable. Count Eulenburg, on the other hand, was a bigoted Conservative of the old *junker* type, an out-and-out advocate of protection and aristocratic privilege, who would not have shrunk from a *coup d'état* to carry out his views. The Emperor, unwilling to govern without a parliamentary majority, seems under these circumstances to have had no alternative but to get rid of both Ministers and to appoint a Chancellor more capable of coping with the situation. Whether his selection for this post, together with that of Prime Minister of Prussia, of Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, was a happy one remains to be seen.

The new Chancellor is a pious Catholic; but during his Bavarian Premiership, he had a hard battle to fight with the Bavarian Ultramontanes, for he was opposed to the power of the Popes over all Princes and nations. This opposition he expressed most emphatically in a celebrated Circular Note addressed, on April 9, 1869, to the various European Powers. There is no reason to believe that Prince Hohenlohe will now assume an attitude towards the Centre different from that which he then took up, though it was an emphatic vote of want of confidence on the part of the Bavarian Ultramontanes that, on March 7, 1870, forced King Louis II. to accept his resignation, which was not then offered for the first time.

In December, 1870, Prince Hohenlohe, as a member of the Bavarian Upper House, delivered a speech which largely contributed to induce that assembly to sanction the treaties between Bavaria and Prussia, which were the keystone of German unity. His success on that occasion was so signal that he received the *sobriquet* of "the living bridge across the Main." In 1867 the Bavarian district of Forchheim elected him to the Customs' Parliament. This body, on meeting for the first time in Berlin, selected the Prince as its vice-president, a post which he held till 1877. He did not speak much, but always effectively and to the point. He was one of the chief founders and supporters of the Liberal Imperialists or Free Conservative party, which so largely contributed to the inner consolidation of the German Empire.

Prince Hohenlohe succeeded Count Harry von Arnim as German Ambassador in Paris in 1874, and held that post with conspicuous success till 1885. His influence had a large share in exorcising the war scare of 1875, raised by the notorious article headed "War in Sight," and in mitigating the bitter animosity of the French. During the Berlin Congress of 1878 he played an important part as the third German plenipotentiary. After Herr von Bülow's death in 1880, he complied with the wish of Prince Bismarck, who was ill at the time, that he should take the place vacated by Herr von Bülow as head of the Foreign Office, at the same time acting as Prince Bismarck's substitute. Subsequently he became Governor of Alsace-Lorraine on the

death of Baron Manteuffel. The chief objection to his taking up the arduous duties of German Chancellor, together with those of Prussian Premier, which were separated by Prince Bismarck when he found them too heavy for him, is that he is seventy-five years of age.

Herr von Köller, hitherto Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs in Alsace-Lorraine, succeeded Count Eulenburg as Prussian Home Minister, for which post he had long been regarded as the Emperor's candidate. He was born in July, 1841, and filled several posts in the Prussian Administration, the last of which was that of Police President in Frankfort, whence he was transferred to Alsace-Lorraine in 1889. He was a member of the Old Conservative party in the Reichstag from 1881 till 1887, and had many passages of arms with the Radicals. He was a very zealous enforcer of the Socialist Act, but the Local Self-Government Acts which he essentially helped to carry are not excessively reactionary. He has the reputation of possessing much greater practical experience, political sagacity, and ready debating power than any of the other members of his party. Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst was succeeded in the governorship of Alsace-Lorraine by another Prince Hohenlohe, of the family of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and to assist the Chancellor in his work as Prussian Premier Baron Marschall, the Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was appointed a member of the Prussian Cabinet. Further changes in the Cabinet were made by the appointment of Baron von Hammerstein-Loxden, President of the Agricultural Society, as Minister of Agriculture, and of Dr. Schönstedt, a Roman Catholic, as Minister of Justice.

The winter sitting of the Reichstag, which now met for the first time in the new building erected for it, commenced on December 6, when the Emperor made a speech of which the following are the most important passages: "Faithful to the traditions of our ancestors, my exalted allies and myself regard it as the paramount duty of the State to protect the weaker classes of society and to assist them in attaining a higher economic and moral development. The duty of the State to strive for this object with all the means in its power becomes all the more imperative in proportion to the growing seriousness and more arduous character of the struggle for existence for certain sections of the nation. Inspired by the conviction that it is incumbent upon the executive power, in opposition to the conflicting interests of the different elements, to assert the general interest of the community and the principles of equalising justice, the Federal Governments will continue their efforts to maintain and promote among the people the feelings of contentment and fellowship by mitigating economic and social differences. But if the success of these efforts, which I hope will be accompanied by your unreserved support, is to be

assured, it appears necessary to oppose more effectually than hitherto the pernicious conduct of those who attempt to disturb the Executive power in the fulfilment of its duty.

"Experience has shown that existing legislation does not afford the means required for that purpose. The Federal Governments, therefore, consider measures to be necessary for supplementing our common law. A bill will be submitted to you without delay, which, chiefly by extending the present penal provisions, will increase the protection of public order. I entertain the confident hope that you will lend your energetic co-operation to this serious task.

"To my lively satisfaction, confidence in the maintenance of European peace has been further strengthened during the last few years. Faithful to the spirit of our alliances, we cultivate good and friendly relations with all Powers. Two neighbouring States have, in the course of the past few months, been deeply stirred by grave events. Germany sincerely joined in the sympathy which was evinced on all sides, and which once more testified to the solidarity of human feeling and peaceful wishes. In the deceased Emperor Alexander III. of Russia I mourn a friend and tried co-operator in the works of peace."

The President then opened the sitting with a short speech, winding up with the usual three cheers for the Emperor. The Social Democrats had hitherto been accustomed to leave the House before this demonstration, but six of them stayed in the House on this occasion, and remained seated, though all the other members rose to their feet and cheered. This conduct having been duly rebuked by the President, one of the Socialist members, Herr Singer, made the following remarks: "I must submit to the President's ruling, but I assert, in view of the fact that it has been implied that, under certain circumstances, the soldiers, the uniformed sons of the nation, would have to shoot at their fathers and brothers, and of the fact that we are about to have a revolution bill laid before us directly aimed against our party, that it is incompatible with our honour and our dignity to cheer the Emperor."

This disgraceful scene produced great indignation both in the House and among the public generally, and the Public Prosecutor, at the request of the Imperial Chancellor, applied for authority to institute proceedings against the Socialist deputies who took part in it. The application was referred to the Standing Orders Committee, and as Herr Singer, one of the members implicated, was chairman of that committee, he had to vacate his seat while the subject was being considered. Meanwhile Herr Liebknecht, another of the implicated members, referred to the matter in the course of the debate on the Budget. He repelled the attacks made on the members of his party who kept their seats on the occasion in question, as their conduct was not premeditated, but accidental, the President's proposal

having taken them by surprise. They would have violated their principles if they had risen, just as the Conservatives would do if they rose when cheers were called for for the Republic. He proceeded to speak of "revolution from above," and characterised the present policy of the Government as "hypocrisy," for which expression the President called him to order. He went on to describe the present "eternal talk" about equal justice and practical Christianity, simultaneously with the intention to increase the taxes, especially the tobacco tax, and to restrict freedom of combination, as a glaring contradiction.

On December 13 the Standing Orders Committee considered the Public Prosecutor's proposal, and decided by a majority of nine to four to advise the House to reject it on the ground that the thirteenth article of the Constitution guarantees the immunity of members for everything done in the House, and not only for votes and speeches, and that a prosecution after the close of the session would be inadmissible. The question was put to the House on December 15. Prince Hohenlohe and Herr von Köller, the new Prussian Home Minister, made a weak and half-hearted defence of the proposal, and it was ultimately rejected by a majority of 168 to 58. The bill of the Government, for suppressing revolutionary movements in Germany, was laid before the Reichstag on December 17, but after the Minister for Justice had spoken in favour of it the House was counted out, as there were only 158 members present, being 41 less than a quorum. The next sitting was then fixed for January 8. Thus Prince Hohenlohe's tenure of office began with a rejection of one of his measures and a postponement of another.

The chief incident of the year with regard to labour in Germany was the close of what was known as "the Berlin Beer War." The chief brewers of the capital having dismissed some of their hands for having taken part in Socialistic agitations, the Socialists issued a decree for boycotting all publicans who sold beer produced by these breweries. The struggle lasted the whole year, and caused considerable difficulties to the brewers, as it led to large importations of Bavarian beer. The Socialists seem to have won in the end, for the Association of Berlin Brewers declared that in future the fact of a workman being a Socialist would not be regarded as a reason for not employing him, and also agreed to the establishment of a Court of Arbitration, one half of which was to consist of employers, and the other half of employed.

In colonial affairs Germany was not quite so active this year as previously. According to a correspondent of the *Tagblatt* in the German Cameroons, who wrote on January 4, up to that time order had by no means been restored. Twenty-five rebels had been hanged, and the other Dahomeyans were still in the bush. The writer considered that the revolt had



thrown back the development of the colony by many years. The damage done to the Government buildings alone amounted to about 20,000 marks, and the whole personal property of the governor and of the whites in his employment had been lost.

At the sitting of the Budget Committee of the Reichstag on February 8, Prince Arenberg, on the estimates for the Colony of the Cameroons being brought forward, raised a debate concerning the recent native revolt there.

He stated that the report drawn up by Herr Leist on the subject failed to mention the circumstances that had given rise to the revolt, which he regarded as undoubtedly due to the inhuman cruelties inflicted on the Dahomeyan women. The speaker contended that not only was the retention of Herr Leist at his post an impossibility, but that that official deserved punishment unless important grounds existed to justify an action which had brought disgrace upon the German name.

Dr. Kayser, head of the Colonial Department, replied that it was not his intention to attempt to palliate or hush up anything connected with this matter. The Government had not received any further news concerning the reported ill-treatment of the native women, which was at first believed to be impossible. Should the British reports that twenty Dahomeyan women had been flogged in the presence of their husbands prove true, or should it be found that any similar cruelties had been practised in the colony, Herr Leist would not escape the most severe punishment. He concluded by stating that, immediately after the receipt of the intelligence of the rising at the Cameroons, an official was despatched to the colony to investigate matters.

On December 14, the official *Reichsunzeiger* published an Imperial Ordinance, dated the 12th of that month, in virtue of which the entire administration of territories under German protection, including the authorities and officials, was placed under the control of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, whose duty it would be to deal with all matters falling within this category under the direct responsibility of the Imperial Chancellor. So far, however, as relations with Foreign States and matters of general policy are concerned, the Colonial Department was to remain under the direction of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

On December 26 a new "White Book" was published, containing reports of the progress in the fiscal year 1893-4 of the four German Protectorates of East Africa, the Cameroons, South-west Africa, and the Marshall Islands. In East Africa the number of Europeans was on the increase. Those natives who were compelled by the raids of the Massais to migrate to the Kilimandjaro and Uguone mountain districts, had colonised the mountains up to a height of about 6,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the Kilimandjaro district numbered

about 40,000, including 8,000 warriors. The most important Arab settlement was Kitergule, on the Kagera. But there were only fifteen persons of the real Arab race there. It was the centre of the ivory traffic carried on by caravans coming from Uganda, Unjoro, Mpororo, Uthumbi, and other Western territories.

The Governor of German East Africa had sent some time back an expert to Kilwa, to teach the natives how to cultivate the indigenous plants more rationally, but owing to the recent severe drought, and the huge swarms of locusts which had hitherto destroyed the plantations, he failed to score any success. The governor introduced several useful and ornamental plants, including the mulberry, for the production of silk. Bananas, maniocs, three different kinds of yams, sweet potatoes, several kinds of beans, maize, water melons, and tobacco, were cultivated in the Kilimandjaro Settlements from a height of 900 up to 1,800 metres (nearly 6,000 feet). The report respecting the various plantations, especially those of coffee, indiarubber, tobacco, cotton and vanilla, was on the whole very satisfactory. Twelve kilometres of the Tanga Railway had been in use since October 16, but the traffic would be inconsiderable till the line is finished to Korogwe. Most of the traffic on the Victoria Nyanza was done by canoes and by three German and two English sailing boats, one of which belonged to Mr. Stokes. The report on the sanitary condition of the territory laid stress on the improvement in the health of the Europeans by the draining of the swamps and the better construction of the houses, of which the transportable ones had been found to be the most healthy. European patients were treated in the hospital of the Protestant Mission at Dar-es-Salaam or in the Government Hospital at Bagamoyo; coloured patients were accommodated in a sort of barrack-like building in the neighbourhood. The customs revenue was not very far below the estimate as in former years. This was due mainly to the tariff having been raised. The only place which had a real African trade was Kilwa, and the monthly customs receipts there had gradually risen to 20,000 rupees. Even at Dar-es-Salaam and Tanga, which had no real African trade, the receipts had risen to 12,000 and 9,000 rupees respectively, of which 3,000 and 1,500 respectively were derived from export duties. The trade of Bagamoyo had considerably increased, and the customs receipts there had risen to 80,000 rupees, owing mainly to the enormous recent arrivals of ivory, which had been delayed about two years by the fighting in the Congo State. The price of one *frasila* (35 pounds) of ivory had fallen, however, from 160 or 170 dollars to 140 or 145. The indiarubber duty and the prohibition of the manufacture out of the roots had not diminished the trade in this article. In order to prevent smuggling, two cruisers were fitted out at the beginning of the year, but they had not had any considerable success as yet.

The report on the Cameroons stated that, on June 30 last, that colony numbered 231 Europeans, including 153 Germans, 37 English, 19 Swedes, and 16 Americans. The highest temperature observed was 32·8 centigrade in May, the lowest, 20·21 in December. October had the greatest number of thunderstorms, *viz.*, nineteen; January the fewest, *viz.*, three. There were thunderstorms on 135 days, and rain on 236. The health of the Europeans had considerably improved, but they still suffered much from various kinds of malaria. The Duallas were entirely acclimatised, and very few of them suffered from dangerous fevers, unlike other immigrant races, of whom the Soudanese seemed to suffer more than the Europeans. The amount of the exports depended almost exclusively on the fluctuations in prices in Europe. Cocoanut kernels and ivory were, on this account, exported last year in smaller, but india-rubber in considerably larger, quantities. The Government hoped for a substantial increase in the plantations in consequence of its attempts to get all the useful tropical plants cultivated. Plantations of cocoa and Arabian coffee, which, strange to say, suffered less from diseases than the Liberian coffee, were in a specially flourishing condition. Vanilla, ginger, cardamom, black pepper, and Para and Ceara rubber also grew well. The working of the plantations had had a great influence on the labour question, and had almost entirely put an end to the formerly widespread idea that manual labour is unworthy of a free man. There was hardly any slave question, and the number of slaves was constantly, and, indeed, rather rapidly, decreasing. Besides numerous mission schools, there were two Government schools in the colony. The value of the year's exports amounted to 4,774,154 marks. The chief articles were palm oil, cocoanut kernels, indiarubber, ivory, ebony, and cocoa. The value of the imports was 4,642,627 marks. They consisted mainly of woven goods, rice, salt, tobacco, iron, wooden and glass goods, soap, beer, and domestic utensils. Sixty-five English ships, of the aggregate of 92,343 tons, with crews numbering altogether 2,381 men; twenty-nine German steamers, of 38,039 tons, with crews numbering 1,090 men; and two Swedish sailing ships, of 960 tons, with crews numbering 23 men, entered and left the port. Thirty English and fifteen German mail steamers carried on the postal service between the African coast and Europe.

The report on German South-west Africa comprised a minute description of the political and general state of affairs there, but there was little that had not already been published. The value of the imports amounted to 915,575 marks, and that of the exports to 131,060 marks. Immigration had been kept down by hostilities, now happily terminated. Useful European trees had been planted on a considerable scale, and the acacia, the lime-tree, the ash, seaside-pine, and mulberry-tree, as well as the vine, fig-tree, and date-palm, seemed to promise well.

Pulmonary disease among cattle had considerably diminished, owing to the stringent measures taken by the authorities to stamp it out. The reports on the question as to the existence of valuable minerals were, on the whole, unfavourable; but German South-west Africa was regarded as a good country for European colonists. It is the higher parts that are best adapted for colonising. The low temperature generally prevailing there, however, rendered the cultivation of many tropical and sub-tropical plants, such as coffee, sugar, tea, and the banana, unremunerative. Moreover, the unfavourable distribution of rain made agricultural enterprise unsafe unless aided by artificial irrigation. The colony was, on the other hand, very suitable for cattle breeding, the existing vegetation consisting mainly of shrubs and grass. Dr. Hindorf's estimate made the number of cattle in Damaraland very large, but the project of establishing an extensive meat-preserving factory had little prospect of success at present. In addition to the breeding of cattle, goats, sheep, Angora goats, alpacas, horses, donkeys, mules, and small poultry, the breeding of ostriches was specially recommended.

The report on the Marshall Islands stated that they contain, besides the natives, whose number is unknown, a colony of only 72 whites, 24 half-breeds, and 15 Chinese, all residing in Jalmit. Peace now prevailed in the islands, owing, doubtless, to the fact that the importation of firearms and powder had been prohibited. The main occupation of the male natives was collecting and preparing copra, of which about 4,750,000 pounds were exported last year.

The relations between Germany and France during the year were characterised by the usual bickerings without any serious result. In August the German Emperor, during his stay in England, paid a visit to the Empress Eugenie, and this elicited a great deal of hostile comment in the Bismarckian press. In October the *Gaulois* reported an interview between the Emperor and a French gentleman, who went to Berlin to investigate the German aspect of the labour question, at which the following conversation is represented as having taken place:—

"Your countrymen," said the Emperor, "utterly misconceive my intentions. I am quite aware that they regard me as a kind of barbarian Emperor, dreaming of nothing but war and conquest. My grandfather, it is true, was compelled to enter upon a path of war and conquest; but for my part I shall leave nothing undone to demonstrate that I am sincerely anxious for peace. But we shall discuss that on your next visit. Do you often come to Berlin?" "Only seldom, sire," replied the interviewer. "I am afraid I shall not have the honour of seeing your Majesty for a long time to come." "Well," said the Emperor, "I shall see you in Paris, then." And as the Frenchman looked rather

surprised, the Emperor added: "Yes; I mean to visit your splendid exhibition in the year 1900. I thought that would astonish you; but I know the temper of the French, and when I say that I mean to go and visit your exhibition, I know what is to be done to render my visit possible." The French papers, commenting on this conversation, intimated that the Emperor would never be suffered to enter Paris until he had returned Metz and Strasburg to France.

The prosecution of Captain Dreyfus on the charge of having sold State documents in the French War Office to a foreign Power, afforded a further opportunity of attacks on Germany to the French press. Acting on the assumption, of the truth of which there was no evidence, that these documents had been sold to the German Embassy, the French papers made such violent attacks on the German military *attaché*, that the ambassador, Count Münster, found it necessary to make representations to the French Foreign Minister on the subject.

With Russia the relations of Germany continued to be friendly without being absolutely intimate. The most important connecting link between the two countries was the Russo-German Treaty of Commerce, which was signed on February 5, and reduced the duty on Russian grain from five marks to three and a half, Russia making corresponding reductions in the duty on German manufactured goods. The importance of this Treaty is shown by the following statement of Germany's exports to Russia: In 1890 they amounted to nearly 206,500,000 marks; in 1891 to more than 262,500,000; and in 1892 to nearly 258,000,000. In the same years, Russian exports to Germany were of the values respectively of 542,000,000, 580,000,000, and 402,000,000 marks.

The Treaty was laid before the Reichstag on February 20, and at a parliamentary dinner given by Count Caprivi a fortnight previously, the Emperor thus expressed himself on the subject:—

"Never before has the Reichstag had to make a decision fraught with such important consequences. The rejection of the Commercial Treaty by it would inevitably be quickly followed by a tariff war, and at no remote period by a real war. Let every deputy realise his responsibility. I say that now in order that none may be able to say afterwards, 'We did not know.' The favourable terms of the present Treaty, which was signed to-day, are entirely due to the personal intervention of the Czar, and the strong love of peace which he is well known to entertain. The Treaty is marked throughout by that love of peace, and it has had to overcome a vigorous resistance on the part of manufacturing and commercial interests in Russia."

In the debate on the first reading of the Treaty, Count Caprivi said that it was intended to build a bridge between two great nations. It was a work of unusually wide range,

and according to the verdict of experts, a good work. "When certain newspapers," continued the imperial Chancellor, "avail themselves of the Treaty to make personal attacks upon me, I in my turn declare that I shall remain in office so long as the Emperor pleases and my strength is equal to the task."

Count Caprivi added that he would not have been able to accomplish the task without support from many quarters, or without the conviction that the Treaty was necessary. The Prussian ministers and the Federal Council had unanimously approved the Treaty, which met with universal support from the political standpoint, and nothing but satisfaction was expressed by the leading statesmen of Austria-Hungary and Italy at the completion of the work. The Treaty served the object of German policy—the maintenance of peace—which was also the aim of the Triple Alliance and the Army Bill. That the Treaty had been concluded for a period of ten years was the logical consequence of previous Treaties. If the bill were rejected, the result would be the continuance of the tariff war with Russia and the severance of all ties with that country. The Treaty was the last link in the chain which began with the Austro-German Treaty. The Agrarian League had hitherto not benefited the agriculturist; it had only provoked enmity between agriculture and industry, in the East as in the West, among the large and among the small landed proprietors. The attempts to bring about an economic *rapprochement* with Russia had been going on for nearly 100 years, and the greater part of the nation was rejoicing now that the goal had been attained. Prince Bismarck had declared in 1873 that he would pursue indefatigably the negotiations with Russia, making use of the words, "I myself, or my successor, will bring about an agreement"; and Prince Bismarck's successor had only endeavoured to fulfil this promise. Discussing the general policy involved in the course followed by the Government, the Chancellor concluded:—

"We care not for martial glory. The only fame we desire to have is that of solving problems touching the social and intellectual improvement of the people, of enabling the nations to live together peaceably, of drawing together the forces of Europe, of preparing the way for some future time when it may become necessary to bind together a larger group of nations in the interest of a great economic policy in common. By constantly pursuing this policy, Germany has raised her prestige."

After a long debate the Treaty was passed on March 16 by a large majority, the minority being composed chiefly of Conservatives of the so-called Agrarian party and Ultramontanes. The Treaty is to remain in force till December 31, 1903, and to continue in force after that date, unless notice to the contrary be given twelve months beforehand by one of the contracting States. The following description of the general effect of the

Treaty was published by the official *Reichsanzeiger*: "The basis of the Treaty is the mutual grant of the rights of the most-favoured nation, and the Russian tariff resembles the Franco-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1893, the conditions of which are more favourable than those of the Russo-German Convention appended to it. The tariff reduces the duties on coals and electric cables by fifty per cent. The reduction on other goods is smaller, but, nevertheless, considerable. The textile, iron, and chemical industries are specially taken into account, but other industries will also derive advantages. The fact that an increase in the duties is rendered out of the question for ten years is, of course, of great value to the industrial world, as is also the most-favoured nation clause, which protects German manufacturers from receiving worse treatment in Russia than their foreign competitors. The duties are the same for goods carried by land as for those carried by sea. Germany's principal counter-concession is the granting to Russia of the tariff already in force with Austria-Hungary, etc., the most important feature of which is the reduction of the grain duty to three marks and a half."

As regards the relations with England, the Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* which took place on the accession of the new Emperor Nicholas II. of Russia, was followed by a scarcely veiled hostility to this country on the part of the German Government, which seemed to apprehend a combination of Russia, France, and England against the Triple Alliance. There was no actual disagreement, however, between the two Governments except on trifling points arising from the jealousy of the Germans in Africa at the colonial expansion of England on that continent, and the betrothal of the present Czar, on April 22, to the Princess Alix of Hesse was hailed with joyful demonstrations in Germany as well as in England and Russia.

## II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Further steps were taken at the beginning of the year by the Finance Ministers of Hungary and Cisleithania for a reform in the currency. The object sought was the resumption of payments in specie—that is to say, in gold—and an essential preliminary was the withdrawal from circulation of the State notes issued in 1866, during the war with Prussia, which amounted to 312,000,000 florins, in notes of the face value of one, five, and fifty florins. Besides these State notes, which represented the floating debt of Austria and Hungary, there was the floating debt of Cisleithania, which alone amounted to 100,000,000 florins in the form of Salt Mine Certificates, bearing interest at from two to three per cent. Finally, there were the notes issued by the Austro-Hungarian Bank for ten, one hundred, and one thousand florins, against the gold and silver held by the bank,

but not convertible into specie, as the funds of the bank were short to the extent of 78,000,000 florins, forcibly taken from it in the form of a loan, also in 1866, which formed an additional floating debt of both Austria and Hungary. These debts were to be gradually paid off by the sale of gold rentes, etc., and bills were introduced into the Parliaments of Vienna and Budapesth, empowering the two Governments to withdraw from circulation 100,000,000 florins of State notes during the current year, and another 100,000,000 florins in 1895. The State notes of the face value of one florin, of which 67,000,000 were out, were to disappear altogether, and the rest were to consist of notes of the value of five and fifty florins. This would create a famine in the means of circulation if no corresponding provision were made. Consequently, it was decided that the two exchequers should, out of their stock of gold coins, place kronen pieces to the value of 160,000,000 florins at the disposal of the bank, which, its store of gold being thus increased, would have the right to issue fresh bank notes to a corresponding amount. The bank would pay back partly in State notes which would be at once destroyed, and partly in silver. There would still remain 40,000,000 florins in State notes, which were also to be exchanged either for gold or silver.

A great Anarchist trial took place in Vienna on February 19. There were fourteen men in the dock, accused of attempting to change the form of government, of inciting to civil war, of instigating soldiers to desertion, of conspiring to commit crimes by the use of dynamite, and of other offences against the Explosives Act.

All the accused were members of the party of Independent Socialists, which separated in the spring of 1892 from the Social Democrats. They professed to be Anarchists and to be in the closest connection with International Anarchism, especially with the supposed head-quarters in London. Their organs in Vienna were the *Zukunft*, in German, and the *Volne Listy*, in Czechish. For about two years the Vienna police had contented themselves with simply confiscating each issue of these prints, and occasionally bringing their editors to trial. The police also closely watched the public meetings of the "Independents." As these assemblies began to grow rarer, and the best known men of the party disappeared, the police concluded that something serious was contemplated, and a meeting in the open fields outside Leising, half an hour's rail from Vienna, in the Easter of 1893, went to corroborate this suspicion. That meeting ended by some of the Independents making a series of trials of explosives to test their comparative efficiency, but the peasants, who heard the reports, informed the police too late to enable them to make any arrests.

The detective corps was on the alert for months after, and at last, in September, 1893, it succeeded in discovering a regular workshop for the manufacture of explosives, with



finished and half-finished bombs, a secret printing press, and a quantity of picric acid.

The chief of the accused, a man named Haspel, made, at his examination, a statement of his political views. Anarchy he defined to be a state of society similar to the Commune of Paris, with common property not only in land, but in industrial production, and the abolition of the right of inheritance. In order to bring about such a state of society he would resort to force, as the electoral franchise was of no value whatever, and the struggle with society in its present form must be ended with the outgoing century.

"Would you abolish monarchy?" he was asked. "Not necessarily," he replied, "as I could imagine a monarch who would assist in carrying out our Communistic ideas." "What government would you have, as you say that Anarchism means absence of all authority?" "The form of government is quite immaterial." "Would you have any laws at all?" "People would make the laws they needed." "Would you have officials?" "What for?" "Would you have Law Courts?" "If the people establish them they will exist." "The present monarchy does not satisfy you?" "Yes, if it were Communistic, otherwise not."

The money necessary for the secret printing press, for thousands of pamphlets, and for materials for explosives, did not, he said, come from outside, but was collected amongst personal friends whom he would not name; and being asked by his own counsel whether he would approve of robbery and theft to provide funds for the Anarchist propaganda, he said meekly: "No." On being further questioned whether he would throw bombs at persons unknown to him, and only belonging to the *bourgeois* class, he replied that there would be no sense in that.

After four days' trial, the accused were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment with hard labour. On February 21 sentence was also pronounced on the members of the "Omladina" Society (see "Annual Register," 1893, p. 363) at Prague. The severest sentence was eight years' penal servitude.

The Austrian Reichsrath met on February 22, after a recess of nearly two months. During the interval several steps had been taken with a view to rendering the Parliament Houses secure against possible Anarchist attempts. The President of the Lower House addressed a polite request to M. Dupuy, President of the French Chamber, for detailed information about the measures of safety introduced since the Vaillant attempt. In reply he received a collection of drawings, printed regulations, and other matters. These were all considered by the House Committee, at a conference which took place on February 21. On that occasion, among other things, an electric apparatus was shown, invented by a Vienna engineer, to give an alarm the instant the shock produced by a bomb was

felt in any corner of the House. The object was to enable the servants to close all the exits of the building without loss of time, so as to prevent the escape of the culprit.

Another project that was considered was a proposal to cover the walls of several courts inside the building with large netting of strong wire, like torpedo nets, to break the force of an eventual explosion of the bombs thrown into the courts. For the moment, however, the sole measures adopted were the reduction of the number of entrance doors and staircases, and the issue of special passes for the members, officers, and servants of the two Houses, and the representatives of the press.

Twenty-one workmen's meetings took place on February 21 in Vienna, nine in Brunn, and many in other towns, as demonstrations of the Social Democratic party in favour of direct, equal, and general suffrage. All the meetings were crowded; those in Vienna were attended by altogether about 35,000 persons, and, with the exception of one, which was dissolved by the Police Commissioner, the meetings were orderly. The resolution passed at all the meetings declared that "the working people loudly and clearly announce they cannot longer endure a state of things in which two-thirds of the population are deprived of political rights; that the sanction given by the Crown to Count Taaffe's Electoral Reform Bill is a recognition of the injustice of the present electoral system; that the meeting protests against such an electoral reform as would perpetuate the rule of the classes over the masses, and that a general, equal, and direct franchise must be incessantly demanded as the only just and reasonable solution of the problem."

A Socialist Congress met at Vienna on March 25. The chief question discussed at this congress was that of the adoption of a general strike throughout the monarchy, after the Belgian model, with the object of forcing the Government to introduce universal suffrage. The proposal that such a strike should at once be proclaimed was rejected, and a resolution representing a compromise between the two conflicting views was adopted by sixty-six against forty-two votes. This resolution, which was proposed by Dr. Adler, was as follows:—

"The Electoral Reform introduced by the present Austrian Government is rejected with indignation as an insult to the working classes. The congress declares that it is the duty of working men to struggle for general, equal, and direct suffrage by all the means at their disposal, and amongst them by a strike *en masse*. The representatives of the party are entrusted with making all the necessary preparations for proclaiming such a strike at the right moment as a last resort in case the obstinacy of the Government and of the *bourgeois* parties should drive the proletarians to extremes."

An amendment was also passed by eighty-two against sixteen votes, declaring that, independently of the struggle for the franchise, the party must also fight for the eight hours'

day, in the first instance, in favour of the organised miners who most need it. The motion that, in case of a mass strike being proclaimed, the working classes should be forbidden to pay house rent, was lost. Only a few delegates voted for it.

Some curious statistics on the question of electoral reform were about this time published by the Government. They show that in Cisleithania, with about 24,000,000 inhabitants, and a male population of about 11,500,000, the number of persons of twenty-four years and upwards who could claim the right to vote if the universal and equal franchise demanded by the working classes were granted, would be 5,543,796, whereas at present only one-third, or 1,725,072, are on the register. If the vote were given to all who pay direct taxes, however small in amount, nearly 800,000 persons would profit by it, while if the franchise were confined to the industrial classes, the new voters would also number about 800,000. Furthermore, if both classes were included—and for this extension two out of the three coalition parties in the Reichsrath, the Germans and Poles, were prepared—the number of voters would rise to 3,300,000, or nearly 14 per cent. of the entire population. For the sake of comparison, it may be mentioned that the proportion in the United Kingdom is at present 16½ per cent.

If, however, the education test were applied, the result would be miserably poor, since out of the whole male population of Cisleithania of twenty-four years and upwards, only 3,350,000 can read and write, whereas 1,793,000 are illiterates, the proportion per cent. being—in Galicia, 34; in Dalmatia, 38½; and in Lower Austria, with Vienna, 3.

Though no general strike took place, labour riots and partial strikes, which had in some cases to be put down with bloodshed, occurred in various parts of the country during the spring.

On March 13 an incident occurred which strikingly illustrated the backward state of the country in matters of religious tolerance. A vacancy having occurred in the post of burgomaster, the vice-burgomaster, Dr. Richter, came forward as a candidate for the appointment. He was born a Roman Catholic, but twenty years ago, on marrying a Jewess, he was obliged to declare himself as of no professed religion, the Austrian law forbidding unions between Christians and non-Christians, and only allowing civil marriage in such cases when one of the parties has left the Church. There are several thousand such unions in Cisleithania, and though legal, they are considered to disqualify for any public office, just as Judaism itself does. Dr. Richter consequently decided, after the death of the late burgomaster, to return to Roman Catholicism, and induced his wife to become a convert. But Prince Liechtenstein, the Anti-Semitic Leader, called upon the Prince Archbishop of Vienna, and on the Papal Nuncio, to denounce the possible election to the office of burgomaster of a man who

for twenty years had lived without religion, and other people appealed to the Governor of Lower Austria, whose function it is to confirm a burgomaster-elect in his post in the name of the Emperor. The decision of his Majesty on this delicate matter could not be obtained, as the Emperor was away from Austria, but the Governor took it upon himself to declare that the election could not be confirmed unless Dr. Richter, "regulated his position" beforehand. The effect of this was that Dr. Richter, whose civil marriage of twenty years ago the Church does not recognise, was required to go through the ceremony of marriage in church, and being unwilling to do this, Dr. Richter had to withdraw his candidature.

In October the Austrian Budget was laid before the Reichsrath. Following on the announcement of Dr. Wekerle, that Hungary last year had a net surplus of 34,000,000 florins, Dr. von Plener, the Austrian Minister of Finance, stated that Austria, during the same period, had realised a net surplus of 23,500,000 florins. In other words, the accounts of the monarchy showed in 1893 a surplus of 57,500,000 florins, or nearly 5,000,000*l.* sterling. The surplus of Cisleithania in 1892 was 22,500,000 florins, and in several preceding years, in Austria as well as in Hungary, the balance had been equally profitable to the Exchequer. The cash balance in both halves of the monarchy at the end of last year amounted in Cisleithania to 208,000,000 florins, and in Hungary to 125,000,000 florins, or taking both countries together, to 333,000,000 florins, of which about one-half was in gold and the rest in silver and notes. That is to say, the monarchy disposed of a cash reserve of about 30,000,000*l.* sterling, quite apart from the funds accumulated for the currency reform.

The explanation is to be found primarily in the preservation of peace and partly in the enormous increase of the indirect taxes. The yield of indirect taxation in Cisleithania alone was in 1893 15,000,000 florins more than the year before, that of the tobacco monopoly 8,500,000 florins greater, and so on throughout the whole list. The land tax, however, was stagnant, and during the first eight months of the current year even decreased by 1,000,000—the result of that agricultural depression which Dr. von Plener declared to be the sole exception to the general story of prosperity. Manufactures, on the other hand, were in a flourishing condition, as many as 700 more factories being at work during 1893 in Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia than in the preceding year, and 219 more in Galicia. The receipts of the railways, both of those worked by the State and by private companies, were equally progressing; and in the course of a single year in Austria, apart from Hungary, the consumption of cigars had risen from 1,106,000,000 to 1,157,000,000, and that of cigarettes from 903,000,000 to 1,496,000,000. This prosperous state of things encouraged the Austrian Minister of

Finance, like his equally fortunate Hungarian colleague, to frame his estimates for 1895 on a more liberal scale. The expenditure was estimated to be larger by 16,500,000 florins, which would still leave a surplus of 2,500,000 florins, and probably much more, as the receipts were estimated below the actual yield.

It was estimated that Cisleithania would spend during the next financial year 636,500,000 florins; Hungary, 468,000,000 florins; and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 14,000,000 florins, to which must be added 40,000,000 florins, the net receipt of the customs, which would be spent on the Army and Navy, without appearing in the Budgets of either country.

Leaving out Bosnia, the monarchy, with 41,500,000 inhabitants, would, according to this estimate, spend in 1895 1,145,000,000 florins, which at the present rate of exchange is equivalent to 92,500,000*l.* sterling, whilst the estimates of the United Kingdom, with a population of 38,000,000, show an expenditure for the year 1894-95 of 95,500,000*l.* sterling, or if the contributions to the local authorities are deducted, about the same amount as Austria-Hungary. There is, however, one material difference, namely, that Hungary will spend nothing on the redemption of debt, and Cisleithania will disburse for that purpose only 3,000,000 florins, or 250,000*l.*, as against 6,500,000*l.* by the United Kingdom. The Austrian Minister announced, however, an extraordinary redemption of floating debt, to the amount of 10,000,000 florins, out of the cash reserve—that is, out of the surplus of former years—and also stated that the last loan for the purposes of the currency reform would be raised during the next financial year. He gave further details of the proposed State spirit monopoly, and expressed the opinion that every great country would in time be compelled to follow the examples of Switzerland and Austria.

The output of raw spirits in Austria-Hungary is almost the same as in England, namely, 44,000,000 gallons in 1893 in the United Kingdom, and 2,000,000 hectolitres in Austria-Hungary, and with this production it was not intended to interfere; but for hygienic purposes the Government proposed to monopolise the refining and rectifying of all spirits distilled either by the great factories or by the small agricultural stills, of which there were over 100,000 in connection with cattle breeding, beetroot sugar factories, and other agricultural industries. A fixed price would be paid to the producers of raw spirits, and a much higher price to the agricultural producers than to others—a bonus called in Germany *Liebesgabe*, and frankly intended as State aid for depressed agriculture. The State would either erect its own refineries, or control the existing factories, but, under any circumstances, only refined and rectified spirits would be sold for human consumption. The rectified spirits would be sold to the retail trade at fixed prices, including the fixed value of the raw spirit, the cost of rectifying, carriage, etc., and, finally, the profit of the *Exchequer*.

The Minister added that it was not yet decided whether it would be desirable or not to fix the price of spirits in the retail trade as well, as is the case with tobacco and cigars. In that event, the publican would simply be the commission agent of the Spirits Régie, being allowed a certain sum on each hectolitre sold, and himself bearing the cost of retailing. It would thus be possible to control the retail trade without giving compensation, and, on the other hand, without confiscating the legal rights of one of the most important industries in the country. The object of temperance was to be promoted by supplying only pure spirits, but the chief purpose aimed at was, of course, a considerable increase of the revenue. The Minister mentioned that a plan on the same lines was being favourably considered by the German Government, that a resolution demanding a State monopoly in spirits had been passed recently in the French Chamber, and that Russia had already secured good results from the monopoly of the rectifying and wholesale trades introduced experimentally in several of the provinces, prior to its enforcement throughout the empire.

The addition which the new arrangement would make to the present yield from the spirit duties would, it was estimated, eventually amount to between 70,000,000 and 80,000,000 florins a year, taking the two parts of the empire together. The finances of the dual monarchy would, by this new indirect taxation, be placed upon a basis of almost absolute solidity, experience having proved that an advance in the price of "Branntwein," the drink of the peasantry in Galicia, Bukovina, and Northern Hungary, and of the majority of the working classes in all the large towns, did not materially diminish the consumption.

Whether a similar State monopoly is hereafter to be extended to beer was not yet decided, but after a certain time it would be almost certain to follow as a logical consequence. The new revenue to be secured by the spirit monopoly would, amongst other things, permit the Government to propose the total abolition of the State lottery.

On October 21 the Lower House of the Reichsrath began the debate on the Criminal Code, which is to replace the one in existence since 1803. The new code took twenty years to arrive at its present form, having been several times introduced and withdrawn by successive Cabinets. The code introduces several legal institutions borrowed from England, such, for instance, as the ticket of leave, detention during the sovereign's pleasure, exemption for first offenders, the right of the magistrate to send minors to industrial schools, and several other equally practical and essentially English innovations. Capital punishment, which was abolished by the Emperor Joseph II., and reintroduced by the code of 1803, is retained, but restricted to wilful murder and attempts on the person of the sovereign, whilst in many cases in which it is now pre-

scribed, and which in England would come under the head of manslaughter, it is abolished. The scheme distinguishes between hard labour in houses of correction, detention without hard labour, simple confinement, and lastly, the State prison, or *custodia honesta*, for political offences, duelling, and similar contraventions of the law "unconnected with dishonesty and loss of character."

There are also reactionary clauses in abundance. Thus, if two persons box each other's ears, the offence is condoned, but if one of them hits harder than the other he is liable to be punished. Among the other provisions is one dealing with the right of working men to combine, under which it would be a punishable offence to organise for a strike, and there are clauses restricting freedom of the press in such a way that, according to M. Slavik, who was the first to speak against the bill, it would only be possible for the newspapers to praise the Government of the day, and not even that in every case.

Bills were also laid before the Reichsrath for the creation of working men's committees and boards of conciliation, containing the following provisions:—

Working men's committees may be formed in manufacturing and trading establishments, in accordance with regulations drawn up by the managers of such establishments.

They shall be elected by the workmen by secret ballot. They shall seek to promote a good understanding between masters and men, shall support the masters in any measures adopted for the benefit of the workmen, and shall endeavour to further a friendly agreement.

The boards of conciliation shall be organised by the provincial political authorities, or in some cases by the Ministry of Commerce. They shall consist of representatives of the masters and of the men, and they are to aim at bringing about a friendly understanding on the question of the continuance or resumption of work.

The boards shall be chosen by the masters and men together, by direct vote.

There was a truce during the year in the conflict of nationalities. In July the Emperor paid a visit to the Trentino, and was received with effusive demonstrations of loyalty by the Italian population. In Bohemia the decree suspending trial by jury and relegating all criminal cases and press trials to the ordinary courts (see "Annual Register," 1893, p. 360) ceased to have effect, not having been renewed by Parliament, and no serious disturbances occurred, though the extreme Radicals, known as "Omladinists," superseded the "Young Czechs" in public favour, and seemed likely to oust them at the elections as the "Young Czechs" did the "Old Czechs" in 1891.

The Omladinists had fourteen newspapers at their disposal in Bohemia and several in Moravia. Their connections extended from the university students and the youth of the

middle classes to the peasantry in the counties and the working class in the towns. Their leaders were no longer immature youths, but university professors, able writers, and comparatively wealthy members of the *bourgeoisie*, and their teachings, judging by their party organs, were Anarchist and Ultra-Revolutionary, Ultra-Socialistic and Atheistic.

The strongest supporters among the Austrian nationalities of the unity and power of the State were in this as in previous years the Poles, though as usual they took every opportunity of celebrating the memory of their great men and their past glories. On April 3 a series of *fêtes* took place at Cracow in honour of Kosciuszko. They were attended by 10,000 peasants from all parts of Galicia and also from Russian Poland, though the entire Russian Frontier Guard was on the alert to drive back any one found attempting to cross the frontier. The inaugural ceremony took place in the cathedral, where the hero's remains are preserved in a vault together with those of the Polish kings. The numerous deputations, with their banners, descended to the vault and placed a huge laurel wreath, with the inscription, "The Polish nation, to its hero and defender," on Kosciuszko's tomb. Shortly after, an industrial, agricultural, and fine art exhibition was opened at Lemberg, and it was attended by numerous visitors from all parts of the monarchy, including most of the ministers. It was visited by the Emperor Francis Joseph on September 7. An English correspondent thus describes the political significance of these visits and of the exhibition generally:—

"The object of these political visitors has been to court the Poles, thereby indirectly acknowledging the important political position to which the Polish nation has risen of late years in the dual monarchy. The Lemberg Exhibition has, however, of itself proved of sufficient interest to deserve the attention of foreign visitors. Every one has, in fact, been struck by the progress—industrial, agricultural, and intellectual—made during the past twenty to twenty-five years by this mainly Polish province—a province which, I may remark, enjoys a considerable degree of administrative autonomy. The Poles have thus been reaping a twofold advantage from the exhibition. In the first place, their political influence has been recognised as a very important factor, even by former political rivals; and secondly, they have proved, by obvious facts, that, where they are not suppressed and persecuted, the Poles have no revolutionary tendencies, but are most loyal subjects of the Crown and supporters of the patriotic and Conservative home and foreign policy of the Government. Moreover, they have furnished practical proof of the fact that they are able to compete in the works of peace with any other nationality, even with such formidable rivals as the Germans and Hungarians.

"Abundant opportunity has been afforded them for advancing their national reputation by the confidence the present sovereign



has reposed in his Polish subjects. It was, therefore, only natural that the entire Polish race should take advantage of his Majesty's visit to the Polish Exhibition to display their gratitude by giving him a grand, and an imperial, reception. In matters of national concern, the Poles, like the Hungarians, know no divisions, but work together like a well-trained army under an able commander. There have been local differences between the Poles and the other nationality inhabiting the province—to wit, the Ruthenians; but these were all adjusted in view of the Emperor's visit. The noble Polish families, too, have been working harmoniously with the representatives of the middle and lower classes, the citizens and the peasantry, and the result has been a complete success. It was the universal desire of the Poles to demonstrate their deep-felt gratitude to the sovereign to whom they owe so much. This object they have fully achieved, and the manifestation of the unmistakable popular feeling has afforded the Emperor the highest gratification. His Majesty has not simply been impressed, but touched by this spontaneous national acknowledgment of the benevolence he has shown towards a race that is still subjected to persecution only a few miles to the north of the town in which his Majesty is now staying.

“The outward signs of loyalty and enthusiasm shown in every town and village the imperial train has passed on its way to Lemberg, as well as in the capital itself, are, however, quite familiar to the Emperor from previous visits. Splendid triumphal arches similar to those erected along the route, extending for three miles from the railway terminus to the imperial residence in the centre of the city, and even the serenade and the general illumination prepared for to-night, are far from being novelties to a sovereign so universally popular as the Emperor Francis Joseph. But there was a ring of heartiness in the voice of the cheering crowds to-day which could not be mistaken. The words of welcome addressed to the Emperor by the burgomaster of the city when he presented the keys of Lemberg to his Majesty revealed a sense of unspeakable gratitude, and this sentiment recurred in a number of other addresses. The same feeling could be read in the inscriptions on the triumphal arches, in the transparencies prepared for to-night, and in the newspaper articles of the entire Polish press. In some of these organs the position of the Poles in Austria is compared with that of their brethren in Russia and even in Prussia, much to the advantage of the Galicians, and every writer blesses the sovereign who has fostered the national resurrection of the Poles under the ægis of Austria. In view of certain contingencies which I need not specify, the results of the humane policy of Austria towards the Polish race constitute a factor of incalculable importance.”

The great question which has absorbed Hungarian politics during the year was the contest on the religious bills. Shortly

before the death of Kossuth (March 20) the veteran patriot had written to the members of his party in the Lower House, urging them to vote for the bills, as they constituted so great a reform that they ought to be accepted "even from the hands of the evil one himself"; and this ensured their passing in the Lower House. As regards the Upper House, the issue was far more doubtful. In the Hungarian capital and a number of other towns the preponderance of public opinion was in favour of the reform, which would break the power of the Church, and would bestow upon the country the gift of a uniform marriage law in place of the existing nine different and conflicting sets of Church regulations. But the peasants were too ignorant, or too much under the sway of the priests—who, through the confessional and otherwise, worked especially upon the peasant women—to grow enthusiastic in favour of the bill, which they understood would, at best, but cause them additional expense. The Magnates, or Upper House, would be able just as much as the Government to refer to public opinion if they threw out the bill.

The matter was further complicated by some disgraceful riots and Radical demonstrations which followed the death of Kossuth. On the pretext that there were no mourning flags hoisted on the Royal Opera and the National Theatre, the university students and the mob seriously damaged those buildings, and committed other excesses of a similar kind, which necessitated the intervention of the troops. On April 18 the Civil Marriage Bill was read a third time in the Lower House, and on May 7 it came before the House of Magnates, which consists of 342 members, of whom twenty-eight are elected, and forty-seven are nominated for life. There are further in the House twenty-nine Roman Catholics, nine Greek, and thirteen Protestant bishops and other ecclesiastics, while twelve standard-bearers, three judges, and the Governor of Fiume are members only during their respective terms of office. The hereditary members consist of twenty-one archdukes, who never vote, six princes, 131 counts, and thirty-five barons.

The bill was rejected in the Upper House on May 10 by a majority of twenty-one; and, in conformity with the Constitution, it was reintroduced in the Lower House in the same session, and sent back to the Upper House on May 21. On May 31 the Ministry resigned, the Emperor-King having refused to accede to the demand of Dr. Wekerle, the Premier, for the creation of new peers, in order to secure the passing of the bill in the Upper House. Count Khuen Hedervary, the Ban of Croatia, was then commissioned to form a new Ministry. He was spoken of as a future Premier in 1892, after the resignation of Count Szapary, and his speech in the Hungarian Upper House on May 10 served to confirm the impression. The count, on that occasion, voted for the Marriage Bill, but upheld the right of the Upper House to

throw out bills, however large the majority in the Lower Chamber might be. He also advocated the doctrine of *festina lente*, and taunted the Cabinet, which had introduced no fewer than five Church bills at the same time, with its want of legislative moderation.

He is a large landowner in Slavonia; was born in May, 1849, and was appointed Ban of Croatia in 1883. He proved an excellent administrator, energetic, resourceful and independent in his views, and so highly were his services appreciated by Hungary, that the Premier proposed him in 1891 for the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Meanwhile enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of Dr. Wekerle were made by his partisans, and as they form a majority in the Lower House, and were united in supporting him, it soon became evident that Count Khuen's attempt to form a Ministry would fail. Dr. Wekerle then withdrew his demand for the creation of new peers, and the Liberal Club, which had appeared to call in question the right of the sovereign to choose his ministers, published a declaration stating that it never intended to do so, and that there "was nobody in the party who would not recognise and respect this unquestionable right of the Crown." Upon this the Ministry was re-appointed (June 11), and next day Dr. Wekerle read the following statement in both Houses: "I have the authority of the Crown for declaring that his Majesty shares the views of his Government as to the political necessity of the Marriage Bill passing into law with the least possible delay. His Majesty considers the passing of the bill absolutely necessary in the present circumstances, and as the Lower House has accepted the measure twice by large majorities, and as the Crown supports the opinion of the Chamber, we are justified in hoping that the third branch of the Legislature will also recognise the necessity of the bill. We are, therefore, enabled to dispense with the use of perfectly constitutional means of adding to the hereditary members of the Upper House. The circumstances above mentioned, and proper regard for the tranquillity and permanence of our political institutions, made it incumbent upon us to yield to the objections entertained by the Crown. We adhere, however, to our principles and to the whole of our programme."

This statement clearly showed the peers that it was the sovereign's wish that the Civil Marriage Bill, notwithstanding his well-known personal disinclination to it, should become law; and it was accordingly passed in the Upper House by a majority of five (June 22), with an amendment providing that after the civil ceremony the registrar shall explain to the newly-married couple that nothing stands in the way of their seeking the blessing of the Church upon their union. This is known as the "German Kaiser Clause," as it was added to the German Civil Marriage Bill by desire of the Emperor William.

This, however, was only the first of the religious bills of the Ministry. It was immediately followed by another measure abolishing several clauses of the law of 1868, which was to receive the royal assent simultaneously with the Civil Marriage Bill. That law, which provided that of the children of mixed marriages the sons should follow the father's religion, and the daughters that of the mother, formed the starting point of the dispute between the Roman Catholic clergy and the State. In the course of the controversy the Liberals extended their demands in proportion to the obstinacy of the Clericals, until, in the end, compulsory civil marriage, State registration, and freedom and equality for all creeds before the law became vital issues. When passed through all their stages the three marriage bills were to receive the royal assent together, but civil marriage was not to come into force in Hungary for at least twelve months, and possibly not before January 1, 1896. A certain amount of time was, of course, required for the appointment of the several hundred civil registrars, who would be mostly local magistrates, county officials, and schoolmasters.

The struggle has been one between the Roman Catholic Church and the authority of the State in a country in which only about fifty-two per cent. of the population are followers of Rome. It is true that the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches were also opposed to the measure, and their bishops voted in a body with the cardinals and bishops of the Roman Church, the Protestant clergy being the only religious interest voting on the other side. Even the orthodox Jews strongly disliked the reform, and the Liberal Jews alone agitated for the bill, by means of their influence with the press. Similar arguments were advanced during the debate by several of the Magnates, and quite a dramatic scene followed the division, the Prince Primate, Cardinal Vaszary, rising and saying, "This bill, on becoming law, will be as mischievous to our country as it is injurious to my Church," and requesting that his words should be entered on the records of the House as a formal protest. Previous to the division, one Magnate exclaimed, "The bill is condemned by every wife in Hungary," and the reform was anything but popular with the majority of the Hungarian women.

The second bill, as to the religion of the children of mixed marriages, and the third bill, as to State registration, were both duly passed by the two Houses, on October 9. Under the latter bill marriages between Christians and Jews will be possible in Hungary without a change of faith, and instead of there being seven different creeds keeping special registers, the registration of births, deaths, and marriages will be concentrated in the hands of the State, as is the case in all Europe, with the exception of Russia, the Scandinavian countries, and Cisleithania. Other important changes, for instance with regard to divorce, were introduced by the new Marriage Law, which

in some parts is more severe, and in others more liberal than the corresponding laws in England, France, and Germany.

But the Liberals, not satisfied with their triumph on the question of civil marriage, now raised other religious questions of an equally contentious kind. Bills were introduced for the free exercise of religion, and for giving the Jewish faith a legal status. These bills were bandied about from one House to the other, increasing the ill-feeling caused by the religious strife in the country, and were not passed at the end of the year. Meanwhile, the three marriage bills still awaited the Emperor-King's assent, and the position of the Wekerle Ministry was considerably weakened by its attitude with regard to the Kossuth agitation. Mr. Francis Kossuth, the eldest son of the patriot, before taking the oath of allegiance as a preliminary to his becoming a candidate for the Hungarian Parliament, made a political tour in Hungary, in the course of which seditious language was used at public meetings and festivals. The Ministry, however, took no notice of his conduct, and its silence was generally attributed to the fact that it was dependent upon the support of the Kossuth party for carrying its religious bills. This, combined with the resentment produced in large sections of the population by its arrogant attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church, seems to have led the sovereign to the conclusion that the continuance in office of Dr. Wekerle would not be in the interest of order and good government in Hungary. The royal assent to the three marriage bills was given on December 9, and the event was celebrated by illuminations and torchlight processions, but on December 21 the Ministry resigned, and at the end of the year its successor had not been chosen.

The Hungarian Budget for the year 1895, which was laid before the Lower House on October 9, showed a total expenditure of 467,792,748, and a revenue of 467,811,057 florins, there being thus a surplus of 18,309 as compared with 111,000 florins in the preceding year. The ordinary Budget showed a surplus of 24,322,000 florins. The estimated expenditure exceeded that of the previous year by 26,000,000 florins, and included an outlay of 20,095,095 of a reproductive character, this being 3,600,000 higher than last year. The receipts, on the other hand, were estimated to produce 28,400,000 florins more than in 1894, and the Minister regarded this favourable prognostication as completely justified by the final accounts for 1893, and by the revenue hitherto collected in the present year.

In the course of his statement accompanying the above figures, the Minister of Finance declared that as the greater portion of the gold coins of the new kronen currency had already been struck, the products of home mines only would be used for coinage purposes during the present year. In the estimates of revenue the indirect taxes alone had been placed

at a higher figure than last year, the anticipations of an increased yield from this source being based upon the growing receipts lately obtained from the Customs and monopolies. The Minister added that the gold reserve in the Treasury, which amounted to 213,500,000 florins last month, was in itself sufficient to permit the Government to complete the operation for the reform of the currency.

The Roumanian agitation in Transylvania (see "Annual Register," 1892, p. 247) assumed a somewhat formidable aspect in May, and no doubt contributed to the unpopularity of the Hungarian Ministry. In 1892 a Roumanian deputation came to Vienna for the purpose of presenting a petition against the Hungarian Ministry to the Emperor at the Hofburg. The deputation was not received by his Majesty, and the memorandum which they left on the table of the chief of the Emperor's private Cabinet was forwarded to the Hungarian Ministry, as its signatories were Hungarian subjects. This memorandum denied the legality of the union between Transylvania and Hungary. Twenty-eight of its signatories—the rest having meanwhile died or emigrated from Hungary—were accused by the Public Prosecutor of sedition against the Hungarian State, and were placed on their trial before the Court at Klausenburg.

Long before the commencement of the trial the "Romania Irredenta," which also calls itself "the League of Culture," was accused of having attempted to prejudice foreign opinion against Hungary and its institutions. A number of Roumanian peasants were brought into Klausenburg at the beginning of May for the purpose of making demonstrations against the jury, that consisted of Magyars instead of Roumanians. Public meetings were held at the same time in the Roumanian Kingdom, and also in Arad, Temesvar, and those parts of Hungary where the population is chiefly of the Roumanian race.

Hungarian feeling was irritated by the fact that the Austrian National Anthem "Gott Erhalte" was sung and played at these meetings, and the Austrian black and yellow flag hoisted instead of the Hungarian tricolour. At the trial in Klausenburg the jury was declared to be packed, and several of the jurymen were repeatedly called "informers" by the counsel for the defence.

The matter came on May 8 before the Hungarian Lower House, and the Premier, Dr. Wekerle, in reply to a question on the subject, stated that "the Roumanian peasants who had been taken to Klausenburg, originally about 1,500 strong, have, by the expulsion of strangers, been reduced to about 500 or 600; and that no military had up to the present been brought into action, though the excitement and the fear of a serious encounter between the two nationalities compelled the authorities to keep the military ready in their barracks."

On July 20, M. Hieronymi, the Hungarian Minister of Home Affairs, stated to his constituents in Transylvania that

the present Cabinet, and indeed every Hungarian Government, would energetically combat all attempts to dissolve the union between Hungary and Transylvania, or to procure an autonomous Government for Transylvania and the Roumanian part of Hungary. Therefore, he said, no understanding could be come to with those agitators, the first item in whose political programme is the demand for a dissolution of the Union between Hungary and Transylvania. On the contrary, such men would be met "with an unswerving severity that knows no forbearance." On the other hand, the Government, he said, was prepared to meet favourably every just desire of the Roumanian people. It was ready, he declared, for instance, to alter the present Transylvanian election laws. He suggested that they should be re-enacted upon the same basis as in Hungary—that is, that the qualification for a vote in Transylvania should be the same as in Hungary. He promised every assistance on the part of the Government in advancing the economical interests of the Roumanian population.

This statement was not of a kind to satisfy the Roumanians. They demanded the establishment of Roumanian autonomy; election reforms; throwing open the Government offices to intelligent Roumanians; the cultivation of the Roumanian language; and finally, the reform of the press laws. As the Government proposals ignored all but one of these demands, there was little probability that they would restore tranquillity in Transylvania.

How bitter the feeling was in that province was shown by the fact that when the Roumanian bishop, M. Szabo, proposed to send a deputation to M. de Hieronymi, with a memorandum explaining the chief grievances of the Roumanians, the majority determined that no such deputation should go to the minister, as "the persecutions they had undergone under the *régime* of Dr. Wekerle and M. de Hieronymi had surpassed the worst ever inflicted even under M. Tisza."

In Austro-Hungarian foreign affairs the most important event of the year was the *rapprochement* with Russia, brought about by the conclusion of the Austro-Russian commercial treaty. This was one of the chief subjects dealt with by the Austro-Hungarian delegations, which met on September 14, to dispose of the Budget for the common expenses of the monarchy.

The estimates were again 4,000,000 florins higher than last year, and the increase for both Army and Navy and for the two Landwehrs of Austria and Hungary amounted to about twenty per cent. since the Budget for 1890, that is about four per cent. every year. The dual monarchy spent in 1894 on its Army, Navy, and Landwehrs about 180,000,000 florins a year. This appears very moderate if compared with the corresponding Budgets of the other great powers, but it is about double what it was in 1877 about the time of

the last Russo-Turkish War. The Bosnian Budget showed a surplus of 74,000 florins, but the Occupied Provinces pay nothing for the Austrian troops stationed there, the expenses of which are included in the general Army Estimates of the empire.

In the general statement of foreign policy, addressed by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister annually to the delegations, he made the following remarks: "We have secured the solid basis of the Triple Alliance, because it answered best to our requirements and our security. Its real purpose, which is self-defence, and not aggression, has been almost universally recognised in this country and in Europe. But you ask, Why just the Triple Alliance, and why not some other combination, such as might, perhaps, permit us to stop the great outlay involved in maintaining what has been called an armed peace, and to devote the money to other purposes? I reply, it would be the greatest possible mistake to believe that we could do without spending so much money on the Army, even if the Triple Alliance did not exist, or if we were members of another combination. We are armed, not because of the Triple Alliance, but for our own security, and for the preservation of peace. We should have to protect ourselves against great armies, or against an armed Europe, just as much as at present, even if we belonged to some other combination. But I know of no combination which now-a-days could attain the desired object, that is, the cessation of armaments, and the possibility of peace estimates.

"We have now an experience of over ten years, and we see no reason why we should give up the advantages of our present alliances, which, in addition to guarding our interests, have also proved salutary to European peace. The distrust which existed against the Triple Alliance has nearly died out, and those who doubted whether that alliance had only peace for its object have perceived to their satisfaction that the love of peace and the honest intentions of the allied sovereigns bring it about that the alliance pursues no other ends than those that are so well known."

Count Kalnoky then mentioned the more cordial tone infused into the relations with France by the reception given to the Emperor on the French coast, and on the occasion of the shocking crime which put France in mourning. Proceeding to speak of Russia, the Count said: "Our relations with that Power are thoroughly friendly. The sovereigns of the two countries are pursuing identical objects—the welfare and peace of their respective empires; and the recently-concluded Treaty of Commerce with Russia affords a basis for good relations in general for the next ten years. I am, therefore," he continued, "in a position to declare the situation to be one promising peace and reassuring to us, so much so that hopes in the strengthening of peace fill me with great confidence. It will



be the object of our constant care to see that the tender plant of peace, which we so carefully tend, may by degrees take deeper root. Starting from this view, we may look with calmness on recent events in smaller countries, which, though important, have no dangerous character, because we are able to regard them as essentially local, as internal questions from which wider complications cannot ensue."

The reference here was, of course, to Servia, and the minister repeated his former declarations, that Austria is pursuing no policy of her own in Servia. He referred, in a few friendly words, to the good intentions of young King Alexander, and denied in a very positive manner the existence of a military convention with Servia. He also contradicted the statement that it is in contemplation to change the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into an annexation.

The Foreign Minister next entered on the question of Bulgaria and Roumania. "Roumania," he said, "was one of the first of the countries outside the Triple Alliance to perceive its essentially peaceful objects, and to resolve to make them her own, and to seek adhesion to the Central Powers of Europe. We have, therefore, for years had most friendly relations with Roumania, and as the impulse given by the King and his Government in this respect has met with increasing approval in that country, we are justified in hoping that the agitation set on foot against peace and order in a neighbouring country will be kept within the necessary bounds, and that the friendly Government will see the necessity of fulfilling its duty towards a neighbour with whom Roumania is living on terms of such good friendship."

As to Bulgaria he remarked that "Europe had become accustomed to regard the stability that has been established in Bulgaria by the firm hand of M. Stambuloff as a permanent fact, and it was consequently believed that domestic affairs in Bulgaria were safe against such sudden surprises as, to our regret, frequently occur in some other countries. We have now seen that in Bulgaria also a serious political crisis excites men's passions and leads to party strife; and that it may even degenerate into excesses. We have seen in all the Balkan States that the step from power to the prisoner's dock is very short, and I fear that in Bulgaria the necessary self-control by which so great a blunder might have been avoided has been lost at the present moment. We regarded the former Prime Minister as a great guarantee for order and stability in Bulgaria, and we regret that the apparent stability of that country has been upset, and that insecurity has followed. But we have not to answer for the change of ministers in Bulgaria, nor have we a voice in the matter. Self-confidence and a sense of independence are too well developed among the Bulgarians for us to presume that they would be prepared to give up the solid and independent position they have achieved after

so many perils and difficulties. But I must protest against one false assumption of the Bulgarian press—namely, that public opinion in this country is identified with the *régime* of M. Stambouloff to such a degree as to have changed our sentiments towards Bulgaria in consequence of M. Stambouloff's fall. Our good feelings towards Bulgaria and all the Balkan States are not affected by such domestic crises, provided they do not mean a reversal of policy, and the Bulgarians may be convinced that we wish for nothing but the peaceful and independent development of their country."

In a later passage of his speech, Count Kalnoky said: "I have to declare in the most positive terms, that the principle of non-intervention in the domestic policy of the Balkan States, adopted by Austria as part of her foreign policy several years ago, still exists in full force, that it has been the steadfast desire of this country to see the Balkan States develop independently on the basis of the Berlin Treaty, and that there ought to be no intervention by any foreign Power in their internal affairs. This has reference to Bulgaria as well as to Servia."

This statement was received with great satisfaction throughout the country, as it confirmed the peaceful expectations that were everywhere felt as to the political outlook on the continent.

### CHAPTER III.

#### I. RUSSIA.

THE events which overshadow all others in the Russian history of the year, are the death of the Czar Alexander III. and his succession by his son under the title of Nicholas II. The period of the young Emperor's reign at the close of the year was too brief to give any definite indication of the policy he would pursue, but enough was known of his character and disposition to lead to the hope that he would introduce changes which might be of momentous importance for the future of Russia.

One of the points on which the policy of Alexander III. was followed by his successor is the institution of arrangements for checking corruption and favouritism in the civil service. On May 28 an imperial ukase was issued, depriving all ministers, governors, and other high dignitaries of the power, hitherto freely exercised by them, of appointing or dismissing official subordinates of all classes, and reviving the special committee of control, which existed for a few years during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I. The ukase was not to come into force before November 13, and Alexander III. died in the interval; but it has strictly been carried out by his

son. The reason for the measure, which produced great consternation among the higher officials, is thus given in the ukase:—

“As we have been convinced by matters that have reached us, a whole series of deviations have taken place from the rules regarding advancement in the civil service, and altogether unforeseen principles have been introduced. Therefore we have judged it necessary to place all matters relating to the administration of the civil servants of the empire in their entirety under our own immediate supervision by concentrating them within our private chancery, so that all presentations may be made to the committee concerned with the service of civil functionaries and rewards.”

Arrests were frequent during the summer, and the police had not been so active for years. About 200 students of the St. Petersburg University were expelled for political offences of various kinds. At Orel, one of the chief engineers on the railway was among the persons arrested. On the day of the State funeral of the Grand Duchess Catherine Mikhailovna, thousands of policemen in uniform and plain clothes were distributed along the route taken by the *cortège*. As the Emperor and all the members of his family were to take part in the funeral procession, the houses adjacent to the palace of the deceased Grand Duchess were thoroughly searched beforehand, and members of the force were posted in all the courtyards to watch for any suspicious person.

On June 29, as the Czar was travelling to St. Petersburg from Borki, sentinels were as usual placed along the railway, one of whom was wounded by a shot fired at him from the high road, and in the same month an officer of dragoons was sentenced with other officers to the loss of his military rank and to hard labour for life in the Siberian mines, for participation in secret associations and Nihilist plots. An extraordinary incident occurred at the same time at Moscow at the funeral of a M. Astirev, who, prior to 1891, was making a considerable reputation as a statistician in the service of the Zemstvo, and also as a writer on subjects connected with the life of the peasantry. In that year (the year of the great famine), when more than one dark movement was on foot, M. Astirev, being, it was alleged, found in possession of Nihilist proclamations, was summarily exiled to Siberia. Returning thence with health utterly broken by the rigours of his short experience of a Siberian prison, M. Astirev died in May in a Moscow hospital, of what was called by the police doctors who surrounded him simply “lung disease,” the truth being that M. Astirev was released from prison in a pretty advanced stage of consumption, brought on by lying on the wet straw of his prison. At the graveside, in the presence of a number of students and friends of the deceased, certain wreaths were placed on the coffin, inscribed with verses from the poet Nekrasov, containing, under an

apparently innocent appearance, a deeper meaning well understood by the Russian students, and some speeches were made in which the cause of M. Astirev's death was vaguely hinted at. A well-dressed man then sprang up on the railing of a neighbouring grave, and, holding on to the monumental cross, delivered an address such as had not been heard in Moscow for fifteen years. He declared that the true cause of M. Astirev's death had hardly been indicated by the preceding speakers; their friend had died in the prime of life, in his thirty-seventh year, and his death had been directly caused by "those who rule over us." He concluded, amidst great sensation, with the words, "Away with despotism! Down with tyrants!" That the speaker was allowed to leave the cemetery unmolested was a proof of the sympathy of his hearers.

The statements of Mr. Kennan as to the condition of the Russian prisons have frequently been contradicted, but the report of a Government commission appointed to inquire into the state of the convict prison of Onor, on the island of Saghalien, revealed a terrible tale of suffering and crime very similar to those described in Mr. Kennan's book. Instances without number are recorded in this report of merciless beatings and lopping off of fingers and arms by sabre cuts, whilst cannibalism under stress of famine was a common occurrence, murder followed by cannibalism being also frequently committed with the sole object of putting an end to the misery of existence at Onor.

During the whole of 1892 there was an almost continuous string of convoys with corpses of convicts passing from Onor to Rykovskaya, the residence of the authorities, and the bodies were so mutilated, and presented so pitiful a spectacle, that the report says the spectators could not look upon them without tears. No inquiries, however, were made, and the bodies were simply buried without further ado. Neither of the two doctors living at Rykovskaya ever visited Onor. In 1893 a band of convicts was handed over to an inspector, who could neither read nor write, to construct a road from Onor to Rykovskaya. If any convict failed in his work, he was at once put on half-rations, followed the next day by a third of the regulated ration, and when he could work no more the inspector finished him with a revolver bullet, and entered his death in the books as from disease.

The principal author and encourager of all these atrocities was, according to the report, a convict who is a favourite of the commandant of the district, and has been made inspector-general. He had lately been recommended for good service, and he and all his colleagues had hitherto succeeded in keeping their misdeeds secret from the world.

In October the Roman Catholic peasantry of Kroze, who remained for several days and nights in their church to prevent its desecration, and were ultimately turned out of it by the

Cossacks (see "Annual Register," 1893, p. 371), were tried for having offered resistance to the troops, and a number of them were sentenced to from four months' imprisonment to ten years' hard labour.

Among the accused, who filled eight benches, were several who were in an advanced stage of consumption. They included a totally blind old man, and all the women and girls who were outraged by the drunken Cossacks.

The treatment of the peasants by the soldiers at the time of the riot may be imagined from the deposition of Captain Siemionoff, who stated that he was knouted by his own men in the Church of Kroze for having assisted an old woman who lay prostrate on the ground to rise. The peasants of both sexes were first stripped and then knouted. This the Governor himself admitted, and also that the peasants were not armed, and that they knelt down and kissed his hands and the hem of his garment, praying that the church should not be closed until the Czar had decided on their petition.

The death of the Czar took place on October 31 after a long illness which in all probability was to a great extent caused by the incessant attempts made upon his life by the Nihilists. Immediately after, the oath of allegiance was taken to the new Czar, who succeeded to the throne as Nicholas II. On November 25 he received deputations of the nobility, mayors, and heads of communes from every province and large town in the empire, and it was much noticed that the most numerous of these deputations was that from Warsaw. The first few weeks of his reign were in striking contrast to that of his predecessor; he relaxed the censorship of the press, abolished the practice of guarding the lines of railway on the passage of an imperial train, and frequently went out on foot and unaccompanied. The following is the text of the manifesto issued by him on his accession:—

"We hereby proclaim to all our faithful subjects that God, in His inscrutable providence, has seen fit to assign a limit to the precious life of our dearly beloved imperial father. His grievous suffering yielding neither to medical skill nor to the beneficent climate of the Crimea, he died at Livadia on October 20 (O. S.), surrounded by his family, and in the arms of the Czarina and of ourselves.

"Our grief is not to be expressed in words, but that grief every Russian heart will understand. And we believe that there is no spot throughout the vast Russian Empire in which hot tears will not flow for the Emperor, thus prematurely called away, who has parted from that country which he loved with all the power of his Russian soul, and in the welfare of which, sparing neither health nor life, he centred all his thoughts.

"But also far beyond the borders of Russia the memory of the Czar, who was the incarnation of unswerving loyalty and

of peace, which during his reign was not once broken, will not cease to be respected.

"The will of the Most High be done! May our unshaken faith in the wisdom of Providence give us strength! May we be consoled by the consciousness that our sorrow is the sorrow of the whole of our beloved people, and may our people not forget that the strength and stability of Holy Russia lie in her unity with us, and in her unbounded devotion to us.

"We, however, in this sad but solemn hour, when ascending the ancestral throne of the Russian Empire and of the Czardom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Finland, indissolubly connected with it, remember the legacy left to us by our departed father, and, inspired by it, we, in the presence of the Most High, record the solemn vow always to make our sole aim the peaceful development of the power and glory of our beloved Russia and the happiness of all our faithful subjects. May the Almighty, who has chosen us for this high calling, vouchsafe us His aid, while we offer before the Throne of the Almighty Ruler our heartfelt prayers for the unstained soul of the departed.

"We command our subjects to take the oath of allegiance to ourselves and to our successor, the Grand Duke George Alexandrovitch, who will bear the title of Crown Prince and Czarevitch, until it please God to bless our approaching union with the Princess Alix of Hesse-Darmstadt with the birth of a son.

"Given at Livadia this 20th day of October, 1894.

"NICHOLAS."

The Czar's marriage to the Princess Alix of Hesse took place on November 27, and on this occasion, for the first time in recent Russian history, the troops were withdrawn from the line of route, and no restraint was placed upon the erection of temporary stands, the climbing of lamp-posts, and the occupation of every coign of vantage, exactly as is done in London on the occasion of any State pageant. The official programme indicated that there would be cavalry escorts before and behind the carriage; so when it appeared without a single mounted soldier, and passed slowly down the Nevsky Prospect, the delight of the people was boundless. Up to late at night the crowd continued singing and cheering opposite the Anitchkoff Palace. By thus showing his confidence in the nation on the day of his marriage, the young Czar leaped into great popularity at St. Petersburg.

On the same day an imperial manifesto was issued, granting an amnesty to various categories of Siberian exiles, reducing the rate of interest on loans obtained for the nobility from the Imperial Agrarian Bank, and allowing the peasants a remission of certain debts due to the Crown and of arrears of taxation.

The deputation from the Kingdom of Poland, consisting of representatives of the nobility and the *bourgeoisie*, attended

both the funeral and the wedding, and were received with marked attention at the imperial court. They had an opportunity of laying before the authorities a statement as to the tyranny and brutality with which General Gourko had governed the kingdom during the past twelve years, and the general, who was in ill-health, was removed from his post shortly after the return of the deputation to Warsaw. This naturally produced great rejoicings in the Polish capital, and it was hoped that his successor, Count Schouvaloff, whose mother was a Pole, and who, as ambassador at Berlin, had become very popular on account of his charming manners and liberal views, would introduce a more just and humane system of government in the Polish Kingdom.

In foreign affairs both the old and the new Czar continued the pacific policy of former years, without, however, allowing any relaxation in the supply of increased armaments. In September large bodies of troops were moved from the Caucasus to Russian Poland, and in December, after four new ironclads had been launched, the construction was begun of three new cruisers and a gunboat. With England the relations were friendly throughout the year, notwithstanding the vapourings of the *Moscow Gazette*, and they were especially so after the accession of Nicholas II. The question of the Pamirs was satisfactorily settled at the end of the year by an understanding arrived at both between England and Russia, and between those powers and China. It was universally remarked that the stay of the Prince of Wales at St. Petersburg for the funeral of the late Czar and the wedding of the new one had greatly contributed to the re-establishment of cordial relations between Great Britain and Russia. With Germany, too, a more friendly feeling was established by the conclusion of the Russo-German Commercial Treaty (see under "Germany").

An extremely bad feeling was created at St. Petersburg by the action of France in imposing extra duties upon the import of cereals. It was not so much the actual damage accruing to Russian trade, as the export of grain to France is a perfectly insignificant fraction of the total; but the Russians complained that while France had in many respects gained by the new German Treaty under the most-favoured-nation clause, she showed resentment at the approach of Russia to Germany by an enactment which definitively closed the trade that was beginning to arise between Odessa and Marseilles.

The accession of the new Czar, indeed, was followed by a series of incidents which seemed to indicate the probability of a new grouping of the European powers in which Russia would side rather with England and the Triple Alliance than with France. One of these incidents was the telegram addressed personally by the Czar to Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria in reply to the latter's congratulations on his accession. This was regarded as possibly a first step to a reconciliation between

Bulgaria and Russia, and it considerably strengthened the Russophile party in the former country.

## II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The most important question in Eastern Europe during the year was that of the outrages stated to have been committed in November by the Turkish troops in the Sassun district of Armenia, owing to the refusal of the population to pay the taxes, on the plea that the frequent depredations of the Kurds had so impoverished them that they were no longer in a position to meet their fiscal obligations. The authorities sought to enforce payment with the assistance of the troops immediately available. But these, not being in sufficient force, were beaten off, and for the time being the Christian mountaineers were triumphant. Meanwhile, the Governor of Bitlis Hissar, informed of what had taken place, advised the Porte that a serious insurrection had broken out, and obtained permission to send all the troops he could collect to the disturbed district.

Marshall Zeki Pasha, commanding the Fourth Army Corps, stationed at Erzingan, accordingly received orders to proceed to Sassun and take charge of the operations. Before, however, he could obey his instructions, the troops of the Governor of Bitlis had arrived on the scene, and, with the troops coming from other directions, formed an imposing force of regulars of all arms. These, it was alleged, opened fire upon the defenceless people, and only rested from their labours when twenty-five villages had been destroyed and some thousands of human beings killed.

The Porte, on the other hand, published the following official account of the affair:—

“Some Armenian brigands, provided with arms of foreign origin, joined an insurgent Kurd tribe for the purpose of committing excesses, and they burned and devastated several Mussulman villages. To give an idea of the ferocity of these Armenian bands, it is reported that, among other abominable crimes, they burned alive a Mussulman notable.

“Regular troops were sent to the scene to protect the peaceable inhabitants from these depredations. The Ottoman troops not only protected and respected the submissive portion of the population, as well as the women and children, but re-established order and tranquillity to the general satisfaction. It is not true that the Kurds seized the furniture, effects, and cattle of the fugitive Armenians. The latter took their property into the mountains before breaking out into revolt, and confided them to the care of their Kurdish acolytes. The Armenian women at present with the Kurds belong to the families of the brigands, and went of their own accord with their husbands to the insurgent Kurds.

“As regards the Armenian villages which are said to have



been destroyed, it was the Armenians who carried off all their belongings from their own villages before giving themselves up to brigandage."

A commission was appointed by the Sultan to investigate the matter, but as it was composed entirely of Turkish dignitaries, and its instructions were stated to limit the investigations to the acts of "the Armenian brigands," there seemed to be no prospect of the inquiry being either impartial or complete. Under the Treaty of Berlin, Turkey holds Armenia on the condition that the Armenians should not be misgoverned; and the Powers accordingly made representations to the Porte on the subject, upon which the latter agreed (Dec. 12) that delegates of Great Britain, Russia, and France should attend the sittings of the commission for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon the alleged outrages. These delegates were to have the right to put questions to the witnesses under examination, to sign the record of the proceedings at each sitting of the commission, and to embody the results of the investigation in separate reports to their respective Governments. The grant of a decoration to Zeki Pasha, however (Dec. 26), did not encourage the hope that the Porte would at length see that justice was done in Armenia.

In March a dispute occurred between the Turkish and Bulgarian Governments in regard to the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. The Porte had sent a school inspector, who announced that the right enjoyed by the Bulgarian and Armenian Churches to exercise absolute control over the schools founded and maintained by them was to be withdrawn; that direct control by Turkish functionaries would be introduced, and that henceforward no permission to open new schools would be given to the authorities of Christian Churches. Such concessions were in future only to be granted to individuals who intended to found Bulgarian or Armenian schools, and would satisfy the Turkish authorities that their teaching would not be against the Turkish regulations. At the same time, however, no restrictions were announced in the case of the Greek and Servian schools in Macedonia, and this difference of treatment was felt as an injustice, especially by the Bulgarians, who maintained about 500 schools in Turkish territory.

While the Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople was protesting against the intended measure, the Turkish Governor General of the Vilayet of Kossovo ordered a number of Bulgarian schools to be closed, on the pretence that the teaching in them was hostile to Turkish interests. The matter was taken up by the Bulgarian press; a public meeting of Macedonians was allowed to take place in Sofia, and the Bulgarian papers threatened the Porte with reprisals, as, for instance, by the closing of the Turkish schools in Bulgaria, the dismissal of Mohammedan functionaries in the Principality, and the raising of the Macedonian question in its entirety.

The agitation was backed up by the Bulgarian Government, and ultimately the Sultan not only satisfied all the Bulgarian demands as to the schools in Macedonia, but appointed two new Bulgarian bishops in that province. M. Stambouloff, in his Note to Turkey of June 16, 1890, had demanded recognition from the Suzerain, and not from Russia, and the result was that almost immediately afterwards the Berat granting two Bulgarian bishops to Macedonia, those of Uskup and Ochrida, was issued and adhered to in spite of the Russian ambassador's protests.

The Exarch of the Autonomous Bulgarian Church was installed in Constantinople, and six bishops had been promised to the Bulgarians living in Turkey outside Bulgaria proper. Of these, only two bishops had been appointed for Macedonia, and during the war of 1878 even they were removed from their sees. They were, however, reappointed in 1890, and now the original promise was fulfilled to the letter, as the fifth and sixth bishops were intended for what is now Southern Bulgaria, and, therefore, no longer under Turkish jurisdiction. This was a great success for Bulgaria, as Macedonia, where nationality goes with the Church and the schools, was practically given over to the Bulgarians. The number of Bulgarian schools in the province of Salonica was last year stated to be 442 for boys, and 177 for girls, besides 119 schools in the province of Adrianopolis. There was now every probability that they would quickly multiply, and serve as "Bulgarian barracks within the Turkish fortress."

This result was received with enthusiasm by the Bulgarians, and in a speech delivered by M. Stambouloff to the crowd from the balcony of his house, he said that all the highest achievements of Bulgaria dated from the union with Eastern Roumelia, when Russian enmity gave birth to Turkish friendship. The Bulgarians, since they had been thrown back on their own resources, were in a stronger position for safeguarding their interests than when they were still under foreign tutelage, inasmuch as they were enabled to be on better terms with the Suzerain Power. Those who guided the fortunes of Bulgaria would always be actuated by gratitude to the Sultan and friendship for Turkey. He ended his speech by calling for cheers for the Sultan, in which all the crowd joined heartily.

His triumph, however, was short-lived. On May 29 it was announced that his Ministry had resigned, and that Prince Ferdinand had called upon M. Stoiloff, formerly Minister of Justice, who had negotiated with the Prince for the acceptance of the Bulgarian throne, to form a new Cabinet.

It had been known for a long time past that there was considerable friction between M. Stambouloff and Prince Ferdinand, occasioned as much by differences of character as by any disagreement on important affairs of State. M. Stambouloff, who was always of a rather arbitrary disposition, had

become quite despotic even in his dealings with the Prince. Moreover, the Opposition largely consisted of politicians who were loyal to the Prince, and it is difficult for any sovereign to govern, even in a small country, with practically only one party.

M. Stambouloff's dictatorial methods had kept several of the ablest politicians in Bulgaria out of the Ministry, and brought about the resignation of the Finance Minister, M. Natchevitch, who declared that he could no longer co-operate with him. Another member of the Cabinet, the Minister of War, M. Savoff, had also resigned, and though it was understood at the time that personal grounds had more to do with his retirement than political considerations, his resignation made a very bad impression in the army. M. Stambouloff had many officers of rank against him. He was also accused of having sought to meddle with military matters, of having imposed his own will in most financial and economic questions independently of his colleagues' opinions, and of having endeavoured to silence his opponents by restricting the freedom of the press. M. Stambouloff had, in fact, kept up his autocratic system of government longer than was really required.

The new Ministry, which included two opponents of M. Stambouloff—MM. Radoslavoff and Natchevitch—showed a disposition to be friendly to Russia, and the desire of Prince Ferdinand to approach Russia with a view to his recognition by that Power, which was strengthened by the birth of his son and heir on January 30, was supposed to have been the chief cause of his disagreement with his former Premier. M. Stambouloff now attacked the Prince in the most violent manner in his organs in the press, and in interviews with foreign journalists. For the insults and slanders thus levelled at the Prince, the ex-Premier was arrested on September 6, and on his way home after being let out on bail he was assaulted by the mob.

The elections for the Bulgarian National Assembly took place on September 23, with the usual result of a large majority for the Government, 114 seats having been carried by Ministerialists, and only 39 by the Opposition. The session was opened by Prince Ferdinand on October 27. On November 5, in the debate on the Address, M. Stoiloff, the Premier, announced that the Czar had thanked Prince Ferdinand for the telegram of condolence that he had sent to his Majesty in his own name and that of the Bulgarian people. M. de Giers, too, had replied that it gave him satisfaction to see that Bulgaria shared in the mourning of Russia.

M. Stoiloff added that M. Stambouloff owed his fall, not to extraneous causes, but solely to his domestic policy. The foreign policy of small States, such as Bulgaria, should be based on internal development. The aim of Bulgaria should be the maintenance of excellent relations, first, with the Suzerain

Court, then with the neighbouring States, and finally with the Great Powers, including Russia. The Government would regard as a victory the regulation of domestic affairs, but to attain their object they would not sacrifice an inch of Bulgarian territory nor any of the rights they had acquired. They regarded the entrance of foreign officers into the army as quite inadmissible, and above all, would not allow the dynastic question to be raised.

On December 17 M. Stoiloff and the members of his Cabinet resigned, as the Liberals in the Ministry could not agree with the Conservative majority; and on December 21 the Cabinet was re-appointed with the addition of two Conservatives in the place of the Liberals who had retired. The chief cause of the disagreement was stated to be the alliance of the Conservatives with the Russophile party in Southern Bulgaria; and it was certainly significant that a week after the appointment of the Ministry (Dec. 28) a bill was passed granting a general amnesty to political offenders, including M. Zankoff, the notorious Russophile, who took the chief part in kidnapping the late Prince Alexander, and M. Karaveloff, the ex-minister, who was sentenced in 1892 to five years' imprisonment for high treason.

In Serbia the young King Alexander, between whom and the Radical party there had been constant friction since his *coup d'état* of April, 1893 (see "Annual Register," 1893, p. 375), again took a step which showed his determination to govern as well as to reign. On January 21, at his request, his father, the ex-King Milan, arrived at Belgrade. Just before midnight the leaders of the various parties were summoned to the palace to listen to an address from the ex-King. He began by charging the Radical party with acts of illegality and intolerance towards non-Radicals, which had been continued in the teeth of the King's earnest remonstrances. He then proceeded to reproach the Radical Ministers and the entire Radical party with showing a want of proper respect to their ruler, as, for instance, in questioning the King's right to receive deputations or persons not belonging to the Radical party. After this introduction, the ex-King announced that his son had resolved in future not to give the Radical party *carte blanche* for the government of the country, and he stated a number of conditions which the King intended to impose upon any future Cabinet. In the first place, the King would claim a decisive influence on questions of foreign policy. It should not be possible in future for a minister not responsible for foreign affairs to provoke a conflict with a foreign Power, such as was not long ago brought about with Austria by the Servian Minister of Finance. No Servian representative abroad was in future to be called home by any one but his chief. In the case of M. Pasitch, the Radical party had summoned him back from St. Petersburg without the King's knowledge.

He added that the King claimed the right to have a closer

connection between himself and the standing army by the formation of a Military Cabinet. The interests of the army had been neglected by the Radical party, first, by the squandering of money upon numerous pensions, thereby bringing the finances of the country into disorder and giving the troops under the colours cause to complain that they could not obtain their arrears of pay; and again by the resistance of the Radicals to the appointment of a War Minister not belonging to their party. All this must cease in future.

The third demand of the King was the repeal of several laws in contradiction with the sense of the Constitution, like those making an increase in the number of deputies and a diminution in the tithes. Finally, the King demanded that the trial of the Liberal ex-Ministers should cease immediately by the withdrawal of the charges made against them; and he could not institute any new Radical Government without guarantees from the entire party on all these points.

On January 24 a new Cabinet was formed by M. Simitch, the Servian Minister in Vienna. An amnesty was granted to the impeached members of the late Liberal Cabinet, and the National Assembly was prorogued until the autumn. The Ministry was described as a neutral one, none of its members having any distinctive party colour. In their programme they promised to endeavour to secure to the country the blessings of peace, internal as well as external, and to promote the steady progress of the nation, by showing respect for the laws and Constitution, by maintaining a just and conciliatory attitude towards all political parties, and by loyal and correct dealings with foreign powers. They appealed for support to all patriots without distinction of party, and this, coupled with their asking for advice, which they said they would receive with gratitude, made so favourable an impression on the House that even the Radicals were for the moment softened, being much impressed by the fact that none of their pronounced political adversaries had been raised to power.

On April 3, in consequence of the murder of a president of the Progressist party and of a Liberal Town Councillor, the Simitch Ministry resigned, and was replaced by a Cabinet headed by M. Nikolaievitch, in which most of the retiring ministers resumed their portfolios. The divorce between the ex-King Milan and Queen Natalie was annulled by the synod of Servian bishops, in compliance with the ex-King's request, and an announcement of his reconciliation, together with an ukase by the King, cancelling the law against ex-King Milan and the resolution of the National Assembly against Queen Natalie, and granting to both the royal parents full restitution of their rights and privileges as members of the royal house, was gazetted and simultaneously notified to all the Courts of Europe. This ukase was on May 16 declared by the Supreme Court of Justice to be null and

void; but the chief judge of that court was soon after arrested on a charge of conspiring with others to dethrone King Alexander and put Prince Arsene Karageorgievitch, the pretender (see "Annual Register," 1893, p. 374), in his place. Meanwhile, the Radicals continued to agitate all over the country against the King, and at midnight (the favourite hour for King Alexander's *coup d'état*) on May 21, a royal proclamation was issued, abolishing the existing Constitution of December, 1838, and reinstating the preceding Constitution of June 29, 1869.

The Constitution of 1869 thus reinstated was framed by M. Ristitch and his two co-regents during the minority of King Milan, and was proclaimed a year after the murder of Prince Michael in Töpschider Park, near Belgrade. Its object was to create a tool for the regents which they could use if necessary against the sovereign after the attainment of his majority. Under it the King had a right to legislate by royal order, when the security or interests of the country demanded an immediate resolution; none but Government bills could be discussed in the National Assembly, and by Article 10, regulating the succession to the throne, the people had the right, after the extinction of the house of Obrenovitch, to elect any Servian in whom they might have confidence as their sovereign, with the exception of members of the family of Karageorgievitch, upon which family the curse of the nation was to rest for ever. By Article 48, the educated classes were excluded from the regular or smaller *Skupshtina*, which was consequently a Parliament of peasants, priests, and royal nominees. With this assembly none of the parties had been able to work for any length of time. For every three members selected by the people, the sovereign had the right to nominate one; but lawyers and officials, including teachers, whether active or pensioned, were not eligible as representatives of the people, and the elections, except in the towns, were indirect.

The qualification for an elector was comparatively low; he had only to pay fifteen francs direct taxes a year. The elections, moreover, were open, and therefore, controllable by the Government officials, who exercised official pressure wherever it was needed. The Chamber was at one time a Radical convention; at another time it was a reactionary voting machine, according as the regents and the later ministers desired. It was always a ready instrument for an aggressive and restive foreign policy, because whenever the peasants, who had a majority, complained of taxation, they were shown in the distance some land of milk and honey, either in Turkey or in Hungary, and later on, in Bosnia, which would be theirs, after the benefactor of their race, the Czar of Russia, had acquired it for them. The Radical Chambers under King Milan's new Constitution, which he only granted in order to annoy the Progressists (who were against his divorce from Queen Natalie),

were bad enough as regards anti-monarchical ideas, but none of them were Panslavist, like the Chambers under the old Constitution, because, having greater liberty, the Radical Chambers preferred to occupy themselves with matters interesting to their class at home.

Under the now abolished Constitution the press was free. The judges of all the courts were irremovable, and the peasants were in so far privileged that they retained their vote whether they had already paid their taxes or not, whereas by the old Constitution they had to show their receipts for the taxes of the last quarter before being permitted to vote.

As to the other minor States of Eastern Europe, there is but little to record in the history of the year. The Tricoupis Ministry still failed to come to an arrangement with the foreign holders of Greek stock (see "Annual Register," 1893, p. 379), and the Opposition became more refractory than ever, absenting themselves in a body from the debates, and thereby practically bringing public business to a deadlock. In Montenegro, too, discontent was on the increase, and many of the oldest and most distinguished families settled in Servia or Bosnia, to escape the tyranny of the ruling Prince.

## CHAPTER IV.

### MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

#### I BELGIUM.

At the beginning of the year, the question of the introduction into the Electoral Bill of the principle of proportional representation, which had previously failed to find a solution, was again forced upon public attention. In the previous year M. Beernaert, President of the Council, had declared his intention of relinquishing office, if the proposed reform were not adopted. This announcement caused great anxiety among the Catholic party, and early in January a meeting of all the members of the Chamber and Senate belonging to the Right or Catholic party was held, in order to examine the question. After a long and animated discussion, it was finally decided that M. Beernaert should be relieved of the engagement he had made not to bring the question of proportional representation before Parliament until he had obtained the assent of the Catholics. This resolution was adopted in order to give entire liberty to all, to the Government as well as to the opponents of the projected reform.

A few days later the Minister submitted a proposal intended to settle the method in which proportional representation should be applied. The essential feature of the project was the recognition of the fact that it was indispensable

to give certain rights to minorities as well as to majorities, on condition, however, that the minorities were sufficiently numerous to be reasonably reckoned as representing a serious fraction of public opinion, and being thus capable of exercising some influence on the direction of public affairs.

The Chamber of Representatives examined the question with the closest attention, and finally, after a protracted and lively debate, the principle of proportional representation was rejected by 75 against 50 votes, and 16 abstentions. Members belonging to all the various groups of the Chamber were found amongst the opponents to the project, and the Government thus found itself in presence of an expression of political feeling, the sense of which was not doubtful. The Ministry, therefore, immediately resigned (May 17), but remained for a few days in office, until the King, who was momentarily absent, should have returned. The royal decision, however, did not prove to be entirely what might have been anticipated, inasmuch as the King would not accept the collective resignation of the whole Ministry, but only the withdrawal of M. Beernaert, President of the Council and Minister of Finance, and of M. Lejeune, Minister of Justice, their functions being respectively transferred to M. de Smet de Naeyer and M. Begerem, two Catholic representatives for Ghent. M. de Burlet, Minister of the Interior and of Public Instruction, was chosen as President of the Council, although he had previously declared himself bound with M. Beernaert upon the question of proportional representation; and had not only voted, but had also backed the bill that had just been rejected. His first step was to announce that his predecessor's Electoral Law Bill was withdrawn, and to present a new one, in which the question of proportional representation was not mentioned. The scheme, however, was not altogether abandoned, but was, on the contrary, taken up again by M. Feron, the leader of the Radical party, but with no greater success than previously, his resolution being rejected by 61 against 31, and 37 abstentions. Finally, the electoral law was passed, as far as concerned the elections for the Chamber of Representatives, the Senate and the provincial councils; but with regard to municipal and communal councils, the electoral law was not revised during the year.

The Parliamentary contest was keen and protracted, the Conservatives (or Catholics) alone remaining (with few exceptions) strictly united. Such was not the case with their opponents, who divided into rival groups of Moderate Liberals, Radicals and Socialists, who in several cases declined to coalesce, and presented separate lists of candidates. The elections for the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate were held on the same day (Oct. 14). In order fully to appreciate the result, it should be remembered that the former Chamber numbered 152 representatives, of whom 93 belonged



to the Catholic party, and 59 to the various groups of the Liberal party; whereas, out of the 76 members of the Senate, 46 were Catholics and 30 Liberals. According to the revised Art. 47 of the Constitution, every elector, according to his social situation or intellectual capacity, was in the possession of one, two, or three votes. And whereas the former electoral body numbered only 130,000 electors, the actual number under the new bill amounted to 1,370,000 electors, disposing, thanks to the plural vote, of 2,111,000 votes.

The result of the elections, which no one could have foreseen, created general surprise. On the one hand, the triumph of the Catholic party was accompanied by the almost complete annihilation of the Moderate Liberals, whilst on the other hand, the Radicals were discomfited by the brilliant success of the Socialists. The final result was that the new Chamber of Representatives was composed of 104 Catholics, 20 Liberals, belonging to the Moderate and Radical groups, and 28 Socialists; whilst in the Senate, 52 Conservatives and 24 Liberals obtained seats. The defeat of the Liberal party was complete, most, and the best known, of its leaders, such as M. Frère-Orban and M. Bara on the Moderate side, M. Janson and M. Feron on the Radical side, failing to be re-elected. On the other hand, the Catholic party, although victorious almost everywhere, sustained a few electoral defeats, the most noticeable of which were those of M. de Burlet, the President of the Council, and M. Woeste, the hitherto unquestioned leader of the Conservative Radical party, and who only with difficulty succeeded in being elected at a second polling. The overthrow of the whole Liberal ticket at Brussels, and its replacement by eighteen Catholics, was the principal cause of the crushing majority obtained by the latter; and the fact that the Liberal list at Brussels, at the second polling, failed to succeed in spite of the union of the Moderate Liberals, the Radicals and the Socialists was due, firstly, to the abstention of a considerable number of men belonging to the working class, and secondly, to the support given by a great many Moderate Liberals, avowedly for the Catholics, in view of the progress of Socialist ideas at Liège, Verviers, Mons and Charleroi.

The result of the elections disclosed with more force than had yet ever been the case, a fact previously noted, *viz.*, that Belgium was becoming more and more divided into two separate sections—one, Flemish and Catholic, the other, French and anti-clerical—the latter being partly Freethinkers and partly Socialists. Out of the nine Belgian provinces, four, purely Flemish, returned none but Catholic representatives to the Chamber and the Senate. In the other five provinces, where Catholic representatives had formerly been returned, they were replaced by Liberal or Socialist members.

Another highly interesting outcome of the general elections was the conviction brought home to many minds that the

question of proportional representation was a necessity under one form or another. In the elections for the Chamber of Representatives, the final result gave 104 Catholics, 20 Liberals, and 28 Socialists; and the total number of votes polled by the Catholics was about 5,600,000, by the Liberals 3,700,000, and by the Socialists 2,250,000. Thus, the proportion of representatives was very far from being in concordance with the number of votes recorded. Another instance of the injustice of the actual method was afforded by the city of Brussels, where, although 950,000 votes were given in favour of the Liberals, the representation of that town was nevertheless entirely and exclusively Catholic.

The elections for the renewal of the provincial councils (Oct. 28) were this year of greater importance than formerly, as from them were to be elected twenty-six senators, independent of any property qualifications. As in the Parliamentary elections, the principal features were the defeat of the Liberals, the uprising of the Socialists, and the large gains of the Catholics. As to the senators that were shortly afterwards elected by the provincial councils, 19 belonged to the Catholic, 5 to the Liberal, and 2 to the Socialist party; so that finally the Senate was composed of 102 members, of whom 71 were Clericals, 29 Liberals, and 2 Socialists.

The net result, therefore, of the first application of universal suffrage in Belgium was, firstly, to give the Catholics the most crushing majority the party had ever before possessed; secondly, to reduce the Liberals to an almost insignificant minority; and lastly, to give birth to a new and important political factor—the Socialist party.

Outside the electoral affairs, the military question was still unsettled, and occupied public attention, but no decisive step in the direction of reform was taken until quite the close of the year, when the Minister of War, Lieut.-General Brassine, announced that he was about to propose a bill dealing with the whole question of national defence.

## II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The chief event of the year was the withdrawal of the Electoral Reform Bill, followed by the dissolution of the Second Chamber of the States-General, and ending in the retreat of the Tak van Poortvliet Ministry. The Electoral Reform Bill, presented in the course of the previous year by M. Tak, had given rise to so many amendments, proposed by the different political groups of the Chamber, that its author had been compelled to modify his original measure. These changes affected the form rather than the substance of the bill, but had the advantage of giving satisfaction to the authors of several of the proposed amendments. The new bill soon, however, called forth fresh objections, bearing mostly

upon the question of social standing, the questions of property qualification and intellectual capacity being the two essential points of the proposed reform bill. The revised Constitution of 1887, Art. 80, provided that the Second Chamber of the States-General should be elected by all citizens of twenty-one years and upwards possessing the education and fiscal qualifications specified in the electoral law. The main object of the actual bill was to give a more definite and precise signification to these rather vague indications, and in this point of view, Articles 3 and 4 of M. Tak's project were especially important. These articles granted the franchise to every citizen, on the following conditions: that he was able to support himself or his family; that he had not changed his abode for three months, or had only changed once in the course of a year; that he had not for one year previously received help from communal funds or a charitable institution; that he had paid his share of direct taxes; and, lastly, that he could read and write, and was able to prove the last qualification by writing and signing his demand to be inscribed as elector. This new bill called forth numerous objections, the most important being that all those who for three months had neither changed their abode nor had received public assistance were supposed to enjoy the social position claimed by Art. 80 of the Constitution. Consequently they were ostensibly able to maintain themselves and their families. In reality, however, this might very often prove not to be the case; and, moreover, this interpretation was of a nature to give the electoral franchise to a far greater number of persons than several Moderate members of the Chamber deemed expedient. On the other hand, the extreme Left was completely opposed to anything resembling a rating qualification, such as the payment of the taxes; but in this they were opposed by the Moderate Liberals, who demanded as basis for electoral qualification the payment of an annual rent of 65 florins; whilst yet another group proposed the payment of a small tax, if only of one florin. In short, opinions were greatly divided, some wanting to grant the franchise on a far smaller scale than the Government proposed, whereas others wished to extend it to almost every citizen on his coming of age. During the discussion of Art. 3, an amendment by M. Mackay, making certain restrictions on the definition of capacity, had very nearly caused the overthrow of the Ministry. That this was avoided, was simply due to the fact that M. Mackay withdrew his proposition, in order not to bring about a conflict between the Chamber and the Government. But during the discussion of Art. 4, the Opposition, under the guidance of M. van Houten, a former Radical, who had gradually become a Moderate Liberal, during ten successive sittings presented objection after objection; and, finally, by 57 against 41, the second Chamber adopted an amendment of M. de Meijr, bearing that a father of family

would only be considered as such, in an electoral sense, if he inhabited for a whole year a lodging of two rooms at least. This amendment was supported by all the Catholics except two, by all the Liberal Conservatives, by almost all the Anti-Revolutionists, and by the President of the Second Chamber himself. As soon as the result of the vote was known, M. Tak van Poortvliet declared that he could by no means accept the amendment, inasmuch as it would exclude from the benefits of the reform numerous workmen and cultivators; whereas, his desire was to come as near as possible to universal suffrage, without infringing the Constitution. Moreover, to the surprise and consternation of his supporters, M. Tak announced that in view of the vote of the De Meijr amendment, he withdrew the whole of his electoral project. This withdrawal caused violent protests from numerous partisans of the bill; dissensions arose amongst the members of the Government, and one of them, M. van Tienhoven, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who represented in the Ministry the Moderate Liberal party, resigned.

The Second Chamber, having thus failed to adopt the bill, was dissolved; the Queen Regent rightly considering that in the existing circumstances an appeal to the nation was indispensable, in order to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the franchise. The elections that took place shortly after (April 10) did not turn out favourable to M. Tak's democratical ideas, the final result giving forty-four supporters against fifty-six opponents of the bill, which had been the sole plank in the electoral platform. Notwithstanding the capital importance of the question, it was noteworthy how few electors comparatively took part in the polling: at the Hague, 71 per cent.; at Rotterdam, 60 per cent.; at Amsterdam, 40 per cent. only of the electors considered it necessary to vote. Another and still more remarkable feature of these elections was the fact that all secondary questions had been carefully laid aside by the different political parties, which had grouped themselves together, notwithstanding their internal dissensions, as supporters or opponents of the Tak van Poortvliet reform bill.

The national verdict having been thus clearly shown, the Cabinet at once tendered their resignation, and the Queen Regent entrusted M. Roell, a Moderate Liberal, with the task of forming a new Ministry. He succeeded after a few days, the principal of his colleagues being M. van Houten, who had so energetically opposed the Tak bill in the previous Parliament. At the opening of the States-General, M. Roell exposed the programme of the new Government (May 16). Foremost in the projected work of the Session, the minister mentioned a wide electoral reform, dealing not only with parliamentary, but with provincial and communal elections. Next in importance was the revision of personal taxes, and the settlement of the relations between the finances of the State and those of the

communes; the other legislative projects, abandoned by the former Government, were also to be examined, although of less consequence. At the close of the year no important part of this programme had been carried, and it was generally considered that electoral reform was not yet on the eve of being realised.

Meanwhile public opinion had become entirely and painfully absorbed by the serious events taking place in the Dutch colonies. In March a fresh revolt, which had broken out at Atchin, cost the Dutch troops seven killed, and seventeen wounded, amongst whom were two officers. A few months later, at the end of August, a far more serious rising took place in the Island of Lombok, where an entire Dutch column was surprised by the Balinians, and twenty-eight officers and 364 men were killed or wounded, General van Ham being amongst the former; four cannons fell into the hands of the rebels. The cause of the rebellion was the concession made to the Sassaks, to be henceforth governed by their own chiefs instead of by the Balinian chiefs, who had hitherto been all-powerful. During the continuance of the hostilities, the Sassaks remained constantly faithful to the Dutch, and fought against the Balinians, who, although far inferior in numbers, had, nevertheless, oppressed their fellow-islanders for many years; but the courage, energy and audacity of the Balinians were well known, and as early as 1868 the Dutch troops had been in serious conflict with them. The news of this disaster aroused in Holland great excitement, and public opinion was unanimous in its demand for speedy and energetic reprisals. Several severe and bloody encounters took place, but finally the Dutch troops, under the orders of General Vetter, succeeded in making the Rajah of Lombok prisoner, his immense wealth falling at the same time into the hands of the victors. This and the victory of Tjakra Negara put an effectual end to the rebellion; but still, at the close of the year, it was a matter of doubt whether, in view of the definite maintenance of peace, the Dutch troops would not be obliged to undertake a fresh campaign against the Island of Bali, where the traitor, Djilanthik, had taken refuge with his supporters.

The Indian Budget for 1895 amounted to 137,000,000 florins, and disclosed a deficit of 10,000,000. This deficit would be reduced 8,500,000 if the Chambers adopted the proposal of the Government to increase in a large measure the income tax for the East Indies, and also the tax upon coffee.

In the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, the only fact worthy of notice was the propaganda of the Democratical party, in view of obtaining the complete abolition of the electoral rating tax. Two years before, in 1892, the qualification rate had been reduced from thirty to ten francs, and it was then generally believed that this measure was but a step leading gradually to universal suffrage; and during the year the activity of its

supporters led to the conclusion that the realisation could not be long deferred.

### III. SWITZERLAND.

A frequent use was made by the Swiss people of their right of legislative initiative during the year. Foremost amongst the wishes that were thus expressed was the desire that the Confederation should bestow upon the cantons, out of the money collected by the Custom duties, a sum calculated at the rate of two francs per inhabitant. The average income of the Custom duties varying between 30,000,000 and 35,000,000 francs annually, the sum to be thus given to the cantons would have amounted to about one-fifth of the total revenue of the Confederation. As to the uses to which each of the sums thus distributed by the Confederation were to be applied, the authors of the proposal left full liberty to the cantonal authorities, although at the outset of the propaganda it had been understood that the sums thus acquired should be applied to primary instruction or to public relief. The signatures obtained in favour of the project soon exceeded 70,000, and the Federal Council submitted the question, together with their report on the matter (June), to the Federal Assembly. The report of the Council most energetically opposed the proposal, and urged, moreover, that the Federal Assembly, instead of availing itself of the faculty granted by law to deliberate a whole year before arriving at a decision, should discuss the matter at once, in order to allow the people to pronounce on the question in the following autumn. According to the advice of the majority of the committee chosen to examine the question, the National Council rejected the proposition by 105 against 22 votes, these latter belonging to the Ultramontane party. The question was then left to the popular referendum for final decision.

In order fully to understand the capital importance of this question, and the keen interest it excited in every citizen, it should be explained that, notwithstanding the large sum of money the Confederation might eventually be called upon to sacrifice, the financial aspect of the question was but secondary. The real object at stake was—and the authors of the proposition did not conceal it—the problem of the relations between the cantons and the Confederation. A National Councillor and member of the Government of Fribourg, M. Theraulaz, in a public discourse, openly declared that the avowed aim of the proposal was to weaken the Confederation in favour of the cantons, and to restore to the latter the position they occupied previous to the adoption of the Constitution of 1848. This double result would have been attained if the proposal had been adopted, inasmuch as the 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 francs thus drawn away from the Federal income would diminish the

resources of the Confederation ; and, on the other hand, would increase in the same proportion the budgets of the different cantons, which would, moreover, be free to dispose of the money as they thought fit, with no control by the Confederation.

The result of the popular referendum was awaited with no little anxiety, for it was a question of the highest interest to know whether the majority of the people would, for purely political considerations, set free sums of money which, in the absence of control, might be applied exclusively to the reduction of local taxation. The answer to this question was as decisive as it was remarkable, the people rejecting (Nov. 4) the proposition by a majority of more than 200,000, the members being 347,491 against 145,270 in favour of the proposal.

A few months earlier another proposal, equally due to popular initiative, had not met with a more favourable fate. In the course of the previous year a petition, signed by 52,000 citizens, had requested that a new article should be added to the Constitution, by means of which the right to sufficiently remunerated work was to be guaranteed to every Swiss citizen. This proposition, originated by the Socialist party, was fully discussed by the National Council after the committee, to which it had been referred, had unanimously recommended its rejection. In the general debate, a few members supported a motion inviting the Federal Council to examine what could be done in order to give satisfaction to the wish of the petitioners, but the majority of the National Council decided to simply submit the question to the popular verdict. This referendum (June 3) was the complete rejection of the proposal, which was supported by only 75,880 votes, whereas 308,289 voted against it. It was a noteworthy feature of this referendum, and one which had never up to this time presented itself, that not a single canton gave a majority in favour of the proposal.

Shortly after this crushing defeat, the Socialist party met with a fresh one on the question of gratuitous medical assistance. A proposition of this nature had been presented by M. Greulich, the official secretary of the Working Men's party since 1887, and in spite of incessant propaganda and utmost agitation, had failed, in the space of six months, to obtain the 50,000 required signatures, barely 40,000 having with difficulty been collected.

Another proposition of a more or less similar character had been equally rejected in March. The people were then called upon to decide on a proposed additional article to the Constitution, giving the Confederation the right of regulating by edict laws which had been adopted with regard to trades (*métiers*). By Art. 34 factories had been subjected to control and regulations, and the object of the new proposal was to extend the benefit of the law to numerous persons employed outside of

what was strictly a manufactory—for instance, persons employed by tailors, shoemakers, watchmakers, milliners, printers, etc., and others keeping shops in which manual work was done from day to day. During the debate on this proposal, a certain number of politicians regarded it as insufficient; others belonging to the Working party insisted upon the introduction into the existing law of the principle of obligatory trade syndicates. The duties of these bodies would be to fix the salaries, the minimum price, the number of apprentices that could be admitted into each trade, and to define the relations of workmen, foremen, and employers. The fear of these obligatory syndicates exercised an important influence upon the result of the referendum, for it was suspected, and not wholly without reason, that the Government regulations might, if not immediately, at least in the future, seriously interfere with the liberty of work. The struggle between the two schools of economists was severe, but ultimately (March 5) the new proposition was negatived by 158,492 against 135,713.

These various appeals to the popular vote proved—and this fact constituted the leading political feature of the year—that in Switzerland the Socialist party was declining in favour, and that public opinion was growing tired of Socialist experiments. The first distinct evidence of this change, which the events of the year confirmed, was given by the Radical group in the Federal Assembly, who, in February, at a public meeting at Olten, definitely separated themselves from their former allies, the Socialists. Not long afterwards the public learned, with the utmost satisfaction, that severe punishment had been inflicted on the principal authors of the riots that had arisen in the previous year out of the Socialist movement at Saint-Imier and Berne.

The bill presented at the close of 1893 by the Federal Council, to remedy the insufficiency of the existing Federal and Cantonal penal codes in dealing with crimes against public safety, was discussed in the spring sitting of the Assembly (March), and during the debates, the duty as well as the interest of the country to possess the means of punishing Anarchist crimes was generally recognised. The law, which received the unanimous approval of the National Council, enacted, that to make use of explosives with a criminal design was punishable with ten years' imprisonment; and those who, knowing them destined to criminal use, should prepare explosives, or give instructions in view of their fabrication, were punishable with five years' imprisonment. The provocation to crimes against persons or property was punishable by a minimum of six months' imprisonment, and the same provocation made by the aid of the press was equally punishable. The new law met with universal approval, and not a single voice was heard throughout the whole country claiming a referendum against its application.



With regard to the commercial relations between Switzerland and France, although nothing definite was concluded as to the fiscal relations of the two countries, the general impression was, however, that public opinion in France was desirous of arriving at a more amicable arrangement. A remarkable instance of this feeling was exhibited during a congress of Economists that took place at Mâcon in September, on the occasion of the international regattas; M. Numa Droz on the one side, M. Jules Roche, a former French Minister of Commerce, on the other, admitted the evil results that the existing circumstances had brought upon both countries; and it was unanimously desired that the former friendly relations in commercial matters should be resumed as soon as possible.

At the close of the year the Federal Assembly elected M. Zemp President of the Confederation for 1895, by 128 votes out of 172, and M. Lachenal Vice-President, by 111 votes.

#### IV. SPAIN.

The principal event of the year in the political history of Spain was the admission of the old Republicans who followed Señor Castelon into the Council of the Regency. In other respects it was marked, as usual, by a series of hesitations and partial crises, the result of the last Liberal oscillation, which in reality gave no fresh strength and no new point of departure to the Government. It might be said that the year was passed in waiting. In the first place everything had to await the convalescence of the Prime Minister; next the solution of the Morocco imbroglio, then the establishment of the new Sultan of that country; next the outcome of the negotiations between the moderate and the extreme Protectionists. From postponement to postponement, from discussion to discussion, the year came to an end without much apparent change in the political situation.

In the early days of the year the *Correspondencia de España* published an article commenting upon the annual review of foreign politics which had appeared in the *Times*, according to which the Queen Regent had made use of the expression: "Formerly I was an Austrian archduchess; now I am Queen of Spain. The friendship which I set myself to establish and strengthen is that of France." This remark attracted considerable notice abroad, and gave rise to a lively controversy, especially in Germany; but although its authenticity was repeatedly called in question by the contending journalists no official denial was put forward, and it was accepted as a correct expression of the Queen's sentiments.

The President of the Council, Señor Sagasta, after having been incapacitated by his accident for upwards of three months, was at last able (Jan. 15) to resume the conduct of public business. First of all the soldiers of the reserve, who had been mobilised

in view of the complications with Morocco, were dismissed, notwithstanding the repeated obstacles placed in the way of Marshal Campos in coming to terms. Next, Señor Sagasta resumed the negotiations with the Basque and Navarre delegates, which had been suspended, and were now hurried on to a conclusion. The Central Government managed to come to an understanding with the upholders of the *fueros* by means of mutual concessions. The only point which remained to be cleared up was that of the contributions payable by the provinces, but this obstacle was apparently insuperable.

Difficulties of a different kind arose in other parts of the kingdom. Barcelona continued as in the past to be the headquarters of the Anarchist movement. The Governor, Señor Lazzocca, was fired at and wounded (Jan. 26) by an Anarchist named Muzzull, the only result being that the state of siege was maintained with increased severity in the Catalonian capital. The causes of disorder were left undealt with, and destitution and brigandage continued to increase in La Mancha and Andalusia.

An interview between the Minister of Finance and the delegates of the Basque provinces was at length fixed (Feb. 14), but after a prolonged discussion it was found impossible to come to terms upon the matter of the provincial contribution. The Navarrese, doubtless believing that their representatives required support, assembled in their towns and villages, and a petition signed by 120,000 names declared that they were prepared to support their deputies and to defend their privileges. At Pampeluna a great demonstration took place (Feb. 18), in which the clergy played a leading part, and it was arranged that a review of the forces of the *fuéristas* should be held (March 4) at Estella, the old capital of Don Carlos. Notwithstanding much divergence of opinion among the members of the Ministry, the Cabinet as a body held together, and notified (Feb. 26) to the Civil Governor of Navarre to inform the provincial deputation that the Government was preparing a Royal edict rendering imperative the Budget Bill of the previous year, and that it would be put into execution forthwith unless an understanding was previously arrived at. To this threat, for it was nothing else, the *fuéristas* replied by holding their military gathering on the date fixed; but although there was a good deal of shouting, no acts of violence were committed.

On the same day, by a lucky chance, the Cabinet received the news that the last arrangements between the Sultan of Morocco and Marshal Campos had been ratified. The indemnity fixed at 20,000,000 pesetas was to be paid by instalments, 5,000,000 at once and the remainder by annual payments of 2,000,000. In exchange for the delay thus conceded, the Spanish Government obtained the appointment of a joint-Hispano-Moorish Commission to settle the limits of the neutral zone round Melilla; the establishment of a permanent guard

of 400 Moorish soldiers round this zone, in order to protect traders and other citizens; the punishment of the authors of the acts of aggression in 1893, which brought about the war; and lastly, the recognition of Spanish consuls at Fez and at Marrakeib.

The result was hailed by the Spanish press as a grand triumph for the nation. Everything seemed to smile on the Ministry, whilst dissension was active among the Opposition groups. The Republican coalition was in a state of dissolution. Señors Salmeron, Pi y Margall and Zorilla took each an independent course. The Moderates, headed by Señors Salmeron, Pedregal, Ascarase and Labra, with the Centralists abandoned systematic opposition, and in a great measure took up the attitude of the old Possibilists by drawing nearer to the monarchy. In view of this change in the tactics of the Opposition, a modification of the Cabinet seemed advisable. The resignation of Señor Gamazo, Minister of Finance, and of Señor Maura, Minister of the Colonies (March 8), afforded the necessary occasion. The other ministers formally handed their portfolios to Señor Sagasta, who thereupon tendered the resignation of the Cabinet. The Conservatives, however, were clear-sighted enough to understand that Señor Sagasta's move was only a feint, and that, in fact, they were too much divided amongst themselves to form a Ministry. The Queen Regent, therefore, commissioned Señor Sagasta to form another Liberal Cabinet, and after a short delay, the following list was laid before the Queen (March 12): Señors Sagasta, President of the Council; Moret y Prendergast, Foreign Affairs; Capdebon, Justice; Amos Salvador, Finance; General Lopez-Dominguez, War; Admiral Pasqui, Marine; Señors Aguerilla, Prefect of Madrid, Home Office; Groizard, Public Works; and Becona, Colonies. The programme of the Ministry, as put forward, was the negotiation of treaties of commerce, reconciliation with Navarre, and an understanding with the railway companies. Señor Moret was the most influential man in the new arrangement of the Cabinet; but, on the other hand, the withdrawal of Señor Gamazo meant the loss of sixty votes, which were at the disposal of the politician whom they regarded as the future chief of the Liberal party. The Minister of the Interior was succeeded as Prefect of Madrid by the Duke of Tamames, a sportsman, scholar and soldier, commanding much popularity in the capital. In view, moreover, of the Socialist disorders which had led to bloodshed in the streets of Seville, the Minister of Works decided to put in hand forthwith a number of public works which should afford occupation to those who were without employment.

On the opening of the Cortes (April 4) the Prime Minister, on introducing his colleagues, made an appeal to the good feelings of his opponents, and implored them to moderate somewhat their attacks. On behalf of the Conservatives Don

Canovas de Castillo replied that they were in fact favourably disposed towards the Ministry, in the hope that it would make some effectual efforts to improve the state of the finances. Before any steps were taken in this direction, however, a stern repressive law against the Anarchists was brought forward, based almost wholly upon a similar measure in France, and condemning authors of explosions to death; and the possessors of dynamite (without reasonable motive) to penal servitude.

The mere rumour that the Ministry had tendencies towards a more liberal fiscal policy provoked a protectionary agitation in Catalonia. The cotton spinners, the metal workers, and the paper makers of that province united to make common cause against the ministerial policy. The commercial treaties, as well as the *modus vivendi* with France and Italy, were warmly assailed in the Senate by the Duke of Tetuan and vigorously defended by Señor Moret, but the commission appointed by the Senate being, in the proportion of four to three, hostile to the Government, Señor Moret tendered his resignation (April 9), but withdrew it a few days later at the urgent request of Señor Sagasta.

The disturbances which at this moment took place at Valencia could, however, be scarcely traceable to political causes. The departure of a body of Spanish pilgrims to Italy furnished the mob with an occasion to display its anti-clerical feelings. The procession of pilgrims was attacked, and the police were called in to protect them. The inevitable interpellation of the Cortes, made by Señor Gasset, followed; but the Government was able to avert a division by stating that an inquiry had been ordered, and that until the report had been received any debate was premature.

The Opposition adopted similar tactics, for when the Senatorial Committee on the Customs Revenue was pressed to make its report, it requested to be allowed to extend the scope of its inquiries. Don Canovas thereupon stated that if the Cabinet would obtain from the foreign Powers the postponement of parliamentary approval of the treaties of commerce, the Conservatives and Protectionists on their part would undertake to make the inquiry last until after the close of the parliamentary session. Señor Castelar called upon his adherents to support the Government against such tactics, and Señor Sagasta threatened to make this unveiled obstruction a question of confidence. Don Canovas, however, stood to his point and declared that he would do all in his power to defeat the commercial treaties, and above all that he would use every means to prevent the admission of German alcohol into Spain.

The troubles incident on the embarkation of the pilgrims for Italy were brought before the Cortes (April 19) notwithstanding the fact that the Government had superseded the Prefect of Valencia, the scene of the riot. This official, however, was the brother-in-law of Señor Maura, a former

Minister of the Colonies, who being now in opposition accused the Government of having sacrificed to the Ultra-Catholic party a functionary who had done his duty by preventing bloodshed on the occasion. The President of the Chamber, perceiving that the debate was likely to prove damaging to the Ministry, suddenly closed the sitting. On the following day it became known that the pilgrims had been received in solemn audience by the Pope, who had counselled them to obey the Government. This advice was not specially intended for the Carlists, but Señor Nocedal, the former leader of this party at Madrid, and editor of the *Siglofuturo*, expressed his readiness to submit to the order. The other newspapers, as a rule, protested against this attempt on the part of the Pope to intervene in purely secular matters, and sarcastically inquired why, on the strength of such principles, his Holiness did not make his peace with the Quirinal. The net result of the whole affair was to show that the Carlist party was not more united than the Conservatives or the Republicans or any other political group.

On the point, however, of maintaining intact the privileges of the Catholic Church in Spain, clericals of all shades of opinion were united. The proposal, therefore, to establish at Madrid a Protestant bishop threw the Catholics into a frenzy. The Senator Marquess Vadillo attempted to extract some information on the point from the Minister of the Interior, who carefully avoided committing himself by promising that the Government would investigate the question, and ascertain whether the proposed nomination was or was not contrary to the Constitution. Ultimately the Government decided not to interfere on the ground that liberty of worship was recognised by the Constitution, but this adoption of modern principles aroused violent protests in various parts of the country.

A few days later (May 4) the Ministry were lucky enough to secure an unexpected victory in the Senate, over their Protectionist opponents, whose amendment condemning the financial policy of the Government was rejected by 136 to 84 votes. In point of fact the debate was carried on upon personal rather than on political issues. The Ministerialists reproached Don Canovas with having promised during his premiership to accord to France the benefits of the "most favoured nation" clause; and although the ex-minister's counter proposals were defeated by large majorities, the Ministry speedily discovered that whilst they had offended the Conservatives and Protectionists at home they had not succeeded in conciliating their customers abroad. The German Government communicated through the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin, Don Mendez de Vigo, its determination not to prolong the *modus vivendi* beyond May 15, after which date imports from Spain into the Zollverein would be subjected to the general tariff. Señor Sagasta replied that he would leave to Germany the initiative of the rupture before applying measures of reciprocity to German products. The German

Ministry, however, was not to be cajoled, and on the date announced the general tariff came into force. The Spanish Cabinet calmly decided to push forward the Treaty of Commerce with Germany, which had been carefully elaborated; and in a debate (June 2), in which Señors Sagasta, Moret, Canovas, Silvela, and Gamazo all spoke, the Senate declared in favour of the ministerial policy, although they took no further steps to examine the terms of the treaties.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the interests which considered themselves threatened by this delay should make their views heard. The home bondholders and shareholders of the Spanish railways, owning railway stock valued at quite a milliard pesetas, held a meeting, at which it was decided to send a deputation to Don Canovas to expose their grievances, and to promise him an active support in his anti-ministerial campaign. This step was met by the Finance Minister, who forthwith (June 7) laid before the Cortes the Budget for the year 1894-5. He anticipated an expenditure of 769,000,000 pesetas, and a revenue of 744,500,000, showing a deficit of 24,500,000; but this gloomy forecast was lightened by the reassuring, though probably problematic, assertion that the result of the previous year would show a surplus. The chief feature of the new Budget was an arrangement with the Bank of Spain, under which, in return for a guarantee on the tobacco monopoly, the bank would advance 750,000,000 for the consolidation of the floating debt, which was to be represented by a funded debt with inscribed bonds.

The death of the Sultan of Morocco (June 11) seriously complicated the political and financial results obtained by Marshal Martinez Campos, and would have led to a ministerial crisis but for a vote of confidence passed in the Senate (June 15) by 127 to 72, in which the President of the Council was assured that he might reckon upon the support of the majority of that body and the confidence of the House. Notwithstanding this assurance the Ministry found themselves very shortly forced to make overtures to the leader of the Opposition for the discussion of the reports of the Railway Commission, for the separation of the special claims of Navarre from the general discussion of the Budget proposals, and for permission to negotiate a *modus vivendi* with foreign countries. There was at least a disposition on the part of the Government to push all these matters forward, but in fact no practical results were obtained, and the session closed (July 11) without the Budget having been passed. The Commercial Treaty with Germany, signed by the two Governments and ratified by the Reichstag, was still awaiting the action of the Spanish Senate, Señor Canovas's obstructive tactics having proved effective. Meanwhile the Budget arrangements of the preceding year held good, and the Government had to apply to the Bank of Spain for an advance of 75,000,000 pesetas to pay its current

expenses; the rate of exchange rose to 21·58; the issue of bank notes exceeded 940,000,000, and the cost of food and the necessaries of life was steadily rising.

The wanderings of Don Jaime de Bourbon in various parts of Spain furnished materials for more amusement than anxiety during the recess. The Ministry very wisely allowed the Prince to visit, under a very transparent *incognito*, the principal centres of the Carlist party. On the other hand their treatment of the *infante* Don Francisco was summary. When returning from the Philippines his father, Don Enrique, Duke of Seville, was seized with illness and died (July 17) on the voyage. His son, who held the post of General of Division in the Spanish Army, thereupon caused to be inserted in the leading Spanish newspapers a protest against the claims of the Comte de Paris to be regarded as chief of the royal house of France. On the death of the latter, a few weeks later, Don Francisco renewed his protest; for which infraction of the military order, in writing to a newspaper without permission, he was placed under arrest by the Minister of War. Further proceedings were also instituted, and in the end the young Pretender wrote a letter in which, whilst assuming the title of Duc d'Anjou, he declared his firm intention of respecting the French Republic and serving the Queen of Spain.

The elections for the partial renewal of the provincial juntas (Sept. 9) resulted, as usual, in the general success of the ministerial candidates, rendered all the more easy on this occasion by the abstention of the dissident Conservatives, who followed Señors Silvela and Villaverde, and by the collapse of the Republican Federalists, even in the large towns. The Carlists made an even poorer show, divided as they were in three rival camps. The old Carlists ranged themselves under the leadership of the Senator Marquess de Cerralbo, whose only claims were his noble title and vast estates; the Ultra-Catholics or *Integristos* followed Don de Nocedal; whilst the younger and more militant group claimed Don Jaime as their chief. The rank and file of the party were numerous and united, but devoted to a cause of which the aims and doctrines of the leaders were incoherent or out of date.

The parliamentary recess after all was not to be brought to an end without the ministerial crisis, so often announced and as frequently postponed. It was brought about at last (Oct. 30) by the resignation of Señor Moret, who was regarded as the scapegoat of the Protectionist group represented by Señor Gamazo. After a week's negotiations, the new Cabinet was reconstituted under Señor Sagasta. Señor Groizard became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the place of Señor Moret; Señor Maura took over the portfolio of Grace and Justice, which Señor Capdebon exchanged for that of the Interior; Señor Puigcerver became Minister of the Fomento; and Señor Abarzuza, one of Castelar's lieutenants, was made Colonial Minister.

On the reassembling of the Cortes (Nov. 12) the Marquess Vega de Armijo was re-elected President of the Chamber without opposition by 223 votes, but the balloting for the Vice-President and Secretaries revealed a total want of discipline in the Liberal party. In the Senate, Señor Montero Ríos succeeded to the presidency without contest, the Marquess de la Habana having voluntarily resigned.

The first business of the session was an interpellation by the Marquess de Vadillo on the subject of the consecration of an Anglican Church in Madrid, from which the Ministry extricated itself without difficulty, urging the Deputies to pass on to more serious matters. The Minister of Finance lost no time in preparing the appointment of a Customs Commission of twenty-four members, of whom twelve were Liberals, six Conservatives, and six representatives of the Producers' League. Pending the presentation of their report, Señor Abarzuza claimed from the Conservatives a truce, to enable him to draw up a scheme of reforms for Cuba, which would satisfy the more reasonable section of the islanders without compromising the authority of the mother country. The Republicans, however, would not forgive the new Minister of the Colonies for what they called his treason, and Señor Salmeron attacked him in such unmeasured terms that a duel seemed inevitable. When, however, it came to the point, Señor Salmeron's seconds maintained that their principal had in no way overstepped his rights in judging, as a politician, the political acts of the Republican Possibilists, who had rallied to the Monarchy. The minister thereupon expressed his wish to resign, but on this point he allowed himself to be over-persuaded by Señor Sagasta and Don Armijo de la Vega.

A few days later (Dec. 3) Señor Mella having in a speech declared the incompatibility of the Democratic and Monarchical principles, Señor Abarzuza found himself once more brought to bay, and whilst defending his friend, Don Emilio Castelar, who had also been violently attacked, had the imprudence to say that the Monarchy was an accident. The word in the mouth of a minister of the Queen was singularly ill-placed, and at once gave rise to a violent scene, which was subsequently (Dec. 6) renewed when the Republicans put forward a manifesto in favour of revolution.

Whilst the Federalists, the Centralists and Progressists were noisily agitating in the Chamber, the Conservatives were silently plotting in the corridors the overthrow of the financial projects of the Government. The first move in the game was a resolution put forward (Dec. 14) in the Chamber by the Protectionists, pledging the Government to an increase of the Customs duties on industrial products and foreign wool. This was carried by 82 to 48 votes, and as it struck at the very essence of the Budget, Señor Amos Salvador, the Minister of Finance, at once resigned. All efforts to induce him to re-



consider his determination were without avail, but a crisis was avoided by the acceptance of the portfolio by Señor Cassalejas, a former Minister of Justice. His first step was to appeal to the patriotism of the Opposition for a truce. As evidence of his sincere wish to come to an understanding, Señor Sagasta exclaimed in the Chamber: "There are no longer any free traders! We differ from the Conservatives only as to the degree of protection to be given." The practical application of these views was fraught with no small danger. The Customs department, allowing an absolutely free hand at the frontiers—land and sea—to their agents, who were unable to temper their zeal with discretion, promptly subjected the country to a Customs blockade. Commercial travellers, conveying their samples from town to town, were arrested and imprisoned on charges of fraud. Fanciful charges were levied, and fantastic difficulties raised, but the Cortes took no notice, and the Government declined to interfere. As in France and Italy, Spain found the year closing without the Budget having been voted. On all sides it was admitted that the original scheme was impracticable, but when it was a question of forming an alternative, this unanimity disappeared; and in Spain as elsewhere the country had to be satisfied with a provisional arrangement.

#### V. PORTUGAL.

At the very commencement of the year the Government took in hand two measures, one of which was to bring it into difficulties with the foreign Powers, and the other with the commercial class of the capital. An edict was issued (Jan. 5) regulating the liquidation of the Portuguese railway companies on terms which the foreign bondholders deemed wholly inadequate, and a few days later a serious addition to the tax on trading rights nearly brought about a revolution in Lisbon. The traders closed their shops and warehouses, petitions were got up and demonstrations were organised. The Government at first attempted to take a high hand, and issued (Jan. 31) a proclamation dissolving various commercial associations on the ground that they had overstepped the legal limits of their statutes in agitating by illegal means for the abrogation of a State law.

The same day the Minister of Marine gave orders to the Lisbon Geographical Society to suspend the discussion of the frontiers of Manicaland as prejudicial to the interests of the State. This policy, however, was not persisted in, for the President of the Council, apparently satisfied with having asserted his views, received the delegates of the merchants and manufacturers (Feb. 2), and expressed his readiness to come to terms, and ultimately consented to the new trading licences being revised in a more liberal spirit. With reference to the

railway question, a delegate was despatched to Paris, and the French Government used its influence in bringing about an understanding between the Portuguese debtors and their French creditors.

Whilst these negotiations were still in progress the electoral campaign opened throughout the country, and after the usual period allotted to canvassing and public speaking, the electors were called upon (April 15) to record their votes. The results showed no striking peculiarities. At Oporto the Republican leaders had advised their friends to abstain from taking any part in the election, as the guarantees of freedom and fair play were absolutely wanting, and as the ballot boxes showed that the Opposition, in nearly all cases, polled only a legal minimum. Nevertheless, at Pombal and at Thomar, Count Henry Burnay and his brother, Dr. Edward Burnay, were elected in spite of Government influence; and at Lisbon and in several large towns disorders took place wherever it seemed advisable to the Government authorities to stir them up.

A bakers' strike (June 2) at one time threatened the equanimity of Lisbon householders of all classes and opinions, but its real cause was the imposition of licences on a trade which had hitherto been exempt. By a singular contradiction the Government, having first given rise to the strike, did its utmost to prolong it, whilst moderating its effects by causing the citizens to be provided with bread from the military bakehouses. A month later (July 19) the troops, acting under orders, came to blows with the agriculturists of the province of Beira, who had disagreed with the agents of the Government Tobacco Company, and in the struggle which ensued several lives were lost.

In its dealings with the press the Government showed similar severity and want of judgment. A Brazilian journalist, Senhor Souza Carneiro, the proprietor of a Republican newspaper, *A Voz Publicas de Porto*, was expelled from Portugal on no specific charge but for the general tone of his opinions. Still more astounding was the summary expulsion of Señor Salmeron, a Spanish statesman of repute, who was arrested on a pleasure steamer in the Tagus and sent back to his own country.

The Cortes, which had been enjoying a long holiday, was at length (Oct. 1) opened by the King in an optimist speech, so far as concerned the financial position of the country, but singularly ill-judged in other respects. Alluding to the conduct of certain Portuguese commanders whose ships had been stationed in the bay of Rio de Janeiro during the revolution, and who had at its close acted with great humanity towards the rebels, the King referred in his speech to these acts as contrary to the laws of strict neutrality. Several officers of the fleet, deeply wounded by this reflection on their conduct, met at the Royal Naval Club to draw up a protest addressed to

the country. The police heard of this manifesto when it was too late to stop or to seize it. The matter came before the Cortes, and at one moment it was thought that the Minister of Marine would be forced to resign. This, however, was avoided by the help of a vote of confidence passed in the Senate (Oct. 20) by a majority of 59 votes. In the Lower Chamber the matter had not passed off so peaceably, and successive sittings having resulted in nothing but turmoil and disorder, it was found necessary to insert in the official gazette a new rule of the Chamber, by which its proceedings were subjected to a much more severe discipline and the retribution of the members made dependent on their good behaviour.

#### VI. DENMARK.

The year 1894 will for a long time to come be remembered as a red-letter year in the recent political history of Denmark, for during its course once again a regular Budget was voted by both Chambers. For upwards of ten years political strife between parties and classes had been so keen that the Lower House had absolutely refused to grant supply for the King's Government. The most powerful leaders of the Opposition had ostentatiously declared that the Folkething should never vote a penny to M. Estrup's Ministry, and yet it came to pass that at the last a Budget was duly voted by the same Folkething and to the same M. Estrup. Although this result could not be foreseen, within a few days of its realisation, when Parliament assembled after the Christmas recess, the negotiations between the Conservatives and the Moderate Left were resumed. These negotiations were rather personal endeavours on the part of quite a few of the leading men of each party to bring about a reconciliation, which would again set the constitutional machinery working, but it could not be said that the rank and file of the respective parties, more especially those of the Moderate Left, altogether sympathised with the movement, or realised its vital importance to the country. Had the session 1893-4 terminated without a compromise, years would have had to pass before there would have been the slightest hope of again bringing the two parties so near to an understanding. The House had only been assembled a few days, when it took up the second reading of the Budget, which was got through in the comparatively short time of eleven sittings. Serious differences obviously still existed between the two parties wishful for useful legislation, but there were distinct signs that some of the Moderate Left had serious intentions to bring about an understanding. Although, doubtless, the Premier, M. Estrup, desired a compromise, he could not be accused, even by his bitterest opponents, of in any way "flirting" with the Moderate section of the Opposition, for just at this period he introduced his bill for the higher taxation of corn-brandy. He knew

that a great many members of the Moderate Left were supposed to view this measure with but little favour, but throughout the whole of this protracted struggle he had kept the same straight, uncompromising course, and never had sacrificed either principles or dignity to the desire for office or power.

At the beginning of the previous year, and even earlier, when negotiations had been more or less sincerely set on foot, the advocates of a compromise had recognised the necessity of removing some of the most serious stumbling-blocks in the way of future co-operation between the Right and the Moderate Left. It thus happened that the passing of the Budget was not followed and neutralised by a fresh discussion, which would have left matters in the former state of confusion. The vote for the completion of the Copenhagen fortifications was likely to prove a veritable apple of discord. M. Boisen, the leading "conciliator" among the Moderate Left, and General Thomsen, as the spokesman of the Conservatives, therefore set themselves to frame together a new bill, which would deal with several military matters, about which there were divergent opinions between the two negotiating parties. At the same time as the fortifications of Copenhagen, which had always been the most irritating outcome of the "provisionary" period, were to receive the legal sanction, albeit a somewhat negative one, of the Folkething, savings had to be effected in other directions. It was, therefore, thought expedient that the gendarmes, a kind of military police force instituted by the Government, should be disbanded. The Moderate Left, knowing that they would be upbraided by their former Radical colleagues, demanded some form of guarantee from the Government, that in case of fresh disagreements between the two Houses as to the Budget, recourse should not be had to the "provisional" system. They wished to make sure that their labours, which might evoke a storm of derision, and might jeopardise their seats, were not wasted; and this could not be better effected than by obtaining some surety that the provisional era was closed in earnest. The time had, however, not yet come for making the requisite constitutional amendments, and it was agreed to pass formal resolutions in both Houses in this sense. Under the circumstances, it was considered sufficient that the two Houses reserved their position towards the provisional laws of the Government, a solution considered, not only an ingenious method of getting over the immediate difficulties, but likely to prove an adequate arrangement for the future. The resolutions also contained other clauses tending to make provisional Budgets a thing of the past.

On the eve of the very last day (March 31) on which a compromise for passing a Budget could be effected, the Radical Left suffered a decisive defeat at the election of Town Councillors in Copenhagen, thus strengthening the hands of the peacemakers. Nor was this unnecessary, for a considerable section of the

“negotiating” Moderate Left, about one-third of the party, when it came to the point, refused to follow their leader, M. Boisen, a decision which did not make his difficult position any easier. With the opening, however, of the new financial year (April 1) the reconciliation was a foregone conclusion. During a protracted and highly interesting sitting the standpoints of the various leaders were very clearly defined. The Radicals and fifteen of the forty Moderate Left coalesced, several of their most prominent members in loud tones visiting their anger and disappointment upon the “traitors.” Whilst party feelings ran high the ministers—M. Estrup and M. Bahnson, the War Minister—made their short statements in the Lower House with the utmost unconcern, and it would have been impossible, from their commonplace and indifferent utterances, to gather that they were recording the honourable termination of a decade of unprecedented political strife. M. Estrup and his colleagues, it was admitted, had come off with flying colours; and although in the Lower House the Prime Minister made no allusion to his possible retirement from office, in the Upper House, the Landsting, where he had always had a strong majority, he told his friends that if the new order of things created that day proved capable of working satisfactorily he might consider himself justified in relinquishing his fatiguing post in order to enjoy the rest he was longing for. The Budget was thereupon voted in the Lower House by 54 to 44 votes, and in the Upper House by 47 to 8 votes. Parliament remained sitting for another month, and, thanks to the joint efforts of the Right and the twenty-five Moderate Left—whom the Radicals dubbed the “New Right”—several useful railway bills were passed, although the various sections of the Opposition, which the common cause brought closer together, did all in their power to stop any legislation. The termination of the protracted and futile strife between the Government and the Right on the one side and the more advanced portion of the Left on the other, was generally hailed with satisfaction. The rights of the Crown and the equality of the two Houses had been maintained, and great credit was due to the firm, yet patient, manner in which M. Estrup for nineteen years had wielded almost absolute power. On the other hand, a struggle of such duration and bitterness was not without a demoralising effect upon the political interests and instincts of the nation, and caused a weariness of and distaste for politics, which, however natural, was not the less to be regretted.

A fairly quiet and uneventful summer followed upon the excitement of the spring. Now that the main issue of many weary years had been disposed of, secondary questions obtained their share of consideration. Foremost amongst these was the agrarian movement, which at one time had somewhat aggressively pushed itself to the front to the annoyance of the towns and their special interests. But here again a conciliatory spirit

had prevailed, and the rivalry between the town and country parties had been softened.

In the beginning of August M. Estrup, the Premier and Minister of Finance, General Bahnson, War Minister, and M. Gaas, Church Minister, resigned, the other members of the Estrup Ministry retaining their offices. Baron Reedtz-Thott, Minister for Foreign Affairs, a large landed proprietor but no prominent politician, took over the Premiership; M. Lüttichan, also a large landed proprietor, was appointed Minister of Finance, and M. Bardenfleth, Church Minister. The Ministry was as genuinely Conservative as ever, and what hopes the leaders of the "negotiating" Moderate Left may have entertained of coming into office, were disappointed. M. Estrup remained plain M. Estrup, but he was elevated to the highest degree of rank possible for a subject to hold; General Bahnson was subsequently made Commander-in-Chief, and M. Gaas obtained a title and one or two well-paid posts.

When Parliament re-assembled (Oct. 1), although some new members had been elected for the Landsting, no change in the position of the parties had taken place since the prorogation in May. The former President of the Upper House, M. Liebe, resigned his post, and in his place a fervent Conservative, and at one time one of the most prominent leaders of the Right, was elected. Some important legislative work was got through, thanks to the continued co-operation of the Conservatives and the Moderate Left. The measure which gave rise to the greatest stir was a bill purporting to add twelve new seats to the Folkething, six for Copenhagen and suburbs and six for the provinces. The bill, which the Opposition loudly denounced as unduly favouring the Government, was, however, ultimately passed, but it caused the President of the Lower House, M. Högsbro, to resign, and with him the two Vice-Presidents. M. Clausen of the Moderate Left was elected President, and a Conservative and a Moderate Left, Vice-Presidents. Another important bill, also carried by the joint efforts of the Right and the Moderate Left, was an act authorising the Government to convert a portion of the National Debt, whereby the rate of interest was to be reduced in numerous cases. The passing of this bill caused a marked and almost universal rise in stocks and shares. Finally, the first reading of the Budget was got through in the Lower House before Christmas. With this legislative record it was only natural that at the meeting in December of Conservative delegates from various parts of the country, entire confidence was expressed in the Ministry.

Of non-political events may be mentioned the silver wedding of the Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark, which was solemnised with much enthusiasm in Copenhagen (July 28), the festivities extending over several days, numerous foreign Princes being present.

In the beginning of November the large harbour of Copen-

hagen was opened as a free port, although not wholly completed, but the inaugural festivities were abandoned on account of the death of the Emperor of Russia.

#### VII. NORWAY.

There are few European countries, if any, in which political feeling may run higher than in Norway. This has been so for a series of years, even if the strong current of party strife and agitation has at times subsided. The year 1894 will bear comparison with some of its most agitated predecessors, and was more pregnant with future events of the gravest importance than most of them. During its course a general election took place, and the Storthing which was its outcome will be called upon to deal, more or less definitely, with some of the most delicate points of the conflict between Norway and Sweden, differences which have been kept open year after year, although they undoubtedly, in the interests of the common weal, demanded an early settlement.

The Storthing had, as usual, a very long session, and even then it was difficult to bring proceedings to an end on the appointed day (July 25), it having even been hinted that the forty-third ordinary Storthing would sit to the last day of its existence.

The session was a continuous conflict between the Radical majority and the Government, with its Conservative and a few Moderate Liberal supporters. The former showed itself even more tenacious than usual, and in its excessive zeal to uphold the dignity of the party, it more than once obtained the opposite result. One of the first occasions was the professorship vacant by the death of Bishop Bugge being published as vacant, although the Storthing in the previous year had requested the Government not to appoint any future professors without first laying the matter before Parliament. It was, therefore, proposed by Dr. Eng that the salary of the professorship in question should be withdrawn. The Government replied by appointing Dr. Odland on the following day to the vacant professorship, so that when Dr. Eng's motion came on for discussion, the bone of contention was already out of the way. The Radical party had, therefore, no other course left than to request the Government to forward all the documents in this matter to the Storthing, where they would remain, with many others, until the day came when the Radicals, commanding a sufficient majority, could institute a prosecution before the "Rigsræt," the supreme constitutional court.

Although the President was in favour of the debate upon the speech from the throne being taken before several legislative measures of a more practical nature, he found means to compromise the matter by holding over some smaller matters. On the other hand, the important railway bills, which had

stood over from the previous session, were to be dealt with before the House entered upon the heated party debate to which the speech from the throne was bound to give rise. Herr Ullmann's policy in this matter was scarcely successful. His course of action afforded another illustration of a current saying, that even a Radical party, at times, preferred useful legislation to high-sounding protestation, if only their leaders could restrain their love of declamation. Thus the railway bills, which were the outcome of a compromise between the interests of various parts of the country, were duly passed, with the support of both the Government and Opposition. These bills involved the construction of a number of expensive works on the main lines and on numerous branches and sidings; and thereby did much to put an end to the comparative stagnation which had existed in Norwegian railway building for a good many years, although the schemes did not comprise a complete solution of the Christiania-Bergen railway problem.

The debate on the speech from the throne, although occupying three days (March 8-10), dealt only with practical and non-contentious points. The discussion consequently turned rather upon what the speech omitted than upon what it contained. The chief question thus raised was whether a joint Minister for Foreign Affairs was responsible to both the Parliaments of the United Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. The Government, with a natural and well-advised discretion, declined to discuss the question at any length. The debate turned chiefly upon the existing necessity for mutual concessions and prolonged negotiations, when disagreements arose between the two countries, a situation against which the Radicals of Norway had all along protested. At the same time it was made equally manifest as the debate proceeded that the Radicals were unable to suggest any satisfactory way of solving those differences, which might, and were bound to, arise between Norway and Sweden, supposing each to be represented by a separate Foreign Minister, except by the dissolution of the union.

On the other hand, the Liberals had for a long time, in plain language and in print, explained what they wanted and how the difficulty could be solved. They asserted that it was the Conservatives who had entirely failed to show how they proposed to solve the question. The renewed assertion that a separate Foreign Ministry for each country would lead to the dissolution of the union was declared to be an echo of the old cry of the reactionaries.

The Radicals, it must be admitted, were, according to some of their organs, prepared to accept this solution without dismay or even regret. In this they were giving only formal endorsement to the anti-unionistic utterances to which their leaders had at various times given vent. The Storthing, as the session progressed, showed no eager desire to



address itself to the despatch of business, the majority too often displaying a determination to discuss projects, from a political point of view, and to use its power only for party purposes. Thus these sturdy politicians would wrangle over the merest trifles for hours, and dispose of far more important matters in as many minutes. This also applied to the discussion of the Estimates, when it was shown in the most unmistakable manner that financial, or, perhaps, more correctly, economical considerations had very little to do with the bulk of the decisions arrived at. Moreover, while the Exchequer was, on the one hand, deprived of certain sources of income, the expenditure was being increased. This state of affairs doubtless arose in connection with the working of the direct taxation. By gradually raising the minimum taxable income, the burden of taxation was by degrees being transferred to the well-to-do but numerically smaller class of the community, for whom the Radical majority had but scanty regard. On the other hand, as benefits were extended in one shape or another to the masses, expenditure increased at a rapid rate.

The consular question did again, for the third time, excellent service as a lever for extreme party orations and demonstrations. A special committee, consisting exclusively of Radicals, superseded the constitutional committee in dealing with this matter, and with the assistance of experts a scheme was formed for the constitution and cost of a separate consular staff for Norway. This Budget was speedily passed by 63 to 48 votes, funds for the joint Norwegian-Swedish consuls being voted only up to the end of the year. From the beginning of 1895 the grant was to apply to separate Norwegian consuls only. Along with the consular question came the diplomatic vote, and this again offered a welcome occasion for the Radical majority to demonstrate their hostility against Sweden. The vote for the foreign representation was made dependent upon the diplomatic representation in Vienna ceasing to be a joint Norwegian-Swedish representation as hitherto, and becoming a purely Swedish affair. These tactics of the Radicals were obviously intended to get in the thin end of the wedge. They argued that if only the principle of separation could be gained on one point it might, in due course, be extended so as to have a far wider application. On the whole, the proceedings of the majority in the Storting during the year were not an edifying spectacle. National patriotism seemed often a hollow pretence, thinly disguising personal and party interests or feeling of the narrowest jealousy. The leaders of the Radical party gave too frequent evidence of an overbearing spirit, both in their dealings with political opponents and also with their Sovereign. On the other hand, the Government and their supporters showed a considerable amount of both patience and tact. M. Stang, acting up to his intention, expressed when he took over the Government at a critical point and under anything

but enviable circumstances, had carried on the business of the nation in an unostentatious or even neutral spirit, pending the results of the general election. Without giving avoidable offence to the majority, he quietly pursued his course, doing his best to uphold the dignity of his country and of the King, supported by the full confidence of his political followers, and held in due appreciation by a large portion of the Swedish nation. M. Stang's Government, formed in the spring of the previous year, was only meant to be a kind of brake upon what threatened to become a revolutionary movement, a stop-gap intended to give the nation time to seriously and deliberately consider the momentous issues before the general election, the Norwegian Constitution not allowing a dissolution of Parliament outside the regular triennial period.

Prior to the general election, which lasted from the beginning of August till the end of November, vigorous agitation was kept up throughout the country, and the nearer the elections were at hand, the greater was the activity of the opposing parties. In the programme of both parties the question of the Union occupied the foremost place, and until this was settled one way or another ordinary legislative work could have but a slight chance of attracting attention or securing votes. The Conservatives claimed for Norway full equality within the Union, with a joint Minister for Foreign Affairs, constitutionally responsible to both countries, the Foreign Minister to be either Norwegian or Swedish; and they expressed a desire for friendly relations with the sister kingdom. The Radicals, on the other hand, put in the foreground the demand for a separate Norwegian consular and diplomatic service. In other matters both parties relied upon their usual well-known and well-worn electioneering cries, universal suffrage being conspicuous in that of the Radicals, and this, as the result showed, on the whole, was more popular than the Conservatives anticipated.

The result of the election was undoubtedly a disappointment for both parties. The Radicals saw their majority reduced, and the Conservatives lost Christiania, the capital of the country. In the new Storting there were fifty-nine Radicals against fifty-five Conservatives and Moderates, whilst the respective strength in the former Storting had been sixty-four Radicals against fifty Conservatives and Moderates. The victory in Christiania was a great triumph for the Radicals, and had no doubt a great effect upon their supporters, who were exceedingly enthusiastic on the occasion, M. Steen, the Radical leader, being honoured in various ways. Bjørnstjerne Björnson, who had been abroad for some considerable time, and who had taken no part in the campaign, telegraphed home "that now Norway had obtained a capital." In Throndhjem the Radicals too scored a victory, various minor circumstances being in their favour in both places. In the rural districts, on the other

hand, the Conservatives showed a considerably strengthened position. The number of votes recorded throughout the country was almost completely balanced between the two parties. In the towns the Socialist votes served to swell the Radical returns, whilst in the country the well-to-do classes began to show signs of fear at the extreme views propagated by the Radical leaders.

The result of the general election did not bring about the immediate resignation of the Stang Ministry, as had probably been looked for by its opponents; the Cabinet deciding to wait till the new Storting met, and in this respect they acted in full accordance with their supporters. The fact of parties in Norway being so evenly balanced would, it was felt, materially strengthen the hand of King Oscar, who had throughout displayed considerable firmness in dealing with the Norwegian crisis.

#### VIII. SWEDEN.

The year 1894, as far as Sweden was concerned, was quiet and uneventful, almost a year of stagnation, which left things pretty much as it found them. The Parliament, which met early, had been only recently elected, and the session was consequently the first of the triennial period. Its construction did not materially differ from that of its predecessor. The old Landtmauna party had not fared particularly well at the elections in the autumn, although their programme embodied the tempting words "economy and reform." These may have attracted a few odd votes, but not sufficient to bring over the fourth district of Stockholm, which went over partly to the United Protectionists and partly to the "Right" Free Traders. The Gothenburg elections were in favour of the more moderate candidates, and there was a distinct tendency on the part of the more moderate town representatives to part company with their former Radical colleagues. The rallying point of the various parties was to a great extent to be found in the tariff question, which in Sweden had for years been kept well to the front, although it seemed exceedingly difficult to introduce that stability of views among either Protectionists or Free Traders which in other European countries was considered essential. The farming and the industrial interests were to be found during the year approaching each other with the view of bringing about an increase in the duties on grain, and the repeal of the existing Tariff Act between Norway and Sweden. As a natural result, both farming and industrial interests somewhat withdrew themselves from the Liberal movement, both groups being desirous of seeing the burden of duty shifted from their own to others' shoulders; or, more correctly, each desired a revision of the tariff in its favour to make up for that depression from which both interests were suffering. The

consumers who would have to suffer from such revision were those that formed the bulk of the Liberal party, but Liberals to a great extent without votes. The Liberal leaders, therefore, were compelled to make more distinct advances towards those Conservative Free Traders, with whom some co-operation might be possible, than would otherwise have been the case. Notwithstanding, however, the caution and reticence displayed by the Liberals in their dealings with the Free Traders, the farmers were apparently drawn in the Conservative direction, looking upon the grain duties as the guarantee of their profit.

The Protectionists, on their side, were not without their alarms. A serious divergence momentarily arose in their midst with reference to these grain duties. On account of the heavy fall in prices a numerous group, comprising several members of the Second Chamber, urged that the corn duties of 1892, which had been much reduced on account of what did not prove a lasting change of the market, should be abandoned, and those of 1888 be again adopted. On the other hand, other Protectionists, principally in the First Chamber, considered the proposed rise of the corn duties neither adequate nor the time expedient. This view was also held by the Protectionist representatives in one or two committees in the Second Chamber, who recommended letting things remain as they were. The Government, finally, adopted this view, calling attention to the truce which had been concluded in the "Urtima" Parliament in the previous year: the motion that no alterations should be made at present was carried in the Upper House by 84 against 44 votes, and in the Lower House by 137 against 62 votes. Prices for grain continued, however, to fall, and later on in the year the agitation was resumed in the country districts amongst the agricultural classes to induce the Government to impose increased protective duties. The Government was further urged to take advantage of the powers conferred by Article 60 of the Constitution to revise the duty on their own discretion. Although unwilling to put their full powers to the test, the Government adhered to the opinion expressed by them in the Riksdag, and they evidently did not want to further unsettle the tariff question nor to take a step which would be in distinct opposition to the recently expressed will of the Parliament. Moreover, a step of this nature would not have failed to give fresh impetus to the "tariff war," and might have created a precedent which would not have been unlikely to give rise to great financial trouble, should, at a future time, prices be materially altered. The Free Traders might then, with a fair amount of reason, have asked for a special session in order to reduce the duties, and such changes could not fail to adversely affect the Budget.

The purchase by the State of the West Coast Railway was decided upon by 182 votes against 168, but the plan to acquire also two or three private lines in connection with the West

Coast Railway was for the time abandoned. A vote was passed for the building of a fourth ironclad, of which the cost was to be extended over five years. Amongst the bills passed, upon which the Finance Minister relied for additional revenue, the most important was one dealing with the death duties, based upon a graduated scale of rates. The stamp duties were also increased. The Riksdag definitely passed the bill fixing the number of the members, by which the rights of the larger towns were curtailed. The old Landtmanna party remained faithful to their traditions on this question, which for some four or five years had been constantly under discussion. At the same time both Chambers requested the Government to lay before the Riksdag a measure limiting the municipal suffrage.

Baron F. von Essen, the Minister of Finance, having been appointed Riksmarskalk—Marshal of the Kingdom—on the death of Baron Bildt, the Premier, M. Boström, himself took over the Finance Ministry.

Before the session closed, a committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the important question of free harbours, for the construction of which there was a strong feeling in several of the larger towns, more especially Gothenburg, Malmö, and Stockholm. The question of accidental insurance of workmen and kindred matters were also the subjects of careful investigation by committees.

During the year the agrarian movement made very decided progress in Sweden. The farmers in many districts showed a tendency to co-operate in order to more efficiently protect their own interests, by the help of beneficial legislative measures and otherwise. The movement was, however, principally made with a view of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government in the tariff question, but its power to effect this was not exhibited.

With regard to the strained relations between Sweden and Norway, which for some years past had attracted the greatest attention, nothing happened during the year to reduce the interest with which a large and increasing portion of the Swedish nation regarded the course of events. The "Norwegian" movement in Norway, backed up, as it was, by the Left and Radicals, could not be viewed with sympathy in the "sister country," where even a large portion of the Liberals sided with the Norwegian Conservatives. An incident quite early in the year illustrated the irritability existing between the two nations. Norway had during the previous year prohibited the importation into that country of Swedish cattle on account of some cattle disease, and this prohibition was maintained although there had been no fresh cases in Sweden for over six months. The Civil Minister therefore caused (Jan. 8) an entry to be made in the records of the Council of State, that Norway was not justified in maintaining this state of affairs, which was in distinct contradiction to the spirit and intention of the "Mellanriks" law,

regulating the tariff and other relations between the two countries. This was communicated to the Norwegian Government, which, although maintaining the correctness of its standpoint, was gradually compelled to withdraw the prohibition. The growing dissatisfaction in Sweden showed itself in the introduction into the Riksdag of a proposal to the effect that the "Mellanriks" law should terminate. Parliament, however, was not prepared to go to this length, and restricted itself to asking the Government to have the matter fully investigated and reported upon, so that the drawbacks of the act might be remedied. In consequence of this the Government requested all local authorities and the managers of industries affected to forward all obtainable information bearing upon this matter, with their several views and suggestions. A vast amount of useful information was thus collected exposing numerous abuses in the regulations as well as the working of the "Mellanriks" law from a Swedish point of view.

The proceedings of the Norwegian Storting, the Radical or National majority of which was distinctly hostile to Sweden, could not fail to hurt and offend Swedish national feeling. The resolutions passed in the Storting about the middle of July, by a majority of 15, were the most striking outcome of Norwegian Radicalism, and were intended to deal a direct blow at the union between the two countries. One resolution limited the vote for the salaries and expenses of the consuls of the two countries to the last half of the current year, whilst the grant from the beginning of 1895 was to apply only to separate and independent Norwegian consuls. The other resolution was in the same anti-unionistic spirit, making the grant of the Norwegian diplomatic vote conditional upon the diplomatic representation at the Austrian Court being discontinued, as far as Norway was concerned. The financial difficulty of the matter, as regarded Sweden, was got over by the issue of the diplomatic expenditure from the Treasury, under a decree from the King. The same course would probably be pursued with the consular expenses, the King having distinctly stated that the consular question was a unionistic one, which must be dealt with by both countries in conjunction. This high-handed action of the Norwegian Parliamentary majority caused much bitterness among almost all classes in Sweden, which were more united than probably ever before in this matter.

The opening by the King of the last section of the North Trunk State Railway, as far as Boden, was an event of great importance to Swedish industry and commerce, and a satisfactory completion of a large system of railway lines, which had been in course of construction for some two or three decades, entailing very heavy outlays. The line now completed was also one of considerable strategical importance.

## CHAPTER V.

## ASIA.

## I. INDIA, ETC.

*Afghanistan.*—Early in the year, an invitation from Queen Victoria was conveyed to Cabul through Sir T. Salter Pyne, asking the Ameer Abdurrahman to visit London. In May the Ameer issued a proclamation to his people, announcing his intention of making the journey, but no time was mentioned. Rumours of the serious illness of the Ameer, with reports of his death, came in October, and caused anxiety. It was said that Sir George White, Commander-in-Chief in India, postponed his intended tour of inspection on account of the bad news; but later it was known that the Ameer was still living, and that the alarming symptoms, due to gouty complications, were subsiding. He had notified his nobles and generals that they must support Habibullah, his eldest son, as successor to the throne. The Ameer's relative, Ishak Khan, who was defeated in 1888, and fled from Afghanistan, and since then has received an annual pension from the Russian Government of 12,000 roubles, might possibly become a claimant in the event of Abdurrahman's death.

An unofficial visit was made to the Ameer by Mr. George Curzon, M.P., in December, when on his way to India, and his reception was very cordial. The Ameer sent a detachment of soldiers to meet him outside Cabul and to escort him to the city, and he was treated with great hospitality. He had several interviews with the Ameer.

Boundary settlements were proceeding. The commission arranged for under the agreement with Sir Mortimer Durand last year to demarcate the boundary in the Kunar and Bajaur regions, left Peshawur early in December. The demarcation on the Afghan-Beluchistan border was approaching completion at that time.

The delimitation of the Waziristan boundary led to trouble and loss of life. A strong escort of about 5,000 men was deemed necessary to support the political officer, as the Waziris have of late years been hostile at times. Troops, under Colonel Turner, were concentrated at Dera Ismail Khan on October 1, *viz.*, a squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, a Peshawur mountain battery, a company of sappers of the 3rd Sikhs, and the first battalion of the 1st Goorkhas. A reserve brigade was also formed, consisting of artillery, cavalry and infantry. The troops had advanced, and were in camp at Wano when the Waziris, early on November 3, made a desperate attack and stormed the camp under cover of the darkness. Dividing their force into three bodies, which simultaneously attacked left flank, left rear and front, they advanced as closely as possible

to the British lines, and then their swordsmen dashed straight into the camp, covered by a heavy fire from the remainder of their force. The brunt of the fighting fell on the Goorkhas, who, encouraged by the splendid example of their officers, literally fought their way to their posts, and being once formed, rapidly cleared the camp. Meanwhile, however, the enemy, rushing upon the left rear, penetrated the field hospital and commissariat and cavalry lines, hamstringing some hundreds of mules and trying to stampe the horses. It was while endeavouring to repel this attack that Lieutenant Macaulay, R.E., was cut down by a noted Ghazi and mortally wounded. The ultimate repulse of the enemy was largely due to Lieutenant Ballantyne, who quickly restored order.

The attack began at 5.36 A.M. At 6.15, however, it was already seen that the enemy's efforts were slackening, and the commanding officer ordered the cavalry, mounted infantry and guns to prepare for pursuit. A quarter of an hour later the cavalry left the camp by the right flank, and sweeping round, barred the tribesmen's retreat to the Tiasa Pass, and then pursued the flying Mahsuds towards Inzar. The infantry took up the pursuit to Inzar Kotal and utterly scattered the enemy, of whom at least 350 were killed.

The British loss was heavy. Lieutenant Angelo and Lieutenant Herbert were shot while gallantly exhorting their men to get into position, and Lieutenant Hornby was cut down while assisting the camp followers. Notwithstanding his wound, however, he subsequently joined the Goorkhas and rendered valuable assistance. Surgeon-Major Haig received a sword cut on the arm. The total British casualties amounted to forty-five killed and seventy-five wounded.

The Waziri chiefs were allowed time to make satisfaction for their attack, and they asked for an extension to Dec. 12, but in the meantime large numbers of tribesmen were concentrating for another onslaught. The Waziris finally refused to comply with the terms exacted by the Indian Government, and Sir William Lockhart with the reserves was ordered to advance to carry out the demarcation of Waziristan and to get reparation. Three columns made a simultaneous advance into the Mahsud country—one for Kunigaram, the second for Makin, and the third for Rasmak. The Mullah Powindah, who had helped to incite rebellion, retreated with his followers. The rapid advance of the British columns took the tribesmen by surprise, and there was a prospect that the Waziri rebels would soon sue for peace. Afterwards some skirmishes took place, but no severe fighting checked the progress of the work.

The Queen, in January, conferred the dignity of Honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath upon His Highness Abdurrahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Ameer of Afghanistan.



*Assam.*—The punitive expedition, under the command of Captain Maxwell, against the Abors on the Assam frontier, for outrages committed in November and December, 1893, arrived safely at Sadiya in March, but further operations had to be postponed till after the rainy season. The force was made up chiefly of police, and numbered about 400 men, including some Goorkhas. Several villages were burnt and the Abors were punished.

Serious land revenue riots broke out in Assam in February at Gauhati and Mungaldai. At the latter place the police were compelled to fire upon the mob, and fourteen persons were killed. The outbreak was said to have been instigated by certain Ghosains acting behind the peasants, who were dissatisfied with the recent reassessment of those districts.

*The Pamirs.*—In August, Colonel Yanoff advanced with a small force of about 300 men across the Murghab River into the valleys of the Ghund and Shakh Daria, demanding the evacuation of all the country on the right of the Panjah River. The Russians exchanged shots with the Afghan frontier guards, but when the affair was reported to the Ameer, he ordered his troops to fall back across the Panjah. The Russian Government, not desiring, it was said, to impede by any aggressive action the negotiations with Great Britain as to the boundary settlement, recalled its force to the right bank of the Murghab River, and the Afghans still held the two valleys.

*Burmah.*—On the Chinese Shan frontier the Kachins were giving some trouble in January. Twice they attacked a large escort of civil service officers in the neighbourhood of Bhamo, where four of the military police were killed and eleven were wounded. A force of 350 men with seven British officers, including the Deputy-Commissioner of Bhamo, were speedily at hand to suppress the rising, which was ascribed to the plottings of Saw Yannaing, a member of the royal house of Burmah, and a notorious frontier raider for several years. Mr. White, the Commissioner, reported, however, that the attacks were due to a misunderstanding between the tribesmen and the chief civil service officer. In the Katha district a band of dacoits seized a quantity of arms and ammunition at the Manle police station, the guard of Burman police making no resistance. The civil police in Burmah, chiefly natives, were showing so much inefficiency and impatience of discipline that it was seriously proposed to partially disarm them.

A band of twenty dacoits attacked the boats at Wa on the Pegu Canal, August 20, and killed Mr. A. H. Tucker, the district superintendent of police. The Government offered a reward of 2,000 rupees for the arrest of the murderers.

At the end of August, the raids on the plains from the Chin

Hills had entirely ceased, owing to the capture of several dacoit leaders in the previous month. Tribute had been peaceably realised, and quiet was restored for the time. Cattle disease was diminishing, and agricultural work was progressing favourably—the low price of rice not leading the natives to abandon its cultivation. Good paddy lands were held at high prices. The Budget system was working satisfactorily, and the Shan States tribute for 1893, amounting to two lakhs, had been nearly all paid in August.

The trade statistics of Burmah for the year ending March showed a serious decline in imports, which were 985 lakhs as against 1,097 in the previous year. The exports amounted to 1,140 lakhs as compared with 1,257 in the previous year. During the first quarter of the current year the decline in imports was maintained, but the exports showed a large increase, owing to some heavy shipments of rice.

In December the quantity of rice available for export was estimated at 1,200,000 tons, or 15 per cent. less than the quantity exported last year.

The returns of the trans-frontier trade of Burmah, published in October, showed a total increase of 25 per cent. The most remarkable increase was that with Western China, which was almost double the amount of the preceding year. A substantial increase with every adjoining country was recorded except with the Southern Shan States and Karenni. Trade with the former was stationary, but this was due to its being deflected to new routes, and thus escaping the registration stations. Trade with the Southern Shan States had really increased.

The Rangoon High-Pressure Water Supply Works were opened, July 28, by the Chief Commissioner. These give 500,000,000 gallons additional supply, and avert the danger of a water famine.

The convention delimiting the frontier between Burmah and China, and regulating intercourse between the two countries, was ratified, August 23. Great Britain renounced all rights in Monglem and Kianghung, two important States between the rivers Salween and Mekong, and formerly subject to the Kings of Burmah. The right of free navigation of the Irrawaddy was conceded to Chinese vessels. Chinese goods will be allowed to pass into Burmah for six years duty free, while goods from Burmah will be subject to the same duty as French exports over the Tonkin frontier—that is, two-thirds of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. Thus for the first time a most-favoured-nation clause will appear in a Chinese treaty. Equality of treatment of Chinese subjects in Burmah with those of other Powers was granted. On the other hand, China abandoned her claims to the region north of Bhamo. The treaty made no pretension to settle the entire frontier, relating only to that portion of the

border lying south of latitude  $25^{\circ} 35'$  north, the portion lying still further north being expressly excepted.

*Chitral.*—The new ruler, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was placed on his throne by Colonel Durand in 1892, was gradually strengthening his position and building up a strong and united country, friendly to Great Britain, on the extreme frontier. The late Mehtar's brother, Sher Afzul, however, was still giving trouble, and had induced Umra Khan, the ruler of Jandol, to support his claims. The Afghan Government was also, it was said, in sympathy with the usurping uncle. Mr. Curzon, M.P., visited Chitral in October and produced a very favourable impression. The Mehtar was much gratified by the visit of a member of Parliament.

*National Congress.*—At the Indian National Congress, which convened at Madras December 26, there were present 1,150 delegates and 3,000 visitors. An Irish member of Parliament, Mr. Alfred Webb, was chosen President, and made an opening speech remarkable for its moderation. He praised the Indian Administration, and declared that the aims of the Congress were not directed against the Government of India.

Resolutions were adopted protesting against the imposition of an excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India, and advocating the abolition of the Council of the Secretary for India as a necessary preliminary to all other reforms. Another resolution declared that the only remedy for India's embarrassed finances was a material curtailment of the military expenditure and the civil home charges. It was declared that if the promised inquiry into the expenditure of India was to bear fruit it must include an inquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear existing burdens and into the financial relations between India and England.

The Congress protested against the despatch from the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in England and India, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the proclamation of 1858, and creating a disability founded upon race. Notice was given that the eleventh Congress would be held at Poona.

The Congress sent a telegram of congratulation to Mr. Gladstone on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday; and a resolution expressing condolence on the death of the Maharajah of Mysore was passed in solemn silence, all the delegates standing. On the same account the Congress decided to adjourn, and all the festivities which had been arranged were abandoned.

*Religious Riots.*—From different parts of India came reports of religious disturbances between Hindoos and Mahomedans. Early in February a serious disturbance broke out at Yeola, about 100 miles north-east of Bombay. Several Mahomedan

mosques and houses were burnt, and one mosque was desecrated, a Hindoo having thrown a pig within its precincts. Four men were killed and a large number of both parties wounded, and order was not restored until the arrival of troops summoned from Ahmednuggar.

The most serious riot took place at Poona in the Bombay Presidency (Sept. 13), when the members of a Gunpati procession passing Daruwala Bridge in Poona City, soon after midnight, were requested by a police havildar to stop their music while passing an adjacent mosque as a number of Mahomedans were at prayer. The Hindoos stopped their tom-toms, but not, as was alleged, the remainder of their instruments. The Mahomedans then rushed out and a *melée* ensued, in the course of which a Mahomedan was killed and a number of persons injured. The mob had subsequently to be charged by the police before the streets could be cleared. A week later two Brahmins were convicted of offences in connection with the disturbance, but the trial at the end of October of thirteen other Hindoos on similar charges resulted in their acquittal, the police evidence hopelessly breaking down.

Lord Harris, in his farewell tour in the Deccan, took the opportunity to address a series of admonitions to the municipalities and public bodies in the Mahratta country. He said, at Sholapur, that for a year past, through these disturbances, the Deccan "had been making itself a bye-word throughout India for violence, disobedience, and inconsiderateness," and at Ahmednuggar he told the municipality, asking for a boon, "that the greatest boon the Deccan could acquire just now would be a little common sense." There were no further disturbances to the end of the year.

*Opium Commission.*—Inquiries were continued and witnesses examined in January and February at Patna, Benares, Lahore, Agra, Delhi, Ajmir, Indore, and Ahmedabad. The final sitting for the reception of evidence was held at Bombay (Feb. 20). The mass of testimony appeared to be in favour of the moderate use of opium by the natives in India as a safeguard against malaria and fevers. The members were to consider their report in London. It was expected that the cost of the sittings of the commission in India would be about Rs. 20,000, and in England 1,500*l.*

*Bombay.*—Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay, unveiled, in the Library Hall of the Bombay University on March 27, a bronze bust of Sir George Birdwood, the work of Mr. Alfred Gilbert, R.A., and eloquently spoke of the laborious services of Sir George in India, and in England since, for the true interests of India.

A body of delegates styling themselves the Bombay Provincial Conference began their sittings on November 2. The president, the Hon. Mr. Yajnik, in his opening address, referred to the strained relations between the Hindoos and Mahomedans,

which he ascribed to an increasing consciousness of their social rights among the lower orders. He recommended gentle management, moderation, and compromise as more likely to be efficacious than indiscriminate punishment. He also spoke on financial matters and condemned the closure of the mints and the exemption of cotton goods from import duty. The conference was not noteworthy for discretion in criticising the Government, although some sensible and relevant speeches were made.

A Mahomedan Conference at Ahmedabad held at about the same time was remarkable for the conciliatory spirit which was manifested towards the Hindoos, and for the earnestness with which a cessation of strife between the two communities was advocated.

The Governor, replying to a municipal address at Ahmedabad on November 10, expressed surprise that native enterprise did not come forward to undertake a certain local railway project which promised to be very remunerative. He could understand people in England refusing to invest capital in Indian railways while exchange remained unsteady, but he failed to understand the backwardness displayed by native capitalists in putting money into what appeared a most favourable scheme. He said that a vast field remained practically untouched, and the development of the country would advance much more rapidly if only native capital could be attracted to the new railway and other industrial projects.

Lord Sandhurst was appointed in December to succeed Lord Harris, whose term of office as Governor of Bombay had nearly expired. The appointment was generally regarded in India as satisfactory. In November Lord Harris set out on an extended tour of farewell visits. He arrived at Brownugger (Nov. 12) and was received by the Maharajah and State officials. The next day he laid the foundation stone of the Harris Railway Terminus of the Brownugger-Gondal-Junagadh-Porebunder Railway. From thence he proceeded to Junagadh and Gondal, Rajkote, Morvi, and Ahmedabad. On the 24th he arrived at Lahore, where he was the guest of the Viceroy. On December 11 he returned by steamer from Kurrachee, having paid visits to Sukkur and Hyderabad on his way from Lahore.

Three cases of murder by European soldiers stained the year's criminal history in the Bombay Presidency, and in each case the extreme penalty of the law was exacted.

*Bengal.*—A landslip at Gohna, in the Gurhwal district of Bengal, blocked the flow of the river, and turned a valley into a vast lake. For months the water was gradually rising, and fears were entertained that when it overtopped the dam it would carry it away and cause a most disastrous flood. Early in August the lake was four and a half miles long, with an average width of half a mile; the greatest depth was 720 feet. Warnings were issued by the Government to people in the

valley, and on the morning of August 25 the percolation showed that the dam was about to give way. At midnight the stream in the valley below the dam had risen thirty feet, and the roar of the escaping water told the sentinels plainly what had happened. When dawn broke the water in the lake had fallen over 300 feet, and its dimensions had shrunk by some miles. Meanwhile a tremendous flood had been tearing down the valley to Hurdwar, rising in one narrow gorge to a height of 160 feet. The water reached Hurdwar within a few hours, and the river rapidly rose in high flood, carrying down a tumbled mass of trees, building materials, and dead animals. The suspension bridges at Deoprayag and Lachman Jhula were swept away entirely. Telegraphic warnings were sent through with most creditable promptitude and success, and though the damage to property was considerable, it was nothing to what it would have been had not the inhabitants of the valley been prepared for the catastrophe. No loss of human life was reported.

Some alarm was caused in April and May by a mysterious mud-smearing of mango trees throughout Behar. The prophets of evil thought it a secret call to insurrection, similar to the circulation of the *chupatties* before the Mutiny of 1857. Others thought it was only due to pigs and cattle rubbing against the trees, or the roguish work of mendicants to create a scare. At last, in July, a religious mendicant was caught in the act of daubing trees with mud and hair at Cawnpore. He said that he was acting under the orders of a Guzu residing in the Etah district, who had not explained to him the why and wherefore. So it still remained a mystery, although there were shrewd reasons for suspecting that it was meant to attract pilgrims to the sacred temple at Janakpur, in Nepaul, where the people believe that their gods will deliver oracles for the protection of cattle and the expulsion of the European indigo planters in Behar.

A good deal of discontent has prevailed in Behar for some time past. The people consider themselves over-taxed, and are disturbed by the cadastral survey, while in the neighbouring districts of the North-west Provinces the land-holding classes are said to be greatly dissatisfied with the present settlement of the land revenue, which, they complain, does not leave them enough to live upon.

The first Indian Medical Congress was opened at Calcutta (Dec. 24) by the Viceroy, and Surgeon-Colonel Harvey, Inspector-General of Hospitals in Bengal, delivered the presidential address. He stated, among other things, that, whereas in 1865 not one single town had a supply of pure water, now nearly all the largest cities and cantonments had well-planned waterworks completed or in progress. One result was that the death-rate among the British troops had been reduced from 69 to 15 per 1,000. But a great deal remained to be done. He alluded to the necessity for bacteriological laboratories, and the

close study of the greatest cause of mortality in India—namely, fevers. He strongly condemned the action of the well-meaning but ignorant persons at home, whose ill-advised agitation in connection with the Contagious Diseases Acts had practically deprived the Indian taxpayer of the services of three British regiments.

Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, paid a visit in December to the kingdom of Nepaul, beyond the North-eastern border, and was hospitably entertained.

*Madras.*—Lord Wenlock, who was on a tour through the East coast districts in October, received numerous addresses, which were remarkable as containing no grievances and being full of praise of the Governor's administration, especially of his famine policy. Lord Wenlock opened a part of the Rishikulia irrigation project in Ganjam. The work was intended to avert famine in the district, which suffered so severely a few years ago, and it was estimated that it would cost, when complete, nearly 50 lakhs.

On June 19 the Queen's statue at Madras was smeared with Hindoo religious marks on the forehead, neck and breast. The police inquiry resulted in the opinion being expressed that it was the work of a Hindoo who desired to worship the statue. This was not the first time that such a smearing had taken place. Some time ago a carpenter was caught in the act of decorating the statue with garlands, and similar marks were detected on that occasion. He said that he was worshipping the great Maharanee, who, he hoped, would protect him and give him plenty of work. The Inspector of Police, in whose division the statue is situated, said that he himself had noticed people burning incense, breaking cocoanuts, and prostrating themselves in worship before it.

*Floods.*—Serious floods occurred in Upper Bolan and other parts of Western India in July. The damage on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was very extensive. A large iron bridge near Asirgarh was carried away, and the railway line breached in several places between there and Kalyan. One train was detained for sixty hours between a broken embankment and a landslip. The North-western Railway was breached at Ruk, and the mouth of the Khojak tunnel was blocked by landslips. Other railways also suffered more or less injury. The rivers Tapti and Mahi were in full flood. At Surat serious breaches were made in the Bombay and Baroda Railway, and throughout Western India thousands of acres of crops were under water.

Further floods were reported in Sind in August, causing much damage to the railway, and threatening the town of Kotri with inundation. Excessive rain also fell in Dehra Dhun and along the Himalayas from Simla to Naini Tal. Throughout India the rainfall was very unequal, but harvest prospects in Behar and the Central Provinces were much improved.

*Native States.*—In general the Native States were making good progress, and their improved condition was marked.

A commission, appointed by his Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, opened proceedings at Baroda (Sept. 17) to inquire into a long list of charges of corruption and extortion preferred against Mr. W. S. Baput, one of the superior officers of the settlement department of that State. The inquiry concluded November 22, but no finding had been made public at the close of the year.

The investiture of the young Maharajah of Gwalior with full powers on his coming of age was celebrated at Gwalior (Dec. 15) with great pomp and ceremony.

In Mysore a regular Budget system had so increased the revenue that the result had been a steady surplus amounting to 6,000,000 rupees during the last two years. This had given means for developing railways, irrigation, and public works, as well as for a general system of education. A scheme for the establishment of agricultural banks was brought before the Representative Assembly to assist the land cultivators, who now pay high rates for their agricultural advances, and to utilise the vast amount of unused capital accumulating in the State. The balances in the Mysore savings banks had risen from four lakhs in 1881 to twenty-eight lakhs in 1893. The interest has been reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., but meanwhile the rates to the cultivator had continued very high—sometimes amounting to nearly 40 per cent., and never lower than 10 or 12 per cent. on agricultural securities absolutely pledged. This banking system formed by association of landholders, it was hoped, would be a great boon to agriculturists in the State.

His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore died suddenly in Calcutta, December 28, from diphtheria.

The decennial report of the Thakore Saheb of Gondal was published in September. His Highness is the great landlord of the State of Gondal, deriving 900,000 rupees from the land tax out of a total revenue of 1,250,000 rupees. At his accession on coming of age ten years ago he said: "It will be my earnest desire to see that justice and order prevail in my State, that life and property are well protected, that the cultivator enjoys the fruit of his labour and the trader the profit of his trade, that roads are improved, that education is encouraged, and provision is made for the sick poor." The land tax was then collected part in cash and part in kind. For this vexatious system he substituted a cash assessment freeing the cultivator from exaction, and enforcing regular payments. A railway system had been constructed at a total cost of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions of rupees, and the ruler of Gondal was considering a scheme of loans to traders at moderate interest.

In 1885 his Highness celebrated his twenty-first birthday by abolishing sixteen kinds of taxes, which he thought were injurious to industry. In 1888 another set of imposts, including



the house tax and water tax, were relinquished. In honour of his twenty-third birthday the Thakore Saheb remitted old debts due to him from his subjects to the extent of Rs. 26,000. He is a well-educated and accomplished Prince, and the Imperial Government has shown its appreciation of his ability and heart by creating him a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire and by raising Gondal from the second to the first class of the Kathiawar States.

*Army.*—Details of the reorganisation of the Indian Army required further time for arrangement, and the act of 1893, providing that there shall be one Army, under one Commander-in-Chief, for the whole of India, organised in four Lieutenant-Generals' commands for Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the North-west Provinces with the Punjab, was not to become operative until April 1, 1895.

The Indian Army at present consists of about 100,000 British troops and British volunteers, with 180,000 native soldiers, or a total force of 280,000 men. Apart from the promulgation of the reorganisation scheme the history of the army in India during 1894 was not eventful. Its most striking incident was the assembly at Lahore, at which nearly 20,000 troops of all arms paraded before the Viceroy—a spectacle for which a parallel could scarcely be found without going back for many years.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir George White, at a dinner given by the Highland Brigade (Nov. 30) eulogised the British and native soldiers assembled at Lahore, bearing testimony to the grand fighting quality of the Punjab races, the loyalty of the chiefs who have provided troops for imperial defence, and the high efficiency attained by their regiments which were present.

Under the new organisation Sir William Ellis was appointed to the East Bengal command, and Sir William Lockhart, the present commander in the Punjab, to the West Bengal division.

*Railways.*—It was proposed by the Indian Government in October to spend 520 lakhs of rupees this year and 500 lakhs in each of the two following years on railway construction and irrigation works, providing for the commencement of the Rohri-Kotri line, the linking up of the metre gauge lines in the North-west Provinces, and the Ennore-Madras section of the Bezwada-Madras line during the current year. The funds for the Assam-Bengal line were to be provided separately. It was also proposed to hand over to companies the construction and working of several lines, including the Cuttack and Calcutta extension of the East Coast Railway. The proposals were sent for the sanction of the Secretary of State, and their adoption would depend upon the financial position.

General satisfaction was expressed in Madras with the action of the Secretary of State in sanctioning the construction of the Calicut, Cannanore, and Palghatcheri Cochin Railways

by a London syndicate, as railway extension had been long desired by the people of the rich and populous West coast.

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces applied to the Government of India to sanction the commencement of the earthworks of the Saugor Railway as a famine relief work. This line, when complete, would connect the Indian Midland and the Bengal Nagpur Railways.

*Viceroy.*—Lord Lansdowne, at a farewell banquet given him by the commercial community of Calcutta, January 23, made a remarkable and able speech, in which he reviewed the questions relating to the state of the currency, the settlement of the frontiers, the military defence of the empire, and the internal condition of Indian affairs. Much regret was expressed at his retirement from office, although he had failed to satisfy all parties. His successor, the Earl of Elgin, arrived at Bombay January 20. In reply to an address of welcome from the Bombay corporation, Lord Elgin declared that their strongest point of union and chief security lay in a common loyalty to the Queen-Empress. On January 27, at Calcutta, Lord Elgin assumed the office of Viceroy. In the earlier months of his administration he was cautious as to the public statement of his views, but on his tour in November through Sind and the Punjab he was less reserved, and delivered speeches that were apt and wise. During his visit to Kurrachee the local Chamber of Commerce urged that that port should be substituted for Bombay as the landing place for English mails for Sind and the Punjab. While at Peshawur he reviewed the troops and made an excursion up the Kyber Pass as far as Ali Musjid. He was received at Lahore (Nov. 26) with much military pomp. Some 18,000 troops lined the roads, while a full vice-regal escort of cavalry and artillery accompanied the procession through the city to the camp. On November 30 he held a *darbar* at Lahore that was attended by a large number of native chiefs and by most of the high officials of the Indian Government. The Governor of Bombay and many general officers were present. In a long speech the Viceroy addressed the assembly, recognising the loyalty and courage of the Punjab native soldiers. He insisted that the policy of the Government was to secure peace at all points of the frontier, and he urged the princes and chiefs of the country to co-operate in maintaining and establishing the triumphs of peace. Although the *darbar* had no significance beyond that of a great state function, it was generally recognised as having been a great success, and the native chiefs were evidently much impressed by the Viceroy's speech. Among the fruits of the vice-regal visit to Lahore was the decision to reduce the expense of the Cashmere State Council, dispensing with one member, and reducing the salary of two others, thereby effecting a saving of about Rs. 300,000 a year.

*Legislation.*—The resolution passed last year by the House

of Commons in favour of simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Civil Service was referred to all the local Governments in India, and with the exception of Madras, they all of them reported against the practicability of the proposal. Therefore the Secretary of State refused to insist upon the establishment of such a rule.

Legislation during the year was chiefly concerned with questions relating to finance and revenue. On March 1, Mr. Westland, the financial member of the Legislative Council, introduced a new tariff bill without waiting to present his annual Budget, in order to meet the expected loss for the current year of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees due to exchange. The bill proposed to levy Customs duties of 5 per cent., with few exceptions, upon all imports except cotton yarns and cotton fabrics. This was expected to yield Rs. 1,200,000, and a special duty of one anna per gallon was laid on petroleum, which would give about 200,000 rupees more. The bill passed the Council (March 10), and came into operation at once. It was said that cotton duties were excluded because it would be difficult or impossible to tax mills in native States and the products of hand-looms. These new duties provided only for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees, leaving 2 crores of deficit still unprovided for.

At a meeting of the Legislative Council in Calcutta (Dec. 17), Mr. Westland introduced bills to amend the Indian Tariff Act passed in March. An import duty of 5 per cent. was imposed on cotton yarns and fabrics, and an equivalent excise duty on cotton goods and yarns manufactured in India, that came into direct competition with the imported article, the duty being laid on all yarns of higher counts than "twenties," but giving power to the Viceroy to extend the limit of exemption to "twenty-fours." The new duties were to be imposed at once, as large shipments were being made from England. The Excise Bill met with no support in the Council on its merits, but it was stated by Mr. Westland that the Secretary of State held it to be a necessary consequence of the other bill, so as to prevent the cotton import duties acting as a protection. On December 27 the bill passed unamended by a bare official majority—the attempt to raise the statutory limit of exemption from "twenties" to "twenty-fours" being defeated by 11 votes to 9. There was a strong feeling both in Bombay and Calcutta against the imposition of this duty, which would bring in only a trifling revenue of about 7 lakhs, while the Indian communities might complain that their interests were to be sacrificed to a section of British manufacturers.

Resolutions protesting against the Excise Bill were passed by the Bengal and Madras Chambers of Commerce, and from other parts of the country there came voices of complaint.

A bill was introduced in the Council at Simla in October,

proposing that licences should be granted for religious processions in India, with a view to their better regulation.

A special resolution on the subject of the administration of the Indian forests, similar to that passed by Lord Lansdowne's Government in July, 1891, was passed in October. It stated that "the sole object with which State forests are administered is for the public benefit; the rights and privileges of individuals must be limited, otherwise than for their own benefit, only in such degree as is absolutely necessary to secure great advantage to the public." In pursuit, or rather in illustration, of this policy, the Government group forests under four classes—climatic, commercial, minor and pasture forests, and it is expressly declared that the two latter classes of forests "are to be worked for the neighbourhood, not for revenue," as is unfortunately too often the case where district officers are over-zealous. Arable land included in forests is to be given for tillage where the demand for land is in excess of the supply, and where the land can be spared without injury to the forest. "Subject to certain conditions," the resolution declares, "the claims of cultivation are stronger than the claims of forest preservation. The pressure of the population on the soil is one of the great difficulties which India has to face, and that application of the soil must generally be preferred which will support the largest numbers in proportion to the area." The first aim of an enlightened and sympathetic policy is to preserve the wood and grass from destruction. The people must be protected against their own improvidence, but "every reasonable facility should be afforded to communities on the margins of forest tracts for the full and easy satisfaction of their forest needs, if not free, then at low, and not at competitive rates."

*Financial.*—Mr. Westland presented (March 17) the Budget estimates for 1894-5, which showed a deficit of 301,900 rupees. The deficit for 1892-3 was 833,000 rupees, and the revised estimate for 1893-4 showed a deficit of Rx. 1,793,000, largely due to a great decline at that time in the opium revenue, and also a decline in the revenue from salt. The excess of expenditure over the Budget estimate was Rx. 517,000. The estimates for 1894-5 showed a total deficit of Rx. 2,923,000. There was an addition to the direct expenditure under the head of Exchange of Rx. 1,371,500. The net opium revenue was taken at Rx. 4,138,300, as compared with the estimate for 1893-4 of Rx. 5,061,200. The rate of exchange was taken at 1s. 2d. per rupee, compared with 1s. 2½d. in the Budget estimate of 1893-4. Exchange compensation allowances were estimated to cost in 1894-5 Rx. 1,113,300, of which Rx. 400,400 would be provincial. The deficit was to be met by "stringent economy in expenditure," by the temporary suspension of a portion of the famine grant, amounting to Rx. 1,076,200, by contributions from provincial governments, amounting to Rx. 405,000, and by the imposition of import duties, estimated to yield in 1894-5 a net

sum of Rx. 1,140,000. It was expected that the Secretary of State would sell Council Bills in 1894-5 to the amount of 17,000,000*l.*, and would raise temporary loans, amounting to 8,300,000*l.*, out of which he would use 6,000,000*l.* to repay the temporary loans borrowed in 1893-4. It was estimated that the closing balance in the Treasuries in India on March 31, 1895, would amount to Rx. 21,684,256, and accordingly it was not intended to issue any public loan in India in 1894-5. The programme was described as one of retrenchment and vigilance to tide the Government over a transition period. The relief obtained would be only temporary, and the programme would have to be revised in March, 1895. In December it was anticipated that the Budget estimates of revenue would be exceeded by 40 lakhs of rupees if opium maintained its high market rate.

It was gratifying that the scheme for the conversion of the debt turned out well. The process began with the 1842-43 4 per cent. rupee loan, to be converted into  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cents., and only a small fraction of that loan remained to be paid off. With the other 4 per cent. rupee loans—the 1865 loan, the 1854-55 loan, and the 1875 loan—success was not so great, but the experiment, which many thought would result in failure, fairly succeeded, for out of a total of 95 crores in 4 per cents.  $91\frac{1}{2}$  crores were converted, giving an annual saving to the Government of about  $47\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of rupees. The highest price of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cents. was 59, and the lowest  $54\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Currency.*—The Currency Act continued in operation, but under somewhat different conditions. At the beginning of the year the banks still found in silver a convenient means of remittance to India, and were taking no bills, although the Secretary of State had over 20 crores worth to sell, but towards the end of January the India Office held out no longer for the minimum of 1*s.*  $3\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, and the Secretary announced that he was ready to consider lower offers. The rates fell at once, and during the year they fell much lower, so that the margin between bullion and the rupee continued about 2*d.* It was the opinion of eminent authorities that the act would ultimately do all that it was intended to do, but there were other eminent authorities who held a contrary opinion.

The Indian Currency Association protested in January against the abandonment of the minimum sale price for Council Bills at the commencement of the export season, and in June issued a manifesto recommending the Government to melt down and sell the redundant currency as bullion in order to expedite the needed contraction and restore confidence. The Indian Government replied that the Secretary had adhered strictly to his programme, that it could not criticise his action, and that it would follow the course marked out by the Budget statement.

The closing of the mints failed to send up the rupee from

1s. 2½*d.* to 1s. 4*d.*, and also failed to prevent a further serious fall. In June the rupee had fallen to nearly 1s. 0¾*d.*, and this could not be accounted for by the appreciation of gold, for it had fallen at a quicker rate than gold had concurrently appreciated. It was felt that the intention of the Currency Act of 1893 could never be realised until exports should more largely exceed imports. The new duties would possibly check imports, and if exports increased, especially of cotton, there would be a larger demand for Council drafts. Exports of cotton to the Far East were temporarily checked by the war. From April to October the quantity of cotton exported from Bombay was very nearly that of the same months in 1893, but the value was 64 lakhs less. American cotton, now so low in price, diminished by its competition the value of the Indian staple, and the *value* of exports, if not the quantity.

*Silver*.—Less silver was coming to India, and during the month of November imports of silver amounted only to 27 lakhs, compared with 60 lakhs in the previous month. At the end of the year it was rated about 28*d.* per ounce, and the tendency was towards still lower prices. There was a large decline in the imports from England compared with those from France and Australia. During seven months ending in October the import value of silver was, in 1892, 874 lakhs; in 1893, 969 lakhs; and in 1894, 470 lakhs. From a statement showing the shipments of specie it appears that the total shipments of specie from Gravesend by the Peninsular and Oriental steamers to the East during the year 1894 were 9,766,480*l.*, of which 674,250*l.* was in gold and the remainder in silver, against a total of 13,401,287*l.* in 1893, showing a decrease of 3,634,807*l.* The total amount of telegraphic transfers and drafts sold by the Government of India was Rs. 27,64,79,724, realising 15,335,422*l.*, an increase of Rs. 10,41,47,493, as compared with the previous year, and an increase of 4,694,465*l.* in the sterling amount.

*Gold*.—The fall in exchange appreciated gold to a point never before touched. At one time, owing to a "corner," gold in Bombay was worth over Rs. 30 per tola. Not only is gold largely exported, but it is imported, coming to India as English mint-stamped bar gold, and leaving as Indian mint-stamped gold. The imports of gold for the past three years, April to October, were valued at: 1892, 94 lakhs; 1893, 186 lakhs; 1894, 120 lakhs. And the exports in the same periods; 346 lakhs, 114 lakhs, and 452 lakhs. The value of gold exported in 1894 was by far the largest on record.

## II. CHINA.

Pestilence and the sword troubled China this year in an unwonted manner. In January plague was raging in the South-western provinces of the Empire—in Kwangsi, and

especially in and about Long-tcheou. Later there was a fearful epidemic of plague in Canton, and the miseries of an unexpected war soon followed.

Missionary riots and persecutions were less serious than in former years, but Christians were put to death, and their churches were destroyed at several stations. At Hsianfu, in the province of Shensi, the French mission was burnt. The American Presbyterian Church at Sheklung, near Tungkuan, was destroyed on June 20, and in November, at Li-chuen, several Christians were killed in a violent outbreak. A petition was forwarded to the diplomatic body at Peking in March, asking them to obtain from the Chinese Government equitable reparation for the murder of Messrs. Wickholm and Johanssen at Sungpu in 1893. The petitioners condemned the money settlement obtained by the Swedish Consul-General, and urged the foreign representatives to insist upon the punishment of the real offenders—namely, the local magistrates and officials who instigated and connived at the murders. The foreign ministers appealed to the Tsung-li-Yâmen, demanding the renewal of the imperial edict of 1891, and that it be placarded throughout the province of Hupeh. The French Government through its legation also made special demands for redress, on account of the ill-treatment of French missionaries. The Rev. J. A. Wylie, a Presbyterian missionary at Liao-Yang, in the Newchwang district, was attacked and killed by Chinese soldiers on their way to Corea, in September. His murderers, all private soldiers, were beheaded, and the local mandarin was reduced in rank.

Notwithstanding the outbreak of war, the Chinese Government wished to adhere to the arrangements for the celebration of the sixtieth birthday of the Empress-Dowager Tsi Tshi, in honour of her services to China during more than thirty years. About 5,000,000*l.* sterling was devoted to this purpose. The Empress-Dowager, however, expressed her willingness to devote the enormous sums collected to the provision of the sinews of war, if necessary, and in October the celebration was indefinitely postponed.

The famous flower boats of Canton, which formed one of the greatest sights in China, were nearly all burnt on the morning of August 31. They were practically floating houses, many of two or three storeys, all fitted up luxuriously, and occupied by singing girls and the like. There were 200 or 300 of them all moored together, stem to stern, like streets. A holiday had been held for nearly a month, every house being brilliantly illuminated, and the decorations were marvellous, while entertainments of all kinds were kept up lavishly. The fire was probably the work of river pirates, who were disappointed in levying blackmail. About 100 people lost their lives, and the loss of property amounted to 500,000 dollars.

An insurrection arose in the province of Kirin, in Manchuria,

in June, caused by agrarian disputes between Chinese settlers and the Mongol chieftains. The insurgents, joined by organised mounted banditti—the latter armed with repeating rifles—defeated the imperial troops in several engagements. General Ting was sent to Kirin to redress any legitimate grievances, to separate the farmers from the bandits, and to punish the latter.

China was not prepared for the war that Japan forced upon her. Her Army was little better than an undisciplined mob, and generally was badly armed and equipped. Many of the Chinese high officials were corrupt, and had pocketed the amounts devoted to Army purposes. The Navy had some good war vessels, but as a rule the officers as well as the men had little experience in naval operations.

The first great battle of the war took place on Sunday, September 16, when the Japanese attacked the strong position of Ping Yang on the great north road in Corea. Some cannonading of the Chinese works had been going on during the day before, and firing had continued at intervals throughout the night. Early, before daybreak, two flanking Japanese columns made a simultaneous attack. The Chinese lines, strong in front, were found to be comparatively weak in the rear. The sudden attack caused a panic, the Chinese were surrounded and were cut down by hundreds. Just after the battle they admitted a total loss of 7,000 killed and captured. From a later official misleading statement by the Japanese of their losses in the battle of Ping Yang there were 11 officers and 154 men killed, and 30 officers and 521 men wounded, besides 40 men whose fate was unknown. The Chinese loss was over 2,000 men killed, but the Japanese at first boasted of taking 14,500 unwounded prisoners. The Japanese forces outnumbered the Chinese by nearly three to one, and their artillery was superior, giving them a brilliant and complete victory, and immense quantities of stores, provisions, arms, and ammunition were taken by them. Field-Marshal Count Yumagata, commanding the Japan army corps, received the Mikado's congratulations.

One Chinese general was killed, and it was said that other generals were taken prisoners. The Chinese cavalry was annihilated, for the horses stuck fast in the marshy ground, and the men were shot down easily by the Japanese riflemen. The disaster was due in part to want of co-operation between the commanders of the Chinese Army.

Two days later (Sept. 18) an important naval battle was fought at the mouth of the Yalu River. For several days the Japanese fleet of nine powerful cruisers, under the command of Admiral Ito, had been watching off the Island of Hai-yan-tau, in the Bay of Corea, for the Chinese warships. On the morning of the 17th they were sighted, and the Japanese gave chase and overtook them off the Yalu Estuary about one o'clock in the day.



The Chinese transports entered the river and were protected till after the engagement, when they retreated to Port Arthur. At first the Japanese admiral approached in double line, but when he saw that the enemy had adopted a V-like formation with the flagship at the apex, he changed to single line. Afterwards the Chinese were in line abreast also. In a battle which lasted for five hours the Japanese sunk three or four Chinese warships, and several others were seriously damaged. On the Japanese side the flagship *Matsushima*, 4,200 tons, and the *Yoshino*, 4,150 tons, especially suffered, but none were lost. At dusk the Japanese squadron withdrew, fearing torpedoes, and prepared to renew the fight the next day, but under cover of the night the Chinese fleet stole out of the estuary and fled towards the Chinese coast. The Japanese started in pursuit, but as some of their ships were too much damaged to go at full speed, the Chinese reached a safe shelter. The rapid manoeuvres of the Japanese fleet throughout the battle gave them every advantage. They attacked first one section and then the other. As soon as the Chinese on the port side had brought their guns to bear the Japanese worked around and attacked the starboard side. The Chinese fire was feeble and ineffective compared with that of their foe, and although both sides suffered immense damage the Mikado's vessels came best out of the fight. The Chinese made a mistake in keeping too near the shore, where there was no room to move without getting aground. They might have done better in the open sea. The British naval officer who was for nine years in the service of China as the organiser of the Navy of that country wrote: "I am not surprised to learn that the Chinese fled and did not seem in a hurry to offer battle. They are not likely to do this on any occasion. It is their way. But when forced into a corner they will fight admirably, and in the long run, in spite of their present reverses on land and sea, they will gain the victory." The Chinese lost a large number of officers, and many men were drowned in the sunken ships. Their total loss was estimated at 1,500, and the Japanese lost about 180 men. The Chinese Admiral Ting was twice wounded, and acted with coolness if not with bravery. The Chinese battleships *Chih-Yuen* and *King-Yuen* were sunk, and the *Yang-wei* and the *Chao-Yung*, having caught fire, were run ashore. The Viceroy, Li Hung-Chang, was blamed for the disaster, but the real responsibility rested with the Tsung-li-Yâmen, or with the Great Council, of which the Viceroy was not a member.

Stories were rife after each Chinese reverse that the Prime Minister, Li Hung-Chang, had been degraded. Now he had lost the right to wear the yellow jacket; and now the Emperor had taken from him his peacock feather. Finally, it was announced that the Great Viceroy had been displaced altogether. Later, he had been found indispensable, and was reinstated in the Emperor's favour. In December Prince Kung was appointed

President of the Grand Council, and Li Hung-Chang's position at Tientsin was again firmly established.

After the Yalu sea-fight there began to be some prospects of an armistice with negotiations for peace, through the intervention of the Western powers. China had been long hoping that the commercial interests of the great powers would unite them to save her from further punishment, and Great Britain did her best to induce Germany and Russia to help in bringing about a cessation of hostilities. Russia was unwilling that Japan should occupy Corea permanently; Germany was not prepared to join in any measures for defining political results. Yet Great Britain and the other great States were agreed as to the protection of their subjects in China. Powers that were not interested were indifferent. The mediation of the United States seemed at one time likely to be successful, but Japan was flushed with victory, and was not ready to hold her hand without exacting an enormous indemnity of much more than the entire cost of the war. Indeed, it was said that China was ready to offer an indemnity of 100,000,000 taels, and to pay the war expenses of Japan, as conditions of peace. At last Japan notified China that no further peace proposals would be considered, unless made by a regularly accredited ambassador from the Chinese Court.

A second Japanese army of about 22,000 men, under Marshal Oyama, sailed from Hiroshima, and landed unopposed at Hon-en-ku, eighty-five miles north of Port Arthur, on the Liao-tong Peninsula, late in October. Meanwhile Wiju was occupied (Oct. 8) by the first army corps, now commanded by General Nodzu, and it was expected that they would move on Moukden, in Manchuria. The advance, in two divisions, of Marshal Oyama's army met with little resistance. Kinchou and Talienswan were captured on the same day (Nov. 8). There were some skirmishes and fights at various points. The country was very difficult, as there were practically no roads, but at last the Japanese had a complete cordon round Port Arthur, the strongest fortress in China. It had cost 15,000,000 taels to complete, and the dockyard, built by French contractors, cost 1,500,000 taels. The forts were the work of Captain von Hannecken, who fought bravely on the Chinese side, and who was nearly drowned in the blowing up of the *Kowshing* in July. A concerted movement was made on the works, both by land and sea, in the final assault.

Port Arthur was captured on November 21. On the 18th the cavalry advance guard met 2,000 Chinese eight miles from Port Arthur, and fell back on the first brigade, leaving several wounded behind. They returned with one battalion of infantry and defeated the Chinese. The wounded Japanese were found with their heads, hands, and feet cut off, and their bodies awfully mutilated. On the 19th all the army had passed before these victims, and the men were much moved at the sight.

At night the army was about four miles from the enemy, who held nine sea forts and eleven land forts. On the 20th, while the Japanese were looking for field artillery positions, 6,000 Chinese made a sortie in three columns—on the left, the right, and the centre. A part of the army and artillery behind the advance guard, and two battalions of General Yamagi's division, repulsed the Chinese after five hours' fighting.

The Japanese torpedo boats attacked the forts on the front seaboard, while the cruiser *Chiyoda* threw shells into the Chinese works from Pigeon Bay on the other side. The Japanese war-ships ran close to the town under a terrific fire, and, avoiding the heavy projectiles from the forts by skilful manœuvring, finally got right under the defences and landed parties of men. The Japanese blew up the Chinese steamers in the harbour, which were filled with officials and troops. Meanwhile, Field-Marshal Oyama and General Yamagi, in command of the right and left divisions respectively, encircled the forts on the land side. Fifteen hundred troops followed the example of their leaders and fled before the final assault. The Japanese made no attempt to capture them. The flying Chinese soldiery outraged, pillaged, and murdered the inhabitants indiscriminately along their route.

By the evening Port Arthur was in the possession of the Japanese, but the Chinese still held some eight or ten redoubts on the coast line armed with about twenty guns. Early on the morning of the 22nd the other forts were captured without serious loss on the Japanese side.

Before the final attack of the troops twenty-three Japanese torpedo boats, which had been manœuvring near the entrance to Port Arthur, suddenly made a concerted rush and successfully passed through the entrance. This sudden move caused great surprise and excitement among the defenders, whose attention was thus distracted while the land attack was delivered.

Quite eighty guns and mortars were found in the captured forts and redoubts, and many more in the dockyards. An immense quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of the Japanese, besides completely-equipped torpedo stores and large stores of rice and beans. All the Chinese vessels, factories, and docks were taken intact, and were ready for use.

The Chinese, who seemed to have been not less than 20,000 strong, were said to have lost more than 1,000 men, while the Japanese had about 350 killed and wounded. Most of the Chinese escaped from Port Arthur on the night of the 21st.

In consequence of a number of Japanese prisoners having been mutilated and beheaded by the Chinese, the Japanese troops gave no quarter when storming the defences.

Port Arthur was simply abandoned. The Chinese behaved disgracefully. When the final attack was made by the Japanese the place had a garrison of 9,000 men, of whom one-third were destroyed.

No vessels of Admiral Ting's squadron were captured at Port Arthur. The only vessels found there were two small coasting trade ships, a second-class cruiser, and one torpedo boat. The Japanese denied that the atrocities committed at the taking of the town were chargeable to regular soldiers, but were declared to be the work of some drunken coolies attached to the army as labourers. Urgent instructions were sent from the Japanese military headquarters to institute a vigorous inquiry.

The bulk of the second Japanese army proceeded to Kinchou after the capture of Port Arthur. The first army had some severe fighting in Manchuria in December. On the 19th a Chinese force, entrenched in a strong position at Kungwasi near Hai-tcheng, with eleven field pieces and some machine guns, were with great difficulty dislodged. After repeated charges the Japanese were victors, but their losses in killed and wounded were severe, amounting to 450 men. The Chinese lost 300 killed, while their wounded exceeded 600 in number. The Chinese abandoned some of their guns, but the heavy snow prevented pursuit. The winter was unusually severe, but the invaders endured the cold as well as could be expected. The Japanese armies were dressed, drilled, and manœuvred on strict German lines, and were provided with heavy winter clothing. No decisive battles were fought in December, yet the Japanese forces did not retire into winter quarters, but were steadily advancing at the close of the year.

The finding of the Court constituted to try Generals Yeh and Wei on charges of cowardice and neglect of duty at Ping Yang was promulgated. Both generals were found guilty of retreating from Ping Yang without justification, thereby leaving General Tso with his Kirin troops to fight the Japanese armies alone, and causing the loss of Ping Yang. For these crimes Generals Yeh and Wei were sentenced to degradation from all military rank, and to deprivation of honours. General Wei was adjudged guilty of embezzling the money entrusted to him for paying the soldiers, and for gross incompetence in allowing his troops to rob the people on the line of march. An imperial edict in November gave effect to the sentence.

### III. HONG KONG.

Early in May a plague occurred in Hong Kong, causing much consternation in the British colony. It was at first identified with the plague which devastated London in 1665, and ravaged Europe in the middle ages. The symptoms of the disease were akin to typhoid, with the addition of bubonic swellings at the glands, armpits, groin and neck, but without the boils which characterised the London plague. It has existed,—this plague,—in the provinces of Yunnan, in China, from time immemorial. In recent years it has appeared at Pakhoi, and lately at Canton, where it raged in March, spread-

ing from there to Hong Kong. The total number of deaths in the colony from it during May, June, July and August, was over 3,000, principally among a native population of about 220,000—reduced to 100,000 by panic and flight.

The first battalion, King's Own Shropshire Regiment, saved Hong Kong from annihilation. House by house, street by street, the whole Chinese quarter was fumigated thoroughly with chlorine and sulphur by the soldiers, and tons of rubbish were burning all day at convenient street corners. From that time the disease yielded rapidly, and the number of deaths fell from a hundred a day to a dozen.

The prosperity of Hong Kong was shattered by the plague, and the actual outlay on the destruction of the infected district was not less than 150,000*l.*—nearly half the total revenue of the colony in 1893. Difficulties in stamping out the pest were intensified by the ignorance and superstition of the Chinese, who rejected all sanitary treatment, and trusted to powdered frogs, holy charms and burnt joss-paper, rather than to the English doctors.

The tonnage of ships entering at Hong Kong in 1893 amounted to 7,177,025 tons. The total tonnage—entered and cleared, including junks—was 14,349,122, being an increase of 196,273 tons over the previous year, and placing Hong Kong first on the list of British Imperial ports for amount of tonnage. Much, however, represented trade in transit. The actual total of imports and exports was estimated at over 5,000,000 tons. The trade of the colony in 1894 was seriously diminished by the Japan-China war. Mexican dollars were becoming scarce, and a new British dollar of equivalent value to the Japanese was expected to be coined in India to meet the deficiency.

#### IV. COREA.

In March, a plot to blow up the King and all his ministers, and to overthrow the Government, was foiled, and twenty-seven conspirators were beheaded at once to prevent them from implicating certain high officials. About that time Kimok-Kiun, a Korean politician, whose intrigues in his own country had been favoured by Japan, was murdered at Shanghai. Meanwhile the rebellion spread, and the King's troops were unable to cope with it. The King, therefore, applied to China for assistance, and some 2,000 Chinese soldiers, under General Yeh, were sent to help him. Some Japanese troops also were despatched from Tokio, nominally to protect the Japanese legation, consulates and residents.

Japan proposed to China a joint-intervention in Corea, in order to set up fiscal and other internal reforms. China held back from forcible interference in regard to the internal affairs of a State that she claimed as a vassal, whereupon Japan declared that she would act singly, and promptly sent 6,000

troops to Seoul, supported by a fleet. In June the rebellion was suppressed soon after the arrival of a United States war vessel, which protected both sides, and the King sent his thanks “to all the United States people.” But the Japanese forces did not retire to their ships. The Japanese Government declined to withdraw its troops from Corea, alleging that the insurrection was not by any means suppressed, and that there was need of providing against a recurrence of disorder. Japan was bent on gaining supremacy in Corea, and continued warlike preparations on a large scale. She summoned the King to renounce the suzerainty of China and to declare independence, to accept Japanese protection and to dismiss the Chinese resident. China encouraged Corea to defy these demands, and sent more troops to help the King. Early in July, Japan held the port of Chemulpo, and Seoul, the capital, was occupied by a Japanese army. Some fighting took place at the capital between the Korean guards and the Japanese troops, and on July 25 a Japanese cruiser—the *Naniwa*—fired heavy shots at a British steamer—the *Kowshing*—that had been chartered by China as a transport, and sank her near Chemulpo, on her way to Asan, in Corea. She had on board 1,500 Chinese troops, most of whom with the crew perished. War had not been declared, and the attack was made in a manner that was regarded as unjustifiable and barbarous. However, the Maritime Court at Shanghai was said to have decided that the captain of the *Naniwa* was free from blame, and that no claim could be raised against Japan under the circumstances. The Chinese Emperor issued an edict declaring that Corea had been tributary to China for 200 years; that the King of Corea had asked for assistance to put down rebellion; that the troops were sent, and that the rebels were dispersed, but the *Wojan*—pestilent Japs—suddenly sent troops to Corea to change the form of government. He commanded the armies of China to drive out the intruders. This edict did not frighten Japan at all, but she continued to send large armies to cope with the Chinese reinforcements. On July 29 the Japanese captured Chan-hon; a few days later, after a severe fight, they took Asan; but nothing decisive occurred till the middle of September. Many conflicting reports of victories won by either side were published, but in the main the Japanese were successful in these skirmishes.

Japan made a formal declaration of war about the beginning of August, giving certain reasons for the course taken that were not strictly in accordance with facts. It charged China with being the aggressor, that no other course was open but to declare war, and that Corea was an independent country which Japan had first induced to open its doors to foreign intercourse. It was announced officially in Japan on June 30 that the King of Corea had declared himself independent of China, and that, therefore, he had been assisted by Japan in driving the Chinese from Asan. At the same time the Korean Government repudi-

ated all treaties with China, and the King appointed a new Cabinet pledged to carry out internal reforms.

The further account of the war will be found under the head of "China."

#### V. JAPAN.

Parliament was dissolved at the beginning of the year, and a general election was held, March 1, when the Liberals made a gain, securing over 120 seats, but they had not a majority. Disturbances and bloodshed again took place throughout the country, caused chiefly by the Soshi, who were hired by the opposing factions to interfere in the elections. A vehement struggle continued for the mastery between the many groups of the Lower House. Even the new Constitution seemed to be in some danger. The combined opposition was still powerful enough to make it impossible for the Government to pass any important measure without compromise. That course it declined to take. The newly-elected House appeared to have a greater desire to humiliate the Ministers than to act for the interests of the State. The deadlock continued till the end of May, and the only answer to an address, presented by the Diet to the Mikado on the situation of affairs, was his mandate of dissolution. Within sixty days another House of Representatives was elected, consisting of 109 Government supporters, 149 Opposition, and 39 Independents. During the interval the Corean disturbance had developed into a war with China, which had the support of popular sentiment, and therefore when the Diet met in special session in the temporary Parliament House, erected at the military headquarters at Hiroshima, October 15, it gave its approval by voting the entire sum asked for the prosecution of the war. Bills authorising war loans to the amount of 100,000,000 yen, and a total war expenditure of 150,000,000 yen, were carried unanimously.

Count Ito, the Premier, made an elaborate speech to the Upper House, defending Japan against the charge of precipitating hostilities, and read the diplomatic correspondence with the Chinese Foreign Office that had taken place before the rupture. He also addressed the Lower House on the necessity of restoring order in Corea. The Diet voted, before adjournment on October 22, a memorial to the Government urging the achievement of a complete victory, and the severe punishment of China to prevent her from disturbing the peace again.

Extensive preparations for war had been made in Japan for three years or more, although Japanese statesmen asserted that war with China was not anticipated. Japan was ready for the contest, while China was very far from being prepared for war.

A new commercial treaty was ratified at Tokio (Aug. 25) between Great Britain and Japan. It abolished the special restrictions under which British subjects had hitherto carried on trade, and terminated the jurisdiction of British Courts in

Japan—such jurisdiction in future to be assumed and exercised by the Japanese Courts. The treaty was not to take effect for five years, and at any time after the expiration of four years a year's notice from Japan would make it operative for a period of twelve years. By the treaty a new import tariff came into effect at once, superseding the old tariff and largely increasing the duties. The treaty was regarded by the entire foreign colony as a shameful sacrifice of British interests. A similar treaty, abolishing extra-territorial jurisdiction, was pending with the United States, but was retarded by questions relating to the immigration into America of Japanese coolies.

The war with China was universally popular in Japan. It satisfied Japanese longing for something imitative and progressive. The press and popular orators stirred the people to expect the conquest of China, or at least of Manchuria, and great preparations were made for a descent upon Peking early in the spring. Two loans of 30,000,000 and 50,000,000 yen had been issued and taken, but the total currency of Japan was only 160,000,000 yen, and the people might subscribe from patriotic motives and yet be unable to provide the funds. Interest-bearing notes, amounting to some 3,500,000 yen (a yen being two shillings), were issued to relieve the stringency of the money market, but it had only the effect of depreciating the currency. Unless China was forced to pay a heavy war indemnity in money there was prospect of complete financial collapse. Over one-third of the Japanese annual income of 9,000,000*l.* sterling was raised from the land, and the tax pressed so heavily that it was said that the farmers could not afford to eat the rice that they grew. They could not bear any additional burden without absolute ruin. Japan intensely desired to be classed as a great nation. Ambition had led her into war, and like other nations she might at last find the burdens of war intolerable.

## CHAPTER VI.

### AFRICA.

#### I. EGYPT, MOROCCO, ETC.

ONCE again the history of the year in Egypt was a history of steady progress, hampered and impeded though such progress was by the difficulties, both external and internal, against which the Egyptian Government and its British advisers had to contend. In the early part of the year the attitude alike of the Khedive and of the Prime Minister, Riaz, made the task of the English officials peculiarly difficult, and in January an incident occurred which caused considerable friction and annoyance. On a tour of inspection paid to the Egyptian Army at Assuan, his Highness took occasion to comment in severe



terms on the bearing and discipline of some of the Egyptian troops, who had only a short time previously been highly complimented, both by the Turkish Commissioner, El Ghezi Mukhtan Pasha, and by General Walker, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of Occupation. The Khedive's strictures made a very unfavourable impression. General Kitchener, the Sirdar, offered to resign. A good deal of ill-feeling resulted; and the incident was only closed by the unqualified withdrawal on the part of the Khedive of his unfavourable comments, by the transference to another office of Maher Pasha, the Under Secretary for War, who was supposed to have suggested the unfortunate criticism, and by the marked recognition by the British Government of the services rendered by General Kitchener to the Egyptian Army. Shortly afterwards the appointment of Sir E. H. Zohrab Pasha, a distinguished officer, of Armenian race and of the Christian religion, who served on Lord Wolseley's staff at Tel-el-Kebir, to succeed Maher Pasha at the Ministry of War, removed the risk of further friction there.

After the settlement of this question, the attitude of the native press, and of that part of it which was supposed to represent the opinion of the palace, continued to be violently hostile to British influence in Egypt, but the relations of the Khedive to the British advisers remained undisturbed, and in April an event occurred which contributed to a better understanding. On April 14 the Ministry of Riaz Pasha, which had long been marked by veiled hostility to English feeling, went out of power. The Prime Minister and his colleagues resigned. The Khedive accepted the advice of Lord Cromer, and a new Government, under Nubar Pasha, was formed. In the new Administration, Nubar took the Ministry of the Interior, while Mustaphe Fehmy Pasha, perhaps in deference to English feeling, returned to power as Minister of War, and Fakhri Pasha became Minister of Public Works and Instruction, in deference to the wishes of the Khedive. At the same time Boutros Pasha received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, Ibrahim Fuad Pasha that of Justice, and Mazloun Pasha that of Finance. The appointment of the new Government became the pretext for fresh irritability on the part of France, and for a violent outbreak on the part of the *Journal Egyptien*, which had the presumption to pose as the organ of the palace, directed chiefly against the new Minister of War. But there was no doubt that the abilities of Nubar, and his cordial recognition of the necessity of working on friendly terms with the English officials, had contributed to tranquillity in Egypt and to the progress of administrative reform:

In matters of administration, the record of the year was on the whole distinctly satisfactory. The report on the administration of justice during the past two years, issued by Sir John Scott—whose new distinction had been amply earned—bore

witness to the increasing competence of the local summary courts, to the large increase in the number of convictions for petty offences, and to the diminution of violence and crime.

At the same time it had to admit the difficulty of finding competent men to fill judicial posts. On the prolongation in January of the Mixed Tribunals for a period of five years more, the Powers agreed that all questions at issue between natives relating to land should in future be transferred to the jurisdiction of the local courts. And in October a much larger reform, bearing on the administration of justice, was carried through with the hearty co-operation of the English officials and of Nubar Pasha. In accordance with the long-standing project of the Prime Minister, it was agreed that the semi-military and separate organisation of the police, which had never proved altogether satisfactory, and which had never secured effectual co-operation between the police, the provincial governors and the native tribunals, should be swept away. Thenceforward the police were to gradually become a wholly civil force, directly under the provincial governors, for the maintenance of order, but under the Judicial Department for the detection of crime. The police were thus replaced under native control, but at the same time the influence of English ideas and of English supervision was maintained by the appointment of an English official attached to the Ministry of the Interior, with a staff of inspectors under him, who would watch and direct the whole system, while developing as far as possible the influence and responsibility of the local authorities and village sheikhs. Mr. Gorst, formerly Under Secretary of Finance, was attached for this purpose to the Ministry of the Interior, and Colonel Settle, the Inspector General of Police, retired.

On other points, too, the Egyptian Government showed a praiseworthy activity during the year. Negotiations were set on foot for a fresh commercial convention between Egypt and Greece, which would extend the Egyptian right of search over Greek vessels and thus stop smuggling under the Greek flag, and which on the other side would give Greece a market for her tobacco. An agreement was also made with the Powers, which enabled the Egyptian Government to secure a slight addition to their share of the surpluses which they annually divided in the most inequitable proportions with the Public Debt Commission, and by which they undertook to spend some 40,000*l.* a year in meeting the deficits of the Quarantine Board, in constructing quarantine stations at Suez and elsewhere, and in building new lighthouses now greatly wanted in the Red Sea. The schemes for the great Nile reservoir, which was to increase the annual rental of Egypt by 5,500,000*l.*, were steadily pushed forward. After much inquiry by commissions, and many complaints by the lovers of the Philae temples, whose site the engineers would impiously flood, the Council of Ministers decided to construct the reservoir

at Assouan on the site first proposed by Mr. Wilcocks and recommended by Sir Benjamin Baker and Signor Torricelli. Nubar Pasha formed a plan for creating an agricultural bureau to popularise scientific farming, and the Khedive approved a proposal of Sir J. Scott for establishing an agricultural school for youthful offenders. The Government decided to spend 150,000*l.* on constructing a new museum to contain the Ghizeh collection; and to increase the riches of that collection. Mr. De Morgan, the chief of the Antiquities Department, discovered the entrance to the mysterious brick pyramid of Dashoor near Sakkara, in which he found fifteen chambers full of splendid sarcophagi dating from the twelfth dynasty, 2,000 years before Christ.

In more serious matters the Government had considerable difficulties to encounter. The General Assembly and the Legislative Council, so far as their opportunities allowed, again showed the hostility and incompetence of all that represented native feeling, and by their crude and unfriendly comments on matters alike of finance and of administration, again displayed their determination to obstruct us, and their entire want of sympathy with every effort that we were making to regenerate Egypt. Again, shortly after the appointment of the new Government, a curious difficulty arose over an agreement made by the Daira Sanieh to sell to the Behereh Irrigation Company, in which Europeans were largely interested, a considerable tract of land for which a group of native buyers had made an unsuccessful bid. The decision of the Daira Sanieh provoked a storm of native grumbling, which the Government were able happily to quiet by allotting to the native buyers lands of equal value elsewhere. A still more serious agitation was caused by the determination of the Government to try by court-martial a number of high-placed offenders, including Ali Pasha Shereef, the President of the Legislative Council and of the General Assembly, who were accused of joining in, or conniving at, the trade in slaves. The action of the authorities was promptly denounced as an instance of the British desire to oppress the natives. But the authorities stood firm; and although the President of the Legislative Council managed so far to evade trial, and although the court-martial showed in its findings some of that tenderness for dignitaries which inevitably vitiates Oriental justice, still most of the offenders were condemned on the evidence given; Ali Pasha Shereef was driven to resign his offices, and it was hoped something had been done to check the slave trade and to discourage law-breaking in high places. The violent and abusive attacks on English tyranny which this episode produced formed, with other material, the ground for the expulsion of the proprietor of the *Journal Egyptien*, an Italian subject whom the Italian authorities requested to leave Egypt. For a time it seemed as if the bitterness of the Egyptian press were going to abate, and even the

*Bosphore Egyptien* began to show signs of steadily increasing moderation. But at the end of the year the new policy of the *Bosphore* so displeased anti-English opinion that that newspaper suddenly ceased, and the *Journal Egyptien*, under French patronage, reopened its virulent attacks on the English officials.

But however the newspapers might rage against us, year by year the finances of Egypt bore the same testimony to our work. The final returns for 1893 show that the revenue was nearly 10,579,000*l.*, and that the expenditure reached 9,840,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 739,000*l.* But of this large surplus only 123,000*l.* remained at the disposal of the Government, as 263,000*l.* went to the Caisse de la Dette Publique for the general reserve fund, and 353,000*l.*, derived from the savings by the conversion of the debt, could not be touched without the consent of all the Powers, and that consent, however urgently Egypt might require it, France for her own purposes refused still to give. During the year 920,000*l.* of the public debt was paid off, and the total reserve from all sources amounted to 3,642,000*l.*, nearly the whole of which was drawn from the surpluses of the last few years, in spite of the fact that during those years the land tax had been reduced by more than 1,000,000*l.* annually. The Budget for the year 1895, presented to the Council of Ministers at the end of November, also showed a surplus amounting to 68,000*l.*, but of this surplus again for the same reason very little was available for the urgent needs of Egypt. The receipts were estimated at 10,517,000*l.*, a forecast rather less favourable than the results of last year. The expenditure was estimated at the same figure as that of 1894. A larger yield was expected from tobacco duties and from railways. Provision was made for expenses in connection with the proposed Nile reservoir, for improvements in the postal service, for the establishment of a separate penitentiary for juvenile offenders, and for other small reforms. But the interest and danger of the Budget attached to the profits of the land tax, the payment of a part of which was deferred until the end of the year, in view of the possible necessity of remitting this payment altogether. There could be no doubt that the fall in the value of land and the low prices of agricultural produce had told very heavily on the cultivators of late. The one reasonable suggestion among the irrational demands recently made by the Legislative Council was their request for some remissions in the land tax. No one was more alive than the Financial Adviser to the urgent desirability of reducing that tax, and no one would more readily do so, if only the impossible policy of France did not lock up as useless the surpluses which ought properly to go in relieving the burdened taxpayers of Egypt.

Outside the frontiers of Egypt, and in other parts of the North African littoral, there was comparatively little to record. The agitations of the Soudan were for the time quiescent, except for occasional rumours of the Khalifa's activity, and for

occasional conflicts between the Italian garrisons upon the eastern coast and bodies of Dervishes and Abyssinian tribesmen in the desert. It seemed that the loose combination of the Mahdists was gradually falling to pieces, and that the Khalifa's authority was no longer so formidable as it had been.

From Morocco, however, the news this year was more precise and important. In January, Marshal Campos visited the Sultan of Morocco on a special mission in connection with the recent troubles at Melilla between the Spaniards and the Moors. The Spanish Ambassador was received with pomp and courtesy. The Spanish demands were agreed to; and in March the marshal returned to his country, having settled all points in dispute, and having secured a treaty which bound the Sultan among other things to admit Spanish consuls at Fez and Morocco, and to pay an indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas to Spain. But early in June the security of Morocco was threatened by the unexpected death of the Sultan. A young prince, Abdul Aziz, a boy of fourteen, was placed on the throne by the Grand Vizier. The powerful Shereef of Wazan acknowledged the new sovereign. The foreign consuls helped to keep order in the sea-coast towns. The new Sultan promised to satisfy Spain, and appeared fully to satisfy his subjects, when suddenly grave troubles broke out. In July a widespread conspiracy, organised apparently by the late Grand Vizier, Hadj Hahim Zambi, and his brother, Sid Mohamed Segir, Chief Cadi of the Army and late Minister for War, and certainly connived at by Muley Omar, one of the older brothers of the new Sultan, and by other high functionaries at court, threatened an alarming combination against the young ruler's throne. The discovery of the plot, however, by somewhat romantic methods, on the eve of its execution, enabled the Government to seize the conspirators. Muley Omar was arrested in his house. His accomplices were seized and thrown into irons, but in spite of the advice of his officials, the Sultan refused to take their lives. The authorities, as a whole, supported the Sultan, and the plot ignominiously collapsed. Within a short time of the suppression of the conspiracy, however, a very serious rising occurred. The Kabyles, goaded into revolt by misgovernment, rose against their local rulers, pillaged various places in the North-eastern district, threatened the town of Mazagan, and laid siege to the city of Morocco. But gradually the vigour of the Moorish authorities, or more probably perhaps the fact that the rebels had satisfied their feelings and established their right to have their grievances considered, led to the dispersal of the revolted tribesmen. The country settled down again to comparative tranquillity; and by the end of October, when a British envoy, Mr. Ernest Satow, arrived at Fez with a special mission to the Sultan's court, to discuss outstanding questions, and among other things the recent appointment of a permanent British consul at Fez, the new Sultan was able to welcome his visitors with a certain sense of security and peace.

## II. SOUTH AFRICA.

*Cape Colony.*—The Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes, Premier of the Colony, at a banquet given to him in January at Cape Town, made an important speech, in which he paid tribute to the fairness of his political opponents. Although they might differ from him in his domestic policy, he hoped that they would support him in his dual position, and in the enterprise in the North. As to the necessity for the recent Matabele war, he had tried to postpone action in every way, but he could not leave the people of Mashonaland exposed to the risk of having their servants slaughtered. The High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, he said, had fully comprehended the situation. The campaign was carried on with humanity, and the work done by the Salisbury storekeepers with a Cape Colony Volunteer training, would have cost the mother country millions to accomplish. He had for twelve years held that the *Hinterland* was a reversion to the Cape, and his plan was to paint on the map of Africa as British all those portions which were not occupied by other Powers. This was his "broad idea," and in a later speech at Kimberley, he asked, through his own constituency, the South African electorate to support him loyally, and to give him colleagues who would support him loyally through the five anxious coming years.

The elections for the Cape Parliament were concluded in February, and gave Mr. Rhodes a new lease of power. The new Assembly was composed of three parties—the Government party counting at least 25 votes, and led by Mr. Rhodes; the Opposition party with 18 votes, and led by Mr. Sauer and Mr. Innes; and the *Africander Bond* party with about 25 votes, led by Mr. Hofmeyer, on a general principle of support to the Government, but with the right reserved to oppose any individual measure of which they might disapprove. Mr. Hofmeyer, having accepted the latest name given him by the extreme parties—that of the "Great South African Opportunist"—was warmly in sympathy with Mr. Rhodes' Northern policy, and the alliance between the Bond and the Government was practically a coalition rendered possible by the principles of opportunism.

Parliament assembled in May, re-electing Sir David Tennent Speaker. He had held that office for the last twenty-five years. In a speech from the throne, the acting administrator, Sir W. Gordon Cameron, referred to the native land policy of the Government, and said that it was intended to issue individual titles to land, with restrictions on alienation. He also expressed the strong sympathy of the Government towards an Imperial Customs Union.

In the House of Assembly, on May 25, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, Treasurer of the Colony, said that a message had been received from the President of the Orange Free State, inviting all the

parties to the Customs Union to attend a conference for revising the tariff, and that the Cape Government had replied that it was ready to discuss the question of a fitting time for such a conference. As this proposal of tariff revision included possible railway arrangements with competitors, it would mean a loss of revenue, and a reduction of taxation could not therefore be expected, notwithstanding the present surplus.

On July 10, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg moved a resolution, expressing approval of the Government's entering the Customs Conference, with himself and two others as delegates. Their general policy would be "nothing for protection and all for revenue." A reduction of the tariff on necessities, aid to manufacturers only by a reduction of duties on raw materials, and reductions of the duties on building materials, cotton pieces, blankets, hosiery, and agricultural implements, were advocated; but the Government held that there should be an increase of duties on liquor, and special *ad valorem* duties on guns, confectionery, furniture, jewellery, musical instruments, vehicles, and the higher kinds of wines.

In September an act was passed for the registration of designs,—in the main modelled on the English law—the fees for registration being rather higher than in England.

On June 18, in the Assembly, Mr. Rhodes was asked why he had not included in the Chartered Company's agreement a clause admitting Cape produce free. Mr. Rhodes replied that he had fought strenuously for a clause providing that no higher duties should be imposed on British goods than were imposed at present by the South African Union Tariff, a clause leaving it free that foreign imported goods might have a higher rate imposed on them in the future, and that products from countries now or hereafter to be included in the South African Customs Union should be admitted free for all time. The Home Government, he said, resisted the first provision as opposed to general British fiscal policy, and the second because it could not sanction preferential duties. He thought the best return a colony could make for the protection and help of the people of England would be to allow British manufactured goods to pass in at a fair rate. He thought it a most extraordinary thing that when the English people were offered the privilege that south of the Zambezi their goods should be admitted for ever on a fair basis, their rulers absolutely refused.

Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, in introducing the Budget in June, declared that, in spite of the droughts and the plague of locusts, the country was prosperous. The exports for the year amounted to 13,000,000*l.*; the imports to 11,500,000*l.*, the highest figure yet reached. The exports included gold from the Transvaal to the amount of 5,250,000*l.*, but they must add exports of colonial produce to inland States of 331,000*l.* The goods entered for consumption within the Customs Union area amounted to 8,000,000*l.*, which was just balanced by the exports from the

same area. This he considered a healthy state of things. Nearly all agricultural products were advancing except wool, which had gone seriously backward. He hoped that wool would improve by the passing of the Scab Bill, the most important measure passed during the last forty years. The increase in the consumption of luxuries, the number of railway passengers, and the state of the Post Office were all signs of advance. The total expenditure for the year was 5,031,000*l.*, 65,000*l.* below the estimate, while the surplus was 334,161*l.* He proposed to apply the surplus in replacing money borrowed in previous years. The estimate of the revenue for the coming year was 5,191,450*l.*, and the estimated surplus 97,000*l.* Looking at the possibilities of a reduction in the railway revenue by competition, despite possible conventions, and also at a possible tariff reduction, he could promise no remission of taxation. The credit of the colony was never so high.

An existing system of native land reservations for the Kaffir population had enabled them to live without work. The Glen Grey Land and Labour Bill was devised to change this condition of things. It provided for the resurvey of the land, dividing it into allotments of about six acres each, and giving to these allotments individual titles with right of descent in the male line by a fixed rule of primogeniture. The object of the bill in brief was to turn idle men into useful labourers, and to restrict the franchise to the industrious. It passed both Houses of the Cape Parliament in August after an unusual struggle. The bill did not recognise manhood suffrage for the Kaffir, but was defined by Mr. Rhodes as a bill embodying the principle of "no liquor and no vote" for that lazy person. Persons leaving the district could become voters by earning the right, and voters in the district were not deprived of their electoral rights. It gave the black man for the first time an inalienable title to land, and it also diminished the chances of creating a half-cast population by separating the dwelling-places of the whites and the natives.

The Cape Railways in 1893 yielded 4*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* per cent., excluding the Orange Free State share of the profits; or, including that, 5*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* per cent.

The gold output of Cape Colony for the year was 2,024,000 oz. The export of gold showed an increase of nearly 2,000,000*l.*, while that of diamonds and general produce decreased to the amount of 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The imports into the colony in 1894 amounted to 11,588,000*l.*, and the exports to 13,812,000*l.*

At a banquet given in his honour at Cape Town (Oct. 27) Dr. Jameson spoke of Matabeleland and Mashonaland under the name of "Rhodesia," and testified to the support which the public opinion of Cape Colony had given to the Chartered Company in their enterprise of northward extension.

*Natal.*—The Natal and Transvaal Railway Convention was signed in February. It provided that the Transvaal Government should construct the line from Volksrust, and that the



maximum through rate from Durban to Johannesburg and Pretoria per mile should be—on ordinary goods 6*d.* per ton, and on rough goods 3*d.* per ton; the minimum rate being fixed at 3*d.* and 1½*d.* respectively; but in no case was the rate to go below that of the Delagoa Bay Railway. The line was to be completed and opened throughout before the close of the year 1895, and Natal was forbidden to extend the Harrismith line to any point north of Kroonstad.

The Natal revenue, after three years' depression, was beginning to improve at the end of the year.

The first regular session of the Natal Parliament under the new Constitution was opened on April 25 by the Governor, Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson. The measures brought forward during the session included bills for reform in the Civil Service, for reorganisation of the police, for the building of light railways, and for the adjustment of relations between masters and native servants.

By the Franchise Bill which was passed in the summer, and sent to the Queen for her approval, all persons of Asiatic extraction, except those rightly entitled to vote at the date of the promulgation of the Act, and those who were otherwise competent and qualified as electors, were disqualified from having their names inserted on any electoral roll. The European population of the colony was about 45,000; the coolies from British India numbered about 41,000; while the native Kaffirs exceeded 450,000. The coolie vote already numbered 400 on an electoral roll of 10,000, and the bill was intended to check the tendency of the colony to lapse into a Kaffir dependency of British India.

*Pondoland*.—A proclamation in March announced the settlement of the Pondoland question. The chiefs, Sigcau for Eastern Pondoland, and Nquliso for Western Pondoland, ceded the territory to the Queen, with the only condition that it should not be sub-divided. The country was annexed to Cape Colony, although Natal claimed that a strong section of the Pondo people desired to come under the Natal Government.

*Zuuland*.—Owing to increase of population, the hut tax was yielding a larger revenue. In 1893 the total revenue from all sources was 43,666*l.*, and the expenditure 38,854*l.* During the year, the number of resident Europeans increased from 700 to 857. Interest was reviving in the Nondweni goldfields, and a large tract of land was marked off for mining operations, while coal in large quantities was to be had in the lower Umfolosi and Hlabisa districts.

*Orange Free State*.—The Government of the Free State having received from President Krüger the conditions upon which the Charlestown extension of the Natal Railway into the Transvaal had been sanctioned by him, the Free State Volksraad almost unanimously passed the bill for the extension of the main line

from Harrismith to Kroonstad, and authorised President Retz to negotiate for its construction.

*Transvaal, or South African Republic.*—The Volksraad was opened on May 7. War with Magato, the paramount chief in Zoutpansberg, North of Pretoria, was regarded in May as inevitable. This chief positively refused to go into the territory assigned to him, although he was willing to pay all taxes demanded by the Transvaal Government. The Staats Artillery, with two field guns, two mountain guns and one Maxim, left Pretoria May 19, "commandeering" for money, goods and assistance, in fighting the rebel chiefs who refused to pay taxes and generally defied the Government.

Great indignation prevailed among the British subjects in the Transvaal, who, though excluded from the franchise, were "commandeered." In June a telegram was sent to Lord Rosebery, informing him of the arrest of five British subjects at Pretoria for refusing to undergo compulsory military service against a native tribe at Zoutpansberg, and asking the protection of English subjects. Under strong pressure, President Krüger used his influence with the Volksraad to pass a law exempting foreigners resident in the State from "commandeering," on payment of the war tax. In July, however, they were still levied upon for supplies of money and goods.

Another very excited British demonstration was made on the arrival of Sir H. Loch at Pretoria at the end of the month of June. Sir Henry Loch was cheered and President Krüger was hooted, and there were other demonstrations on the part of a large crowd which became so violent that Sir H. Loch begged them to remember that he was the President's guest and they must respect his position there.

Three hundred British residents waited upon Sir Henry Loch on the 26th. The spokesman, on proceeding to comment upon the grievances of the British subjects, was interrupted by the High Commissioner, who enjoined upon the deputation observance of the laws of the country, and declared that her Majesty's Government would consider any disabilities complained of by British subjects in the Transvaal. He warned his hearers that force should be used only in the last resort, and expressed the hope of securing a satisfactory settlement of their grievances.

Sir Henry Loch stated that, although he was most anxious to assist President Krüger in maintaining order, he considered that the many grievances of foreign residents were justifiable enough to deserve speedy consideration.

A great mass meeting was held at Johannesburg (July 14) for the purpose of demanding that the franchise should be extended to all aliens, and insisting that the Constitution should be amended and made more genuinely democratic. In consequence of this meeting the Volksraad passed at one sitting two readings of a bill restricting severely the right of public meeting.

No outdoor meetings or addresses were to be allowed, and an assemblage of six persons would be considered a public meeting. The police were given power by this bill to order those present to disperse, and every one attending was made liable to imprisonment for two years, while the callers of any meeting that the police might consider to be against the public peace might be fined 500*l.* or sentenced to two years' hard labour.

The rebel chief Malaboch, after making two desperate and fruitless attempts to break through the cordon of troops surrounding the caves in which he and his followers had taken refuge, surrendered to General Joubert (July 31). On the return of the "commandeered" men from the war President Krüger welcomed them, and said that no doubt the Volksraad would bestow on them the rights of full citizenship. The effect of the Franchise Act passed in June, however, was in general to prevent any citizen from obtaining the franchise unless his father was born in the State or had been naturalised.

The formation of committees by aliens for the support of political candidates was rendered penal.

In August the Kaffirs were in open revolt in the Zoutpansberg district, and were burning homesteads, killing Boer farmers, and capturing cattle. General Joubert ordered a general advance of the "commandos" against them, severe fighting took place (Aug. 29), and the rebels sued for peace.

The Volksraad postponed for one year the consideration of the Government proposal to grant the franchise to the foreign residents who had recently served in the various "commandos" against the Kaffir rebels.

*Swaziland.*—The Queen-Regent of the Swazis refused to sign the Convention allowing Transvaal rule, and six Swazi envoys visited England in November in the hope of inducing Queen Victoria to establish a British Protectorate over Swaziland. As there were existing treaties with the South African Republic binding Great Britain to establish no Protectorate over Swaziland without the consent of the Transvaal Government, their journey was fruitless. The difficulty dates back to Umbandine, father of the present king. It was in his reign that the Boers acquired grazing rights so extensive in Swaziland as to amount to a virtual possession of the pastoral portions of the State. Mining concessions followed. In their train went concessions to make roads to administer the postal service, and to collect the Customs. Before long every right of the smallest value in the country, which was not already in the possession of a white man, passed into Transvaal hands. The Convention of 1884, which guaranteed the independence of the Swazis, forbade an actual treaty of annexation to the Dutch Republic. It was found, when Sir Francis de Winton was sent out, in 1889, to conduct an inquiry on the spot into the state of affairs, that everything else had been conceded. The Transvaal was in legal possession of every source of revenue from which funds

for the administration of the country could be raised. A new Convention—practically a repetition of the old one in force, but in stronger terms—was signed this year in December, whereby the Transvaal had limited suzerain power over Swaziland. Great Britain had the right to appoint a Consul. The value of the Convention would depend upon its being loyally carried out. Under this instrument the Swazis were allowed until May, 1895, to sign the organic proclamation. Failing to do so, it would come into force without their consent.

*Damaruland.*—Hendrik Witbooi, the Hottentot chief, who last year was seriously interfering with German colonisation in the South-west, and who plundered the station of Kubub, carrying off cattle and destroying by fire all property that he could not take with him, at last concluded a truce with Major Leutwein, the German Commissioner, until August 1, promising to give then an answer to the terms offered him. It was found necessary, on August 27, to storm the stronghold in the Naukloof of the robber chief. He retreated towards the south, and sent to beg for peace. The German loss in the fight amounted to nine killed and eleven wounded. After several fights, Witbooi surrendered unconditionally.

*Matabeleland.*—The trader, Dawson, who crossed the Shangani River to the scene of the last stand of Major Wilson and his comrades, in their attempt to capture Lobengula, found within a circle of fifteen yards thirty-three skulls; one skull was lying outside some thirty yards away. Collecting the remains, he buried them in one grave, and set up over them a wooden cross, inscribing on it, "*To Brave Men.*"

The names of the men forming Major Wilson's party were as follows: Captains Fitzgerald Judd, Greenfield, Kirton and Borrow; Lieutenants Huges and Hofmeyr; Sergeants Harding, Brown, Bradburn and Barkly; Corporals Kinloch and Colquhoun, and Troopers Welby, Robertson, John Robertson, Hellet, Dillon, Money, Vogel (son of Sir Julius Vogel), Lewis, Devoi, Watson, J. Watson, Brock, Britton, Bath, Nunn, Tuck, Thompson, Abbott, Mackenzie and Meiklejohn. In April, Dawson brought the remains to Bulawayo.

Lobengula died of fever January 23, at a place about forty miles south of the Zambezi River. He had sent by three messengers a present of money amounting to about 1,000*l.* to the Forbes' patrol, asking them to stop in their pursuit as he would surrender. The gold was handed to two troopers of the imperial police, named Daniels and Wilson, who suppressed the message and appropriated the money. The thieves, who were morally the murderers of Major Wilson's party and of Lobengula also, were taken, found guilty, and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude.

The administration of Matabeleland under Dr. Jameson made steady progress. In Bulawayo many buildings were going up—some of them quite large. The gold finds were

better than ever, and the general outlook of the country as to revenue and expenditure, as well as from mining and land points of view, was very bright and encouraging.

*Rhodesia.*—An agreement was signed in November, separating the affairs of the Protectorate, under the administration of Mr. H. H. Johnston, her Majesty's Consul and Commissioner, from those of the British South African Company's sphere, and transferring to the direct administration of the company a vast territory, hitherto held in trust by her Majesty's Commissioner—the whole sphere to be directly administered from Salisbury by the administrator of the company, Dr. Jameson, thus placing the whole territory under one direct government. It also brought to an end the financial arrangement by which the company had borne the expenses of the Imperial Protectorate.

### III. EAST AFRICA.

*Zanzibar.*—The untimely death of Sir Gerald Portal was deeply lamented in Zanzibar amongst all classes and nationalities. Mr. Arthur Hardinge, who had had a varied experience in diplomatic service, was appointed to succeed Sir G. Portal, as her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, in February.

Two of the Hyderabad sepoys, who were tried at Mombasa for the murder of Mr. Hamilton, agent of the East African Company, at Kismayu, were found guilty, and sentenced to death. The third was convicted of armed rioting, and sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

The affairs of the British East African Company, so long in suspense, were in a fair way of settlement at the close of the year. It was understood that the Government were desirous of making a cash payment for the complete cession of rights held by the company on the coast and in the interior. For the Zanzibar concession, no more than 200,000*l.* could be allowed, that being the whole sum at the disposal of the Zanzibar Government for the purposes of purchase. As to the interior rights, the money would need to be voted by Parliament.

*German East Africa.*—Baron von Schele, the Imperial Governor, presented in May the report of his journey in the previous autumn through the Southern districts of German East Africa. He considered that the value of the colony for Germany lay in the hilly and upland districts, and expressed the opinion that only by the construction of railways could the trade and commerce of the country be opened up to any considerable extent. The expenditure for these would not be far in excess of that for ordinary roads, if the lines were laid in a cheap and primitive fashion suitable to the object in view.

Fighting took place, October 13, between German troops from Tabora, and the Wahehe who were retreating northwards

before the main column under Baron von Schele. The Germans were victorious, but they suffered severely, and several of their officers were killed.

On October 30, the fortified town of Kuirenga, in the country of the Uhehe, was stormed and taken after a severe fight. The town had two citadels, and was defended by 3,000 warriors. Some 1,500 women and children, mostly slaves, were liberated, and stores of ivory and gunpowder were captured, with several thousand head of cattle. An attack made on November 6 by some 1,500 natives on the Germans returning with their booty was repulsed without serious loss.

*Italian East Africa.*—The town of Kassala, which for a long time had been the chief stronghold of the dervishes in the Eastern Soudan, was captured by the Italians (July 17). Colonel Baratieri, the Governor-General of Erythrea, was at Keren when the news of the dervish advance reached him on the 12th. He at once hurried to the front with all the forces at his command, and on the following day arrived at Dunguas, but only to find that the enemy were in retreat. He closely pursued them for four days, passing successively by Unascarf and Nacuit, and on the evening of the 16th reached Sabderat. At dawn on the 17th Colonel Baratieri arrived unexpectedly in front of Kassala, where the dervishes had taken refuge. The Italian forces, consisting altogether of 2,400 men, including Italians and native auxiliaries, under fifty-four officers, at once advanced to the attack, and after a fierce battle Kassala was carried by assault and occupied by the Italians. The dervishes made a stubborn defence, and lost very heavily. A large number of flags and cannon were captured. The dervishes who escaped fled towards the river Atbara.

*Portuguese East Africa.*—Disturbances took place at Lorenzo Marquez, caused by Kaffirs who were dissatisfied with the Portuguese Government, and especially felt the injustice of being pressed into army service for the West Coast. The levying of an additional hut tax was another cause of complaint. The rebels attacked the town (Oct. 14), but were driven back by a heavy cannonade. Twelve Portuguese were killed. Foreigners in Lorenzo Marquez were complaining of the extortion and unjust taxation imposed upon them. A general combination against the Portuguese, which threatened to include Gungunhama, the powerful chief of Gazaland, was feared by them, and troops, arms, and ammunition were shipped from Lisbon to reinforce the garrison and to subdue the natives.

The occupation of Kionga Bay and the planting of the German flag there led to a diplomatic protest by Portugal, which claimed that the bay in question was included in Portuguese territory. The occupation of Kionga was carried out by an officer and twenty native soldiers. Baron von Schele ordered the occupation, as it had been discovered that not only

was a brisk smuggling trade in arms and ammunition carried on over the frontier, but that the slave trade also was flourishing in the Kionga district.

#### IV. WEST AFRICA.

*Dahomey*.—Behanzin, pursued by the French troops, and by the population which rallied to support the new king, Gouthili, surrendered (Jan. 25) at Ajego, north-west of Abomey. He had fought bravely, and had defended his kingdom with tenacity and courage. The French sent out a civil governor, M. Ballot, to take the place of the military administration. Behanzin was taken first to St. Louis, Senegal, and from thence he sailed to Martinique, where he landed March 30. Four of his eighty wives attended him, and four of his children.

According to French reports, which have been contradicted, the King of Bariba or Borgu in December concluded with Captain Decœur and M. Alby at Nikki a treaty accepting the Protectorate of France and her right to station a resident with an escort at Nikki. That town, the capital of Bariba, is a little northward of the tenth parallel of latitude, and is nearly on the same degree of longitude as Portonovo.

*Royal Niger Company*.—So long ago as January 20, 1890, the company concluded a treaty placing Borgu under British protection, as clearly and fully announced by Lord Aberdare in July, 1890. A treaty confirming the rights of the Royal Niger Company over Borgu was concluded at Nikki in Borgu (Nov. 10) by Captain Lugard, who had strict instructions to avoid conflict with French expeditions or trenching in any way on French rights.

*Lagos*.—Sir G. T. Carter, Governor of Lagos, visited the interior in August, and at Jebu Remo concluded a treaty with the chiefs to abolish human sacrifices and slave dealing in their territory and to encourage trade. In October he annexed the country of the Ikorodu, where in December he installed a native ruler. The chief Nana, whose town on the Benin River was stormed (Oct. 25) by a British punitive force, fled to Lagos without any following and gave himself up to the authorities, appealing to the Foreign Office to have the matters in dispute adjusted at Lagos. The spoils captured from Nana included 7,000 cases of Rotterdam gin, 600 cases of tobacco, and a great number of canoes laden with merchandise.

Nana was delivered over to the Consul-General of the Niger Coast Protectorate. He stated that 500 of his men were killed in the British operations against his stronghold on the Brohemie creek of the Benin River.

Nana having been disposed of, it was expected that the Protectorate authorities would proceed to Benin city to induce the King to open up his country, which possesses immense resources, to trade. A treaty already exists between the King and the British authorities.

*Gold Coast.*—At Cape Coast Castle the Governor, Sir Brandford Griffiths, was about to proceed to Coomassie in October to formally annex the Ashantee country as part of the Gold Coast Colony.

A Customs Convention between the British and German Governments was concluded this year, under which the territories of the two Powers on the Gold and Slave Coasts of Africa were to constitute a single Customs territory with a specified tariff.

*Sierra Leone.*—A fresh collision, following the deplorable Warina incident, occurred in February, between British and French native police in the Samu country, on the borders of Sierra Leone. Five of the natives from British territory were killed. The colony was practically hemmed in between French possessions and Liberia, and much bitterness was aroused in the colony by the gradual and steady French encroachment. It was said that unfair means were employed by the French officers for securing trade in the interior—especially in forcing caravans by their troops to turn aside into the French settlements on their way to Freetown. Colonel Ellis's expedition against the Sofas was entirely successful. Their stronghold of Kerra-Yemma was captured, and 673 slaves, who had been collected by the Sofas in various raids, were rescued.

*Gambia.*—A slave-raiding native chief, Fodi-Silah, had for some time created disturbances in the district known as Foreign Combo, within British jurisdiction, on the Gambia. He had been accustomed to raid caravans passing from one territory to another. Her Majesty's ship *Raleigh* and two others proceeded to Bathurst to co-operate with a portion of the West Indian regiment quartered on the spot. They met with a reverse at Kembujeh creek while returning to their landing-place, before the tide enabled their boats to approach the shore. Two lieutenants of the *Raleigh* and ten men were killed, while five officers and forty men were wounded. In March, the West Indian regiment, under Major Madden, attacked the stockaded posts of Busumballa and Jambur. The fighting was severe. Several British officers were wounded, and some sixty of the enemy were killed. The next day the column carried Fodi-Silah's position at Birkama after a hot fight. Gonjur, the chief stronghold, was bombarded by the fleet. The enemy was so demoralised by this, and by the advance of the troops, under Colonel Corbet, that the fort was abandoned before the arrival of the Naval Brigade and Major Madden's detachment. Fodi-Silah himself retreated into French territory (Senegal), where, with 200 men, he surrendered to M. d'Osmoy, the French officer. Fodi-Silah died at Sakh on September 19.

*Congo Free State.*—The expedition formerly commanded by Van den Kerckhoven advanced, under Captain Baert, towards the Nile, but was compelled to retreat by Soudanese dervishes.

Captain Deschamps occupied without resistance in April



the last *boma* of the Arab chief, Rumaliza, in the Tanganyika district, who fled to Urundi, on the German coast of the lake. Captain Long was to re-occupy Kibanga, and Lieutenant Lange had established a post north of the Peninsula of Ubwari, to keep watch over the Kassongo and Ujiji Arabs. Baron Dhanis, who received his title from King Leopold last year, returned to Belgium in October.

Several important captures were made by the officers under Baron Dhanis. Ismaila Mamba and Gaonga were brought up before a court-martial, and found guilty of the murder of Emin Pasha. Lieutenant Hambursin captured the Arab chief Mserera and his son Amici, who were accused of the murder of Lieutenant Michiels and Major Hodister and his officers. M. Lemery captured Piani Kitma and N'Tambwe, charged with having connived at the murder of Emin. Rachid, the former Vali at Stanley Falls, and Said Ben Abedi, the chief ally of Kibongi, were also seized.

Captain Jacques, who had been in command of an expedition against the slave-raiding Arabs in the Congo region, also returned to Belgium in June.

Agreements were concluded between France and the Congo State in August, settling important details respecting the frontier.

It was also understood that England and the Congo State had determined to recognise the German objections to Article 3 of the agreement of May 12, by practically withdrawing it. The lease granted to Great Britain of a strip of territory along the German frontier would be declared void.

A statement submitted by the Belgian Government to the Chamber in June regarding the Congo Railway, showed that the cost of the line would be 2,250,000*l.* instead of 1,000,000*l.*, as was originally estimated, and that the capital charges and cost of maintenance would exceed by 12,000*l.* per annum the estimated receipts. The main obstacles to progress have been the climate, the soil, the conformation of the country, and the impossibility of finding capable workmen. Begun in 1890, it was only at the end of three years of almost superhuman effort that the work of laying the line from Matadi to Kenge, representing the first section of 40 kilomètres, was accomplished.

The official report of the finances of the Congo State, issued in June, showed that for 1894 the expenditure was estimated at 270,000*l.*, while the revenue, exclusive of the Belgian contribution of 80,000*l.*, and the subsidy from King Leopold's private purse, put down at 40,000*l.*, was not expected to reach 80,000*l.* The military estimates alone amounted to 150,000*l.*

In 1893 the value of the exports from the Congo amounted to 246,600*l.*, of which 148,720*l.* were represented by ivory, 37,480*l.* by caoutchouc, 35,840*l.* by palm nuts, and 24,560*l.* by palm oil. The greater number of these exports were credited to Belgium. It was pointed out that in reality Holland had the

great monopoly of Congo imports, figuring for nearly 130,000*l.* in 1893, while England was only represented by 21,400*l.*, and Germany by 5,400*l.* As for the table of exports, Belgium headed the list with nearly 200,000*l.*, England came next with 112,000*l.*, Germany with 40,000*l.*, and Holland with 50,400*l.* Germany furnished the cannon and the alcohol and Belgium the cartridges.

*Madagascar.*—Tamatave was occupied by the French (Dec. 10) practically without resistance. Three shells were fired at the town, and sufficed to dislodge the Hovas. But the Queen and her people were unwilling to submit to French domination and repudiated the arrangement that was about to come into effect, transferring Madagascar from British to French protection. It was doubtful whether the Hovas would submit without a fight for independence. A French expedition was preparing to conquer the island.

#### V. CENTRAL AFRICA.

*Nyassaland.*—In January an expedition, commanded in person by the British Imperial Commissioner, Mr. H. H. Johnston, against the slave-raiding chief Makanjira Second, met with complete success. The expedition consisted of Indian troops (Sikhs), commanded by Major C. E. Johnson and Captain E. A. Edwards, supported by Commander Robertson and Lieutenant Villiers, in command of her Majesty's gunboats *Pioneer* and *Adventure*. All Makanjira's positions were captured, a number of slaves were released, and a fort called Fort Maguire was established on the site of Makanjira's village. The total British loss was three men killed and nine slightly wounded.

In May the hitherto recalcitrant Yao chiefs had sent in their submission. Makanjira, nevertheless, held aloof on Lake Nyassa, about twelve miles from Fort Maguire.

A great battle was fought soon after between Makanjira, at the head of 2,000 men, and the British, who were attacked at Fort Maguire. Major C. A. Edwards with 200 troops, including sixty Sikhs, engaged the natives, and after a severe fight inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. When Makanjira retired it was found that 103 of his men had been left on the field, among them being many of his sub-chiefs.

Shortly after the battle Makanjira came into Fort Maguire and made his submission to Major Edwards, whose terms of peace he accepted. Complete tranquillity prevailed in June throughout Nyassaland, and European immigration was steadily increasing.

*Uganda.*—On the departure of Sir Gerald Portal from Uganda, Major McDonald was installed as acting commissioner. Colonel Colville arrived in November and assumed the Government. At the beginning of the year an expedition, led by Colonel Colville, against Kabarega, the chief of Unyoro,

was highly successful. The hostile chief was badly beaten in three battles, and was nearly taken prisoner. News came at the end of September that there had been further severe fighting in Unyoro with Kabarega. He attacked the outlying British fort of Hoima, near the Uganda border. The assault was repulsed by Captain Thurston at the head of the garrison, and Kabarega was driven back with heavy loss that included several of his chiefs.

By virtue of an agreement concluded between the late Sir Gerald Portal and Mwanga, King of Uganda, that country became a protectorate of the British Crown. It comprised Uganda proper, bounded by Usoga, Unyoro, Ankoli, and Koki. Later, the borders were extended towards the north-west so as to include a portion of Unyoro. The protectorate was formally proclaimed at Mengo, the capital (Aug. 29), and the Union Jack was hoisted with much ceremony.

The construction of the railway from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza was still delayed by the deliberation of the Imperial Government.

## CHAPTER VII.

### AMERICA.

#### I. UNITED STATES.

THE state of parties in the Congress of the United States at the beginning of the year 1894 (the second session of the fifty-third Congress convened in regular session December 4, 1893, and adjourned August 28, 1894) was as follows: In the Senate—Democrats, 44; Republicans, 38; Populists, 3. In the House of Representatives—Democrats, 220; Republicans, 126; Populists, 8. President Cleveland's Cabinet remained unchanged.

During the session about 8,000 bills were introduced in the House of Representatives, and referred to various committees. Some 1,500 of them were reported to the House. Legislation centred principally in finance, and the Tariff Bill—first introduced by Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee—took up most of the time in both Houses.

In the earlier stages of this bill in the House of Representatives all amendments proposing to place a duty on coal were defeated. The chief amendment, substituting the existing law for the coal schedule, was defeated by 146 to 91—10 Democrats supporting the amendment. The aim of the Republicans was to make the bill as obnoxious as possible. By 100 votes to 79 a motion making steel rails free was defeated. In the sugar schedule the bounty provision was struck out, and refined

sugar was placed on the free list with raw sugar. The bill passed the House of Representatives (Feb. 1) by 204 to 140 votes, with an Inland Revenue Bill added, which imposed a tax of 2 per cent. on incomes above \$4,000, and a duty of \$1 per gallon on spirits, with the bonded period extended to eight years. Wool was to be admitted free. The income tax amendment passed by 182 to 50. On the final vote 13 Democrats voted "No," and there were 13 members absent. The passing of the bill was the occasion of one of the most imposing scenes ever witnessed in the Capitol. When Mr. Wilson had finished speaking he was raised on to the shoulders of his colleagues and carried in triumph from the hall amid a demonstration of unparalleled enthusiasm. The final voting on the passing of the bill was a surprise. Amid intense excitement Democrat after Democrat, who had been counted upon to vote against the measure, voted in the affirmative.

There were symptoms of serious disagreement between President Cleveland and certain Democratic senators, and it was thought probable that the House Bill would be defeated in the Senate. On February 2 the bill was sent to the Senate and referred to the Committee on Finance. The committee turned it over to a sub-committee, consisting of Senators Vest, Jones and Mills. These Democratic members of the Finance Committee decided (Feb. 6) to report the Wilson Bill with very few changes to the full committee, and without imposing duties on sugar, coal and iron ores, and wool. Eight Democratic senators, led by Mr. A. P. Gorman, of Maryland, were in favour of duties on the above articles. Sugar was the principal bone of contention. The Louisiana senators demanded a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cent duty. About this time President Cleveland, disgusted with the condition of affairs in Congress, left Washington for a few days' duck shooting in North Carolina.

A Democratic caucus was called which instructed the sub-committee to re-cast the bill "so that it could pass." Senator Hill, of New York, attacked the bill in the caucus, declaring that it was purposely framed to produce an insufficient revenue, and to make necessary an income tax, which he denounced.

It was again reported to the Senate on March 20, with many amendments, but still it was not satisfactory. On May 5 Mr. Gorman convened another caucus, and on May 8 some four hundred new amendments were reported. As thus altered, with the leading free raw materials struck out, except wool and lumber, and the big bonus to the Sugar Trust put in, the Senate Bill became Mr. Gorman's ultimatum.

President Cleveland addressed a letter to the President of the National Association of Democratic Clubs, urging the need of saving the party from the degradation and disgrace of a failure to redeem its pledges in regard to tariff reform.

The Senate Bill as it stood on May 8 was the same bill in every important feature as when it became law. The Senate

passed it (July 3) by 39 votes to 34. On July 7 the House voted to reject the six hundred and thirty-four Senate amendments in bulk, and conference committees were appointed. On July 19 Mr. Wilson reported to the House the inability of the conferees to agree, and read a letter from President Cleveland declaring that a failure to pass a bill giving the country free raw materials would be "party perfidy and party dishonour." Mr. Wilson, in conclusion, said that if the time came when the Sugar Trust was so strong that it could dominate the Legislature, he hoped that the House would never adjourn until all sugars had been placed on the free list. Mr. Gorman replied on the same day in the Senate in a speech that was extremely personal in its scoring of the President and of his letter to Mr. Wilson. The deadlock continued until August 13, when the House backed down completely, passed the Gorman Bill by 182 to 105 votes without any change, and sent it to the President.

The Senate Bill provided that raw sugars should pay 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, but above 16 Dutch standard  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in addition, and from bounty-paying countries 1-10 per cent. additional duty. Iron ore would pay 40 cents per ton, pig iron \$4 per ton, iron or steel rails 7-20 cents per lb., precious stones cut and unset 25 per cent. *ad valorem*, precious stones set 30 per cent., and precious stones uncut 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. Glaziers and miners' diamonds were to be admitted free. Wool was also free. Tinplate would pay 11-15 cents per lb. after October 1.

The new Tariff Bill became law at midnight on August 27, without the President's formal approval. In a letter to a Democratic member of the House of Representatives, the President said that the provisions of the bill were not in line with honest tariff reform, but that it was still a vast improvement on existing conditions and would lighten many of the burdens now weighing upon the people.

The McKinley Act, superseded by the new Tariff Act of August 27, went into effect on October 6, 1890. It had remained in force three years and nearly eleven months.

The McKinley Bill was reported to the House of Representatives on April 16, 1890, and passed the House May 21. The Finance Committee of the Senate, to whom it was referred, reported it to the Senate on June 18. It was fully debated, and about five hundred amendments were made to it in that body. It finally passed the Senate on September 10, and was sent to a conference committee of the two Houses, where it remained until September 26. On that day it was finally passed in concurrence and sent to President Harrison, who signed it on October 1.

The bill for the repeal of the Federal Election law, which had been passed by the Lower House in October, 1893, passed

the Senate (Feb. 7) by 39 to 28 votes, and was approved by the President.

An Act to enable the people of Utah to form a Constitution and State Government, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, was passed (July 10) and signed by President Cleveland (July 17). The law was to take effect in 1896, admitting Utah as the 45th State. The Mormons having generally accepted the provisions of a recent Act of Congress suppressing polygamy, President Cleveland issued a proclamation in October granting a full amnesty and pardon to those who had been convicted of polygamy and deprived of civil rights.

The Senate ratified (Aug. 13) a new treaty with China, to supersede the Scott Exclusion Act and the Geary Law. It provided for the exclusion of Chinese labourers, immigrants to the United States, for ten years. It was less severe than the Geary Law, and was opposed by the north-western and Pacific coast senators, on the ground that it would abrogate the Chinese exclusion laws in force. Another important treaty was that with Japan, abolishing extra-territorial jurisdiction in that country, which was ratified on November 22.

Early in February the Committee on Coinage of the House of Representatives reported favourably on a bill which had been introduced by Mr. Bland, of Missouri, for coining all the silver bullion and the silver seigniorage in the Treasury, amounting to \$55,156,861, on which the issue of silver certificates was authorised in advance of the coinage if required by the exigencies of the Treasury.

For several days the House was deadlocked by this bill, as the minority, by absenting themselves, prevented a quorum. Mr. Bland tried to prevent an adjournment on February 22—a national holiday and Washington's birthday—and to secure a quorum for the advancement of his bill; but the House adjourned after some exciting scenes and fierce speeches. On March 1 the bill passed the House, and got through the Senate by a vote of 44 to 31 without amendment (March 15). Great pressure was brought to bear on the President to induce him to sign the bill, and on the other hand the New York bankers and other subscribers to the recent heavy loans to the Government urged him to veto it, and this he did on March 30. The message announcing his decision characterised the measure as dangerous and vague. He said that more than \$338,000,000 of silver certificates were serving the purposes of money, that the gold reserve was slightly over 100,000,000, charged with the redemption of 346,000,000 of U. S. notes. It was, therefore, quite time to strengthen and not to deplete the gold reserve, and the President urged that the Secretary of the Treasury should be given more power to issue bonds for protecting the gold reserve. The veto irritated the silver party in Congress, and they introduced a Free Silver Coinage Bill,

as well as a second Seigniorage Bill. Mr. Bland moved to pass the Seigniorage Bill over President Cleveland's veto, but the necessary two-thirds majority was not obtained.

The House of Representatives (April 20) adopted a new rule for counting a quorum, in order to prevent "filibustering" or obstruction. It arranged that all the members present, even if they did not vote, would be counted as helping to make up the number necessary for a quorum.

All kinds of schemes were proposed to relieve the Treasury and to prevent the withdrawal of the gold reserve.

The Pan-American Bimetallic Association met at Washington in May, and asked Congress to restore silver to its ancient place in the coinage at a ratio to gold not exceeding 16 to 1, and the American Bimetallic League held a Conference at the National Capital in August, and urged that the question of free coinage should be kept before the people, declaring that the present business depression, the strikes, and the general discontent were owing to the closing of the Indian mints and the stoppage of the coinage of silver by the United States. A novel silver-protection idea was accepted by some of the Republican leaders at the West, in favour of increased tariff duties on imports from all countries that opposed silver coinage. Others had a plan for making a treaty with Mexico to enable the American mints to coin Mexican silver dollars for export to China and the East.

Bands of tramps and idlers that were called Coxeyites, from the name of their leader, set out on a march to Washington from different parts of the country early in the year. Their object was to gather in force at the capital and urge Congress to pass measures for the relief of the unemployed. At Omaha and Council Bluffs and at other places in the West they attempted to take forcible possession of railway trains to gain a free journey to Washington. At Butte, Montana, an attempt of this kind partially succeeded. By the President's order, General Schofield, commanding the United States army, sent directions to officers in command of military forts in Dakota, Montana and Wyoming to intercept these mobs and disperse them; while cities on the Pacific coast were raising large sums of money to send the unemployed workmen to the Atlantic States, to rid themselves of an unproductive and undesirable class. A small part of the Coxey army reached Washington in May, but their influence on legislation was of course insignificant, and Coxey himself was arrested for trespassing in the Capitol grounds and sentenced to twenty days' imprisonment.

Much disorder was caused this year in different parts of the country by strikes. A coal strike began in South-western Pennsylvania in April. The strikers, who were chiefly Hungarians, roamed through the district, terrorising peaceable citizens and threatening all working men who would not join them. They attacked and killed the manager of some coal works at Davidson, Pennsylvania, and in several night riots that took

place thereabout nine men were killed and ten wounded, chiefly Hungarians. About 100 of the rioters were arrested by the Sheriff and his aids. At another riot near Connellsville twelve Hungarians were killed. In order to prevent further bloodshed the companies made concessions to the men. As usual, the strikers suffered in the end severely, since the companies afterwards refused to employ any but English-speaking workmen. At the end of April it was estimated that throughout the land there were 126,000 colliers on strike, principally in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Alabama. In Alabama the Governor of the State ordered out the local militia to intimidate the strikers from attacking the convict mining camps at Birmingham. In July, at Pratt's mines, in that region, a fight between strikers and deputy-marshals ended in the killing of six men and the wounding of twenty. The soft bituminous coal industry was paralysed in six States. In the city of Cleveland, Ohio, in May, a regularly-organised mob of 10,000 men openly defied the law and destroyed much property. Volunteer companies of troops were called out by the Mayor, and several of the ringleaders were arrested. At Scottdale, Pennsylvania, women attacked the coke-workers who refused to join in the great strike. The Deputy-Sheriff and his men used their revolvers and wounded fifteen rioters, including one woman, and a number of arrests were made. The conduct of the women was different at the Eckhart and Hoffman mines, near Cumberland, Maryland. There the wives of the miners confronted a band of strikers who were trying to persuade the men to leave work, and threatened to go into the pits themselves and dig coal if their husbands were too cowardly to continue at work. In many other places there were riots, but in most cases the men refused to stop working. In Colorado, a force of 1,600 men, all gold and silver miners, fortified a camp, and only abandoned it and laid down their arms when troops came to attack them. The Governor of Indiana called out eight companies of militia, with artillery and Gatling guns, to suppress disturbances among the miners in that State.

All this was bad enough, but worse was to come. Chicago had lately been the centre of American self-glorification over the World's Fair. Next came humiliation. Within a few miles of Chicago, at Pullman, a "model" town, built by George M. Pullman, the car manufacturer, for his workmen, a local strike began (May 11). The men were dissatisfied with certain conditions of labour and wages. Mr. Pullman said that the bad times compelled them to reduce wages and dismiss a large number of workmen. After this strike had continued for several weeks, a Railway Union, organised by one Eugene Debs, and composed of switchmen, engineers, stokers, and other railway hands on a number of Western lines, and which had grown into one of the largest labour unions in the country, in order to enforce a standard of wages that the Pullman



Company could not afford to maintain, decided to interfere by blockading every railway that used the Pullman cars. This step was taken at a meeting of 415 delegates representing 120,000 railway men. A final attempt was made by them to induce the Pullman Company to submit to arbitration. The reply came that there was nothing to arbitrate about, and that their business was a matter of no concern to the Knights of Labour or the American Railway Union.

Debs made some fiery speeches. He said that they were engaged in a holy war, and would fight to the finish; that Pullman was a pirate on the high seas of labour, and that they would side-track Pullman. But the railway companies would not discontinue the use of the Pullman cars at Mr. Debs' dictation. Every railway company made common cause against the strike, and, moreover, companies that did not use Pullman cars joined the companies that used them, in resistance to an unwarrantable interference in the management of their business.

Besides, there were vast numbers of unemployed railway men who were ready at once to fill the vacant places. It was estimated that these numbered at least 150,000 at the end of June, while Debs' organisation included only some 120,000 men. Therefore, it was clear that he could do nothing except by intimidation—either by stopping the traffic, or by frightening the men anxious to fill the vacant places.

Traffic was blocked for several days on many of the great lines leading into Chicago, beginning on June 26. Then came a time of incendiarism and violence, which led to calling out the United States troops. Hitherto no soldiers had been sent into the State of Illinois except at the request of the State authorities. President Cleveland issued a proclamation (July 8) announcing that a part of the army of the United States would be employed in that State to enforce law and order, and remove obstructions to the United States mails caused by the stoppage of traffic on the railways.

Meanwhile, at San Francisco, and at Sacramento, in California, there were serious riots, and the entire naval force at Mare Island, in San Pablo Bay, was ordered to active land duty to suppress them. Federal troops were sent to clear the railways, and to escort trains on all the great trunk lines of the far West, as disturbances occurred here and there at various points. In Chicago the mob burned down the World's Fair buildings, made bonfires of cars, and for two days early in July held the city and suburbs in a state of terror. The local forces were inefficient or insufficient. Governor Altgeld, who was said to be at heart an Anarchist, and had been elected by Anarchist votes, protested against the action of President Cleveland from the point of view of States rights. Debs protested also that the Army was being used to intimidate peaceable people into a humiliating obedience to unjust oppression. But the President saw that civil war could be

averted in no other way. Proceedings were soon taken against Debs and his associate leaders in the Federal Courts for impeding the mails, and the grand jury found a true bill against them, and they were committed to prison. Bail was, however, allowed, but after the strike ended Debs was committed to gaol for contempt of court; for when an injunction had been served to restrain him from interfering with the United States mails, he had telegraphed in all directions ordering the trains to be stopped. His trial took place in December, and on the 14th he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The strike at Chicago, so far as it involved the obstruction of United States mails and the paralysis of inter-State commerce, was practically broken when the United States troops reached the city, and being broken at Chicago, was in reality broken everywhere else. It was at once realised that it necessarily antagonised the laws of the United States, and therefore must fail, unless the power behind it was stronger than the whole power of the Federal Government.

This barbarous outbreak was discreditable to the United States, and there was little to excuse the action by which the American Railway Union paralysed the trade of half the country. The strike cost Chicago more than \$6,000,000 in the destruction of property through fire and violence. Ten lives were lost and forty-one persons were wounded. In other places there was loss of life and property. The energy of President Cleveland saved the country from a greater loss of life and property and a greater humiliation.

By a law which came into operation in South Carolina, July 1, 1893, all private drinking shops in that State were absolutely closed, and the public were supplied from a limited number of so-called "dispensaries," conducted by State salaried officers. On March 31, at Darlington, the police entered a house where spirits were illegally sold, and attempted to arrest the seller and consumers. They made resistance; two of the police and two citizens were shot dead, and then an infuriated mob drove the rest of the police into a swamp, where some nineteen of them were killed by the rioters. The militia refused to obey the Governor of the State, Tillman, when ordered out, and disbanded themselves, whereupon the Governor seized all the railroads and telegraphs in the State, and nipped in the bud any further trouble.

In different parts of the Southern States there occurred serious troubles with the negroes. Horrible charges of inhumanity against the blacks were preferred. Remonstrances were sent to several of the Governors of Southern States protesting against the lynching of negroes, and a public sentiment was growing both north and south in favour of putting a stop to these outrages depriving negroes of the right to the fair and speedy trial that the lowest malefactor is entitled to under the United States Constitution.

It was a year of misfortune everywhere. In the pine forest region of Minnesota and Wisconsin great fires were raging in September, causing immense destruction of property, and hundreds of men, women and children perished in the flames. The dead were estimated at 400, and the damage to property, exclusive of timber, at more than \$10,000,000. Forty square miles were swept by the fire. It was alleged that these fires were ordered by the "lumber kings"—the men who control the whole timber trade—with the object of concealing evidence of illegal felling of trees.

Elections for the Federal Congress and for State officers and legislators were held in many of the States (Nov. 6), and gave overwhelming victories to the Republicans, especially in the Northern States. In New York, Mr. L. P. Morton, ex-Vice-President of the United States, was elected Governor, defeating Senator Hill by a majority of 150,000. Mr. Wilson, the author of the Tariff Bill, was unseated by a Republican opponent in West Virginia. Colorado elected a Republican Governor by a majority of 18,000, in place of the Populist Governor, Waite, who made himself so notorious last year. More than half the votes polled at Denver, Colorado, were those of women, to whom the suffrage had lately been extended. Kansas, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Nebraska, Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Rhode Island, Delaware, Massachusetts, Washington State, and even Tennessee and West Virginia showed Republican majorities. In Illinois the Democratic Governor, Altgeld, was defeated, in recognition of his services during the Chicago riots. The Republicans throughout the country took their victory as indicative of a popular desire for a protective tariff, but Democrats and Independents thought it a rebuke to Congress for its conduct in delaying tariff reform.

The third session of the fifty-third Congress began December 3. The whole number of senators was 88, of whom 44 were Democrats, 36 Republicans, 5 Populists, and there were three vacancies. The whole number of Representatives in the Lower House was 356, of whom 219 were Democrats, 124 Republicans, 12 Populists, and there was one vacancy.

President Cleveland sent his annual message (Dec. 3) to both Houses. It was regarded as a plain business-like document, but not up to the standard of his previous efforts.

He referred to the dealings of the United States with other nations; to the attempted negotiations for peace between China and Japan; and to the termination of the civil war in Brazil. With regard to a protest from the German Government against one of the provisions of the new Tariff Act imposing a discriminating duty on sugar from bounty-paying countries as being a contravention of a treaty made with Prussia in 1828, he recommended the immediate repeal of that provision. He also advised the repeal of the law refusing American registry to vessels built in other countries.

As to the currency question the President urged the necessity of conferring on the Government power to replenish the gold reserve, by the issue, whenever necessary, of short-dated bonds at a low rate of interest, and he endorsed a scheme presented in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for modifying the existing banking laws, and providing for the issue of circulating notes by the State banks free from taxation, under certain limitations. On the financial situation he said as follows:—

“During the last month the gold reserve in the Treasury for the purpose of redeeming the notes of the Government circulating as money in the hands of the people became so reduced, and its further depletion in the near future seemed so certain, that in the exercise of proper care for the public welfare, it became necessary to replenish this reserve and thus maintain popular faith in the ability and determination of the Government to meet, as agreed, its pecuniary obligations.

“It would have been well if in this emergency authority had existed to issue the bonds of the Government bearing a low rate of interest and maturing within a short period; but Congress having failed to confer such authority, resort was necessarily had to the Resumption Act of 1875, and pursuant to its provisions bonds were issued drawing interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, and maturing ten years after their issue, that being the shortest time authorised by the Act. I am glad to say, however, that on the sale of these bonds the premium received operated to reduce the rate of interest to be paid by the Government to less than three per cent.

“Nothing could be worse or further removed from sensible finance than the relations existing between the currency the Government has issued, the gold held for its redemption, and the means which must be resorted to for the purpose of replenishing such redemption fund when impaired. Even if the claims upon this fund were confined to the obligations originally intended, and if the redemption of these obligations meant their cancellation, the fund would be very small. But these obligations when received and redeemed in gold are not cancelled but are re-issued, and may do duty many times by way of drawing gold from the Treasury. Thus we have an endless chain in operation constantly depleting the Treasury's gold and never near a final rest.

“As if this was not bad enough, we have, by a statutory declaration that it is the policy of the Government to maintain the parity between gold and silver, aided the force and momentum of this exhausting process and added largely to the currency obligations claiming this peculiar gold redemption. Our small gold reserve is thus subject to drain from every side. The demands that increase our danger also increase the necessity of protecting this reserve against depletion, and it is most unsatisfactory to know that the protection afforded is only a temporary palliation.

"It is perfectly and palpably plain that the only way, under present conditions, by which this reserve when dangerously depleted can be replenished is through the issue and sale of the bonds of the Government for gold ; and yet Congress has not only thus far declined to authorise the issue of bonds best suited to such a purpose, but there seems a disposition in some quarters to deny both the necessity and power for the issue of bonds at all.

"I cannot for a moment believe that any of our citizens are deliberately willing that their Government should default in its pecuniary obligations or that its financial operations should be reduced to a silver basis. At any rate I should not feel that my duty was done if I omitted any effort I could make to avert such a calamity. As long, therefore, as no provision is made for the final redemption or the putting aside of the currency obligation now used to repeatedly and constantly draw from the Government its gold, and as long as no better authority for bond issues is allowed than at present exists, such authority will be utilised whenever and as often as it becomes necessary to maintain a sufficient gold reserve, and in abundant time save the credit of our country and make good the financial declarations of our Government."

The message referred to Hawaii in the following terms :—

"Since communicating the voluminous correspondence with regard to Hawaii, and the action taken by the Senate and the House on certain questions submitted to the judgment and wider discretion of Congress, the organisation of the Government in place of the provisional arrangement which followed the deposition of the Queen has been announced, with evidence of its effective operation. The recognition usual in such cases has been accorded to the new Government."

On recent events in Samoa the President observed :—

"The present Government has utterly failed to correct, if indeed it has not aggravated, the very evils it was intended to prevent. It has not stimulated our commerce with the islands. Our participation in its establishment, against the wishes of the natives, was in plain defiance of the conservative teachings and warnings of the wise and patriotic men who laid the foundations of our free institutions, and I invite an expression of the judgment of Congress on the propriety of steps being taken by this Government looking to the withdrawal from its engagements with the other powers on some reasonable terms not prejudicial to any of our existing rights."

The Pension Supply Bill was introduced into the House of Representatives on December 7. It provided for 969,544 pensioners a sum of \$141,581,570, being a reduction of \$10,000,000 compared with the previous year's appropriation.

Mr. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report stated that the receipts of the Government from all sources of revenue during the fiscal year ending June 30 amounted

to \$372,802,498, and the expenditure \$442,605,758, leaving a deficit of \$69,803,260. There was a decrease of \$15,952,674 in the ordinary expenditure as compared with the fiscal year of 1893. The sum collected from the Customs was \$131,818,530, and from internal revenue \$147,168,449. The balance of income for the year, amounting to \$93,815,517, was derived from the sales of land and other sources. The value of the total dutiable imports amounted to \$275,199,086, being \$146,657,625 less than in 1893. The importations free of duty amounted to \$379,795,536, being a decrease of \$64,748,675. The receipts from the Customs were \$73,536,486 less, and from internal revenue \$13,836,539 less than in 1893. The total tax collected from distilled spirits was \$85,253,250; on manufactured tobacco, \$28,617,898; and on fermented liquors, \$31,414,788. The exports of merchandise, domestic and foreign, amounted during the year to \$892,140,572, being an increase over the preceding year of \$44,495,378. The total amount of gold exported during the year was \$76,898,061, as against \$108,680,444 during 1893. The amount of gold imported was \$72,449,119, as against \$21,174,381. The imports of silver amounted to \$13,286,552, and the exports to \$50,451,265.

The Secretary estimated the revenue of the next fiscal year, beginning July 1, at \$476,907,407, and the expenditure at \$448,092,487—a surplus of \$28,814,920.

He further estimated the whole amount of money in the United States on November 1 at \$2,240,000,000, including \$581,500,000 in gold coin, and \$497,500,000 in silver coin, the remainder being paper issues.

During the calendar year of 1893 the production of precious metals in the United States was estimated to have been 1,739,323 fine ounces of gold, having a coinage value of \$35,955,000, and 60,000,000 fine ounces of silver, the bullion value being \$46,800,000 and the coinage value \$77,576,000.

The Treasury statement for November showed an excess of about \$8,000,000 of expenditure over receipts, making a total deficit of \$23,000,000 for the five months of the fiscal year which began on July 1.

The overthrow of the Tammany Ring was a matter of general rejoicing in New York city. A committee had been for three months before the close of the year engaged in investigating the police system of New York, and evidence taken by it revealed a startling amount of corruption. Various police officials confessed to the Lexow Committee that they had been in the habit of levying contributions from criminals in return for protection, and also of paying large sums for appointments to offices.

When the year was closing the condition of the country was not particularly prosperous or happy. Much destitution was reported from parts of the States of Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado, where the crops had failed for two

seasons. Cotton was cheaper than ever before ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound). Wheat was 48 to 50 cents per bushel, and agriculturists had little surplus money to spend. Reduced incomes were compelling economies. The depression in business caused large numbers of emigrant labourers to return to Europe.

## II. CANADA.

The Dominion was generally in a prosperous condition, although, no doubt, the financial troubles that affected trade in the Great Republic were felt in Canada to some extent.

At the annual banquet of the Board of Trade, held at Toronto (Jan. 4), Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, made a speech referring to the Behring Sea arbitration, in which he expressed great confidence that the legislation necessary to give effect to the award would bring the question ultimately to a satisfactory and honourable conclusion.

The new Canadian Tariff Bill was introduced in the Dominion House of Commons at Ottawa, March 27. Duties were reduced upon some 670 articles — for the most part on commodities forming the staple of trade between Canada and the mother country. Sir Richard Cartwright proposed an amendment in favour of a revenue tariff and freer trade with the world, but it was rejected after a ten days' debate by a majority of 56 votes. The Government of Sir John Thompson felt the necessity of retreating from a rigid policy of protection, but the concessions proposed did not conciliate the Liberals. The Government finally decided to adopt the tea and coffee duties of the old tariff. A new clause was introduced into the bill, in place of one dealing with the importation of tea *via* Great Britain, which allowed genuine teas to be imported into Canada from England free of duty.

The Intercolonial Conference, for which great preparations had been made, was opened at Ottawa (June 28) with impressive ceremony. The following delegates were present: The Earl of Jersey, representing the Imperial Government; the Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, Tasmania; the Hon. F. B. Suttor, New South Wales; Sir H. de Villiers, Mr. Hofmeyr, and Sir Charles Mills, Cape Colony; the Hon. T. Playford, South Australia; the Hon. F. Lee Smith, New Zealand; Sir Henry Wrixon and the Hon. Simon Fraser, Victoria; the Hon. A. J. Thynne and W. Forrest, Queensland; Sir J. Thompson, the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Adolphe Caron, and the Hon. G. E. Foster, Canada. The Governor-General from the vice-regal throne welcomed heartily the imperial and colonial delegates. Sir John Thompson, the Premier of Canada, seconded the welcome, and expressed a hope that a result of the conference would be to make Great Britain feel that the growth of the self-governing colonies added to her strength. A loyal address to her Majesty was adopted, moved by Mr. Suttor, and seconded by Sir

Charles Mills. Lord Jersey made an interesting speech, and the session closed with the singing of the National Anthem. The next day the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell was unanimously elected President. On the 30th the conference was in private session. The subject of discussion was reciprocal trade between the colonies. It was resolved to ask that provision should be made by imperial legislation to enable the colonies to enter into agreements of commercial reciprocity, including the power of making differential tariffs with Great Britain and with one another. It was also resolved to ask that existing foreign treaties interfering with commercial reciprocity should be removed, and a Customs arrangement was recommended between the mother country and the colonies that would place trade within the empire on a more favourable footing than that on which trade was carried on with foreign countries. The establishment of a line of swift steam communication between Australasia and Great Britain *via* Canada was advocated as of paramount importance, and also the construction of a Pacific cable with the landing stations on territory wholly within British control.

Mr. Foster, Minister of Finance, visited England in the summer, and successfully negotiated a loan for the Dominion of 2,250,000*l.* at three per cent.

For the first time since 1888 the budget this year showed a deficit. The total revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30 was \$36,236,753, and the total expenditure, \$37,393,373. The falling off in revenue was due to uncertainty respecting tariff changes.

The news of the sudden death of the Premier, Sir John Thompson, December 12, at Windsor Castle, where he had just been sworn in as a member of the Queen's Privy Council, produced a great impression in Canada. The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Trade and Commerce, was called upon to form a new Cabinet, and succeeded to the Premiership.

### III. NEWFOUNDLAND.

A deadlock in the House of Assembly in April caused a political crisis. The Ministerialists absented themselves from the sittings and no quorum was obtainable. The Governor, Sir Terence O'Brien, refused to dissolve Parliament at the request of the Ministers, headed by Sir William Whiteway, who thereupon tendered their resignations, and Mr. Goodridge, the Opposition leader, was entrusted with the task of forming a Cabinet. The ex-Premier, Sir William Whiteway, and nine members of his party, were unseated in June by the Courts for alleged corrupt practices in elections. The Governor, June 5, prorogued the legislature for a month, but declined to dissolve Parliament. The Revenue Bill expired July 10, and no power existed to carry on the public service after that date. At the



end of July, Sir F. Carter, Chief Justice, delivered judgment in an election case, which found Mr. Emerson, the Speaker, and Mr. M'Grath, guilty of bribery and corruption. Fifteen members had now been unseated, including nearly all the members of the late Cabinet. The new Government had then a majority of four, and proceeded to attend to business with so much energy that they accomplished in one week what had usually occupied three months.

A severe financial crisis arose in December by the suspension of several banks and mercantile houses. It was impossible to pay wages, therefore many were dismissed by their employers. Although \$2,000,000 worth of fishery products were stored in St. John's, without financial aid from outside the colony it was impossible to place the fish on the market. The Colonial Government appealed to Lord Ripon, the Colonial Secretary, December 18, inquiring whether, if a Royal Commission were asked for, any immediate assistance would be given, as the colony was in a deplorable condition. The reply was, that if a commission were requested by the Government and the people, it would be appointed, but her Majesty's Government must await the report of such a commission.

Confederation with the Dominion of Canada was growing in favour, and it was thought that a Royal Commission should prepare the way for the union that must take place.

#### IV. MEXICO.

President Diaz, in his message to Congress in April, announced extensive retrenchments in the expenses of Government, and stated emphatically that the credit and honour of the Republic abroad would be maintained.

The returns of foreign trade for the fiscal year 1893, showed that the imports were \$30,287,489. As compared with the previous year, there was a falling off amounting to over \$13,000,000, but this was due to the smaller purchases of American maize. The home crops were this year satisfactory. The total exports amounted to \$79,343,287, a decrease on the previous year of \$8,165,920; but this was due to a special cause, *viz.*, to diminished shipments of Mexican dollars, silver bullion, and silver ore. It was expected, however, that a renewed demand for silver would spring up in the far East. The demand for Mexican coffee was constantly growing. Nearly 69 per cent. of the total foreign trade in 1892-3, taking exports and imports together, was transacted with the United States. In 1893-4 it was 68 per cent. Mexico was very dependent on Germany, England, and the United States for her prosperity.

#### V. CENTRAL AMERICA.

*Costa Rica.*—An anarchist attempt on the life of Señor Rafael Iglesias, President of the Republic, occurred at a military

review held in San José in October, but was unsuccessful. The culprit after firing five shots was arrested, and a number of his fellow-conspirators were afterwards discovered and captured. The protocol for uniting Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, San Salvador, and Costa Rica, into a Central American Republic, was signed by representatives of all the several States excepting Costa Rica.

*Guatemala.*—A plot against President Barrios was unearthed by the police in January, but most of the plotters escaped to San Salvador.

*Honduras.*—A large force of Honduras rebels under General Bonilla, who was unsuccessful last year, invaded Honduras from Nicaragua, early in January. Bonilla was supported in this fresh attempt by President Zelaya, of Nicaragua; General Ortiz, the Vice-President of that republic, commanding the Nicaraguan troops. President Vasquez, of Honduras, was defeated in several engagements by the allied forces. On January 23 they attacked Tegucigalpa, the capital city of Honduras. At first they were repulsed with heavy loss, but in a later battle they captured the place, the war ended, and General Bonilla assumed the Presidency. The Congress of Honduras in November formed a new constitution, based on that of Nicaragua, which virtually excluded foreigners from the State.

*San Salvador.*—The annual revolution began in May, when General Antonio Ezeta, brother of President Ezeta, was defeated in a fight with the rebels near the city of Santa Anna, and was slain with 600 of his troops. The revolutionary party triumphed completely, and President Ezeta fled the country.

*Nicaragua.*—Serious disturbances occurred in the Mosquito reservation. Nicaragua claimed sovereignty over this territory. In August General Ortiz, of Nicaragua, with 300 men, defeated the natives, and occupied the heights commanding Blue Fields. A party of marines was temporarily landed from the British war vessel *Mohawk*, solely to protect British lives and property in the reservation, and men were also landed from American war vessels to look after the interests of the United States. Following the suppression of the native government, an impracticable composite administration was attempted, in which Nicaragua and the alien residents were to participate. The failure of this scheme was followed by an insurrection that for a time subverted the rule of Nicaragua, expelling her officers and restoring the old organisation. This in turn gave place to the existing local government established and upheld by Nicaragua. The United States Government recognised in November the Nicaraguan sovereignty over the Mosquito Coast, but the British Government refused to do so.

Certain priests and nuns who were implicated in a political plot against President Zelaya, were expelled in August, causing considerable excitement.

## VI. WEST INDIES.

*Cuba.*—Signs of greater restiveness under the yoke of Spain were apparent in Cuba. Moreover, the United States Government gave notice to Spain that unless the heavy duties on American products imported into Cuba were abandoned, retaliation by legal enactments of Congress would be made, excluding Spanish goods from the United States. The Spanish Government intimated its intention to avert tariff war with the United States by giving Cuba the right to frame its own revenue budget and fix tariff rates with the Republic, subject to the approval of the Madrid Government. Spain also proposed to give Cuba greater commercial powers, without however weakening its own sovereignty over the island.

*Barbadoes.*—The revenue of the island in 1893 amounted to 161,730*l.*; the expenditure to 164,633*l.*; and there remained a public debt of 30,100*l.* The imports for the year amounted to 1,372,536*l.*, and the exports 1,243,082*l.* Barbadoes imported goods from the United Kingdom valued at 583,086*l.*, and from the United States of the value of 501,620*l.*; but of the total exports, the value of those taken by the United States was no less than 755,464*l.*, compared with 141,942*l.* sent to the United Kingdom. The population of the island was increasing at the rate of about 1½ per cent. per annum.

*Trinidad.*—The Governor, Sir F. Napier-Broome, was falsely accused in a local newspaper of abusing his power of patronage by nominating his son to a public office. The Governor, from his place in the Council of Trinidad, in reply to a member who called attention to this article, declared that his son entered the public service by competitive examination, that the story was wholly untrue, and he branded the newspapers of the colony as enemies of reform, since they published such vile calumnious articles.

## VII. SOUTH AMERICA.

*Argentine Republic.*—Commerce was in difficulties through the continued depreciation of the currency and the low price of cereals, coupled with want of confidence in the future. The bulk of irredeemable paper money was increasing year by year, and as a necessary consequence the gold premium was excessively high. Congress opened May 12. The President in his message proposed progressive reduction of Customs duties, rejecting the idea of the issue of a fresh loan. The Budget was presented July 23. In it the revenue was estimated at \$23,825,000 currency, and \$34,373,000 gold; and the expenditure at \$61,777,575 currency, and \$18,418,300 gold. In August the Government proposed to replace all the external debts of the provinces by a national stock paying interest at 2 per cent. at first; to be increased when the state of the Treasury would permit to 3 per cent.

The trade returns of the Argentine Republic for 1894 showed that there was a decrease in the imports of 5,000,000 pesos, while the exports increased by 9,000,000 pesos. The Customs receipts of the Republic from January 1 showed a decrease of 250,000*l.* as compared with the same period of last year.

Great Britain retained her position at the head of the countries trading with the Republic, her exports to the latter for the year amounting to 33,000,000 pesos, and her imports to 20,000,000 pesos. During the same period the exports of France and Germany amounted to 10,000,000 and 11,000,000 pesos respectively, and their imports to 19,000,000 and 12,000,000 pesos respectively.

*Brazil.*—The revolt under the lead of Admirals da Gama and de Mello continued this year with varying fortune at first, but after some trouble with the United States Admiral Benham, who notified the rebels in the harbour of Rio that American commerce would be protected at all hazards, and after repeated bombardments of the town and forts by the insurgent fleet, the naval insurrection collapsed as soon as the Government was ready for a vigorous attack. The new Brazilian war-ships arrived off Rio, March 10, and Marshal Peixoto issued warning to the inhabitants to leave the city for their own safety. On the 13th the Government forts began to fire on those held by the insurgents, and on the rebel fleet, but no reply came, and very soon the insurgents struck their flag. The rebel squadron had exhausted their provisions, and Admiral da Gama and his officers abandoned their ships and forts even before the attack was made. Admiral da Gama took refuge on a Portuguese man-of-war, and offered to surrender, on condition that he and his officers should be allowed to withdraw from the country, and that the lives of the insurgent soldiers and sailors should be spared. President Peixoto, however, demanded unconditional surrender. Da Gama escaped to Montevideo, and Admiral de Mello with the remainder of the squadron surrendered (April 16) to the Argentine authorities as political fugitives. Diplomatic relations with Portugal were broken off (May 14) because the Portuguese authorities would not surrender Admiral da Gama. The fighting on land continued until, finally, a decisive battle took place (June 27) in the State of Rio Grande-do-Sul, between the rebels commanded by General Saraiva, and the loyal troops under General Lima. The rebels suffered complete defeat, losing over 1,000 men and several officers. In September the President of Brazil issued a proclamation abolishing the state of siege at Rio de Janeiro.

The general election for President of the Republic was held March 1, and resulted in the choice of Dr. Prudente de Moraes, a large landowner of São Paulo, and ex-President of the Senate. The new President came into office November 15. A very competent man—Rodrigues Alves—was appointed Finance Minister. It was expected that he would recall a great por-

tion of the paper money. As the year closed the outlook of trade was promising.

*Chili.*—The Chilian Congress assembled June 1, when President Montt in his message said that the question of the delimitation of the Chilian-Argentine frontier was approaching a satisfactory settlement. As to the ownership of the provinces of Tacna and Arica, which by the treaty of 1883 were assigned by Peru to Chili for ten years, he said that the question had been postponed owing to the death of President Bermudez, of Peru, and to subsequent disturbances in that country. At the end of ten years the possession of these provinces was to be decided by the vote of their inhabitants, and the country to which they elected to adhere was to pay \$10,000,000 to the other. In October the Government had paid the United States claims amounting to \$240,564 for compensation to American citizens on account of injuries sustained during the civil war in Chili. The unaccepted claims made the sum of \$19,147,947.

From a careful statement of the financial condition of Chili, it appeared (July 10) that the foreign debt amounted altogether to 11,700,000*l.*, and including \$30,000,000 in paper, which was in circulation, the total internal obligations amounted to \$65,000,000 currency. The surplus balance in the Treasury for the first half of the present year was \$5,600,000 currency, after paying all obligations, and providing the portion of the revenue allotted to the conversion fund. Against the debt there were the Government railways and other available assets of the value of over 10,000,000*l.* sterling.

The iron-clad *Esmeralda* was sold by Chili to Ecuador for 224,000*l.* in November, and sailed away under the Ecuador flag to become the property of Japan.

Thirty lots of Government nitrate ground were sold October 15, and realised 1,080,000*l.*, 187,000*l.* more than the official valuation. The conversion fund in October amounted to 2,785,000*l.* sterling. President Montt was firm in his attitude regarding the conversion on a gold basis in July, 1896, when the law takes effect.

*Ecuador.*—In this Republic, where nearly everything is suppressed, including enterprise, the Congress passed a vote of censure on the Cabinet in July, because of the failure of the Minister of Finance to present the reports of the inquiry revealing the scandalous excesses of the Budget. The total suspension of payments of interest on the foreign debt was decreed, but the law was afterwards modified so that the interest money might be deposited in the Bank of Ecuador, pending negotiations with the bondholders. Congress demanded the suppression of the legations abroad, and intended to demonetise silver; and the Senate rejected the treaty with Peru for the delimitation of the frontier. In short the attitude of the Government was altogether too deplorable even for a Spanish-American State.

*British Guiana.*—After years of depression the colony was emerging with evidences of present prosperity and future wealth. The only drawback was the scarcity of labour for the sugar plantations. British Guiana is now amongst the richest gold-producing countries of the world.

*Peru.*—President Bermudez died in April. The claims of Señor Pierola to the succession—the first Vice-President, who had formerly been President—were ignored in favour of Colonel Borgoño, the second Vice-President, in order, it was said, to pave the way for General Cáceres, the favourite of the Army. When an election for a new President was held, Cáceres was chosen, and was installed in August.

Then a revolutionary outbreak, led by Pierola, who was popular with the lower classes, was directed against Cáceres, on the ground that the election had been forced in favour of the latter. In November the Government Army had routed the revolutionists in two or three battles, and strong detachments were sent to scatter the rebel bands that had been driven into the wild mountainous districts. Peru was in a state of decadence, and general commerce was greatly paralysed.

President Cáceres naturally attributed the sad financial condition of the country to the long-continued political disturbances.

*Paraguay.*—This Republic was the scene of a bloodless revolution on thoroughly approved South American principles. President Gonzales wished to nominate his successor, but certain high officials of the Army objected. They resolved to rid themselves of their obnoxious chief magistrate by placing him on board a steamer and sending it down the river. The Vice-President was then installed in office in regular course. Señor Egusguiza became President in November.

*Uruguay.*—The two Houses of the Legislature met in joint-session (March 1) to elect a new President in place of Dr. Herrera, whose term of office had expired. After a twelve days' struggle between the supporters of Dr. José Ellauri and Señor Tomas Gomensoro, the latter withdrew, and notwithstanding his previous refusal, Dr. Ellauri accepted the Presidency. Later in the day, however, Dr. Ellauri considered it his duty to withdraw his acceptance, in view of the narrowness of the majority in his favour. Then after voting twenty-seven times, the Chambers elected the Government candidate, Don Idiarte Borda, President by 47 votes—a man little known, but believed to favour an honest economic policy. The new Ministry contained a majority of politicians who were adherents of the late President. Since last year the general condition of Uruguay had improved, as shown by increased traffic receipts of the railway companies. The Customs receipts in 1893 for the first nine months amounted to \$6,808,000. For the month of March, 1894, they were about \$1,000,000.

*Venezuela.*—Revolutionary movements were made in the Western provinces in August in favour of ex-President Rojas. General Crespo, the acting President, sent a force of troops to the scene of revolt, and after several hours' fighting, the rebels were routed, and fled to the Parima mountains. Later, it was stated that the Government Army was defeated by the insurgents north of the province of Bolivar with heavy loss.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### AUSTRALASIA.

THE general record for Australasia for the year 1894 is marked by the prevailing gloom and dulness, unbroken by any cheering signs, save by a perceptible increase of activity in the movement towards a common political life. In every colony the depression caused by the lowered prices of all the leading products has been severely felt, the mischief being aggravated in some of them through the popular impatience of reduced expenditure, and a reluctance to face the measures of retrenchment rendered necessary by the falling revenue. The governing class, consisting mainly of those who subsist on wages paid by the State, is slow to realise the change from the golden days of inflated values. The monetary crisis of 1893, the natural consequence of a financial system out of all proportion to the real wealth and earnings of the colonies, has itself been the cause of serious disturbance to the ordinary principles of trade and commerce. Although the older and more legitimate banking institutions have been enabled to resume business, and although public confidence in them, as shown in the return of the deposits hastily drawn out during the panic of last year, has been to a large extent restored, there still remains much ground for anxiety arising from the stagnation in all branches of industry, the fall in the values of the principal colonial staples, the difficulty of finding investment for capital, the lack of employment and the general sense of unrest produced by uncertainty as to the political condition. The forecast of better things to come is matter rather of hope than of belief. The measures taken by the Colonial Legislature to meet the prevailing adverse times as shown by the large and increasing disproportion between the public revenue and expenditure, have been for the most part wholly inadequate to the situation. Not only have they lacked the courage to reduce the public establishments to the degree rendered necessary by the falling revenue, but in one or two cases they have even continued and carried to a further extent the policy which is mainly responsible for the trouble which has come upon the colonies. The one bright side of the outlook is the spirit of intercolonial sympathy, tending to imperial unity, which was

shown at the Ottawa Conference. Summoned to meet in the Canadian capital, primarily for the purpose of taking measures for a trans-Pacific telegraphic line, the delegates from Australasia were enabled to exchange their views on even those greater questions concerning a closer relation between the different parts of the empire, and a common Customs union. The conference, which met at Ottawa on June 28, under the presidency of the Earl of Aberdeen, the Governor-General, with Lord Jersey as the imperial commissioner, was attended by delegates from all the Australasian colonies. New South Wales was represented by Mr. F. B. Suttor; Victoria by Sir Henry Wrixon and Mr. Simon Fraser; Tasmania by Mr. N. Fitzgerald; Queensland by Mr. J. Thynne and Mr. W. Forrest; South Australia by Mr. T. Playford; New Zealand by Mr. F. Lee Smith. Delegates were also present from the Cape of Good Hope. The question of laying a submarine cable across the Pacific was discussed, and the details of a scheme agreed to, with the proportions of the subsidy to be paid by the colonies and Great Britain. The subsidising of a line of steam vessels between Vancouver and Sydney was also agreed to. But the most important result of the Ottawa Conference—a result likely to be attended with far-reaching consequences—was the passing of a resolution affirming the desirability of a Customs union between Great Britain and the colonies. The conference ended its labours on July 9. A most important state-paper summarising its proceedings was afterwards issued by the Earl of Jersey, the imperial commissioner, in which the outlines of the future colonial system of Great Britain are laid down broadly and clearly, with a vigour and a spirit which evoked much enthusiasm in the colonies.

The case of the *Costa Rica*, an Australian vessel, the master of which, with some of the crew, was seized and imprisoned by the Dutch authorities in the Moluccas, created much excitement in the colonies. Energetic representations were made to the Imperial Government with a demand for satisfaction and damages from Holland. The delay and the supposed negligence of the imperial authorities in taking up this case, in which all Australia was concerned, led to much ill-feeling in the colonies and to strong language in the colonial Parliaments.

*New South Wales.*—Parliament was opened by Sir Robert Duff, the Governor, on January 17. In his speech to the Legislature, he declared the year's revenue to have exceeded the estimates by 218,000*l*. The division on the address in the Lower House showed that parties were very evenly balanced, an amendment moved by Mr. Reid being defeated by only one vote—the numbers being 67 to 66. The speeches of the Premier, Sir George Dibbs, and of the Treasurer, Mr. Lee, were chiefly taken up with the all-engrossing financial condition. Sir George Dibbs declared the past year (1893) the



worst ever known. The total deficit was acknowledged to be 1,200,000*l*.

An Intercolonial Labour Conference was held in Sydney on January 18, from which the press was carefully excluded. The chief business done was the passing of a resolution affirming that it was "the duty of the Government to look after the welfare of the people, and to provide work for those willing to work." Resolutions were also passed against alien labour, in favour of State banks, and against federation, if unaccompanied by the principle of one man one vote.

After a stormy and troublous session, in which the Dibbs Ministry had serious difficulty in maintaining their small majority, the Parliament was prorogued on June 11, a dissolution following on June 28. The Government decided to go to the country on the issue of Protection against Free Trade. The general election was held on July 17, under manhood suffrage, single electoral districts, and no qualification, according to the new law. The result was to give the so-called Free Trade party a majority; for of 125 new members elected, 60 were Free Traders, 40 Protectionists, and 25 Labour. Contrary to the general expectation, the Labour candidates were defeated in all the large constituencies, finding their acceptance chiefly in the remote rural districts.

Sir George Dibbs, having failed in an attempt to induce the Governor to nominate some of the defeated members of his party to the Legislative Council, resigned his office on July 30. The conduct of the Governor in this instance afterwards received the sanction and approval of the Imperial Government. The Governor having sent for Mr. G. H. Reid, the leader of the Opposition, a new Administration was formed on August 2, with Mr. Reid himself as Premier and Treasurer; Mr. Brunker, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Young, Minister of Works; Mr. Garrard, Minister of Instruction; Mr. Smith, Minister of Mines; Mr. Carruthers, Minister of Lands; Mr. Gould, Minister of Justice; Mr. Cooke, Postmaster; and Mr. Simpson, Attorney-General.

Some surprise was felt at the exclusion of Sir Henry Parkes from the new Cabinet, although he had for some time practically given up the leadership of the Opposition to Mr. Reid. Sir Henry Parkes himself was evidently not pleased at being set aside, for he wrote a letter, sharply criticising the composition of the new Ministry, and refused to attend a Free Trade banquet given at Sydney in honour of Mr. G. H. Reid.

In the early part of the year serious differences arose between Sir George Dibbs, as head of the Government, and General Hutton, the commander of the colonial forces. The Premier accused the general of claiming too much authority over the military establishment, and of desiring to give it too imperial a character. General Hutton, on his side, protested against the interference of a civilian with his military duties,

and in a report submitted to Parliament after the fall of the Dibbs Ministry, criticised very severely the condition of the colonial military forces.

Very disorderly scenes attended the meeting of the new Assembly, which culminated (Oct. 25) in a series of personal encounters between members of the Opposition and supporters of the Government.

Sir Henry Parkes' motion in favour of federation was carried in the Assembly by a large majority on November 19.

The new Parliament met on August 25. Mr. Reid, as Treasurer, read his Budget speech on November 7. He excused himself at the outset for not undertaking, in his character of Free Trader, any tariff reforms, pleading the state of the finances. He announced the total deficit to be 1,356,000*l.*, to become 1,465,000*l.* at the end of December. He proposed that the financial year should begin in future on July 1. No measures for the relief of the Treasury were announced, beyond the trifling reductions, the principle of which had been agreed to under Sir George Dibbs' Administration.

A motion for the abolition of payment of members of Parliament was defeated in the Assembly by 68 to 31.

The total revenue realised up to the end of 1894 was 9,476,000*l.*, being a decrease of 43,000*l.* in the year.

Sir Alfred Stephen, ex-Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor, died October 15, in his ninety-third year.

A recrudescence of crimes of violence in Sydney and in the rural districts is to be recorded. Alderman Paisley, member of a suburban municipality, was shot and stabbed by William Redfearn, his town clerk, from motives of revenge. Mr. McKay, the manager of a bank at Barraba, in the Darling district, was shot by bushrangers for refusing to give up the money of the bank. Two men were executed for this murder at Tamworth on July 20.

A banquet was given by the citizens of Sydney to Sir Henry Parkes on his eightieth birthday.

A motion by Sir George Dibbs against the income tax proposals of the Government was defeated in the Assembly, December 5.

Mr. Eddy, Chief Commissioner of Railways, resigned his appointment, having received a post of higher emolument in England. Mr. Eddy, who was the victim of much hostility on the part of the Labour members, complained that certain pledges made by the Government to him, on his acceptance of office, had not been fulfilled.

A serious railway accident occurred at Redfern station, on October 31, in which seven persons were killed and thirty-one injured.

An auriferous reef of quartz was discovered at Wyalong, thirty-three miles south-west of Sydney, in a region hitherto not suspected of bearing gold, which is since being worked.

The English team of cricketers brought out by Mr. Stoddart beat New South Wales in a five days' match by eight wickets. Afterwards, in the first test match between England and all Australia, the former won an unexpected victory by sixteen runs.

Mr. Simpson, the Attorney-General, having succeeded to a judgeship, Mr. J. H. Want took his place in the Ministry.

The population of Sydney in 1894 was reckoned at 411,710.

*Victoria.*—The financial depression, which took an acuter form in Victoria than in any of the other colonies, may be said to have reached its climax in the year 1894. The older and more legitimate banking institutions, it is true, were enabled to resume business, and, if the return to a sounder condition could be estimated by the amount of deposits, there was a distinct revival of confidence on the part of the public. The state of trade, however, was far from satisfactory, being aggravated before the close of the year by the political changes which seemed to indicate a persistence in all those pernicious principles of government, to the operation of which the unwholesome condition of Victoria was mainly due. The two main natural products of the colony, namely wool and wheat, were never at such a low value, while constantly increasing in volume. According to the official estimate the year's produce of wheat was 14,000,000 bushels, of which only a little more than half was needed for home consumption. The surplus the growers were unable to dispose of in the congested markets of Europe at any remunerative price. Of wool, the supply was greater than ever, but the price was 10 per cent. lower than in 1893. The hopes of appreciation in this article, which had been raised by the repeal of the American tariff, were not realised. Of tallow, sheep-skins and frozen meat there was the same report, namely, steadily increasing production with a falling value. The year 1894, indeed, may be said to have been the worst ever known in the history of Victoria. And yet its lessons had been so ill read by the ruling majority that such fiscal changes as had marked the course of this gloomy period were still in the direction of increased burdens on commerce, with the object of "protecting native industry." In the face of a growing deficit in the revenue—a revenue derived chiefly from Customs—the Colonial Legislature continued the suicidal policy of placing heavy duties on imports, even increasing the taxes on all foreign commodities, as the imports diminished and the national wealth decreased.

The Victorian Parliament was opened by the Earl of Hopetoun on May 30. The Ministry of Sir John Patterson (he was advanced to this dignity at the beginning of the year) were sanguine enough to announce "the gradual return of trade to the colony." A motion of want of confidence in the shape of an amendment to the address was defeated in the Assembly by 49 votes to 34. The disclosures made by the

Treasurer in his Budget speech of July 31, as to the financial condition of the colony, were such, however, as to shake the confidence of the public in the Administration. The most serious feature in the year's revenue, as made known by Mr. Downes Carter, was a falling off in the Customs of 220,000*l.*, and in the returns from railways of 200,000*l.* The total deficit in the twelve months was announced as 665,000*l.* The financial policy of the Government was declared to be a reduction of such duties as were prohibitive of imports for the sake of revenue, with an increase of other duties by 10 per cent.—the abolition of the primage tax, and a sweeping retrenchment in the Civil Service, involving the dismissal of 500 railway officials and 100 employees in other Government departments. The Premier's out-spoken utterances against departmental extravagance, his condemnation of the "rotten policy of high rates, high freights, and high duties," and especially the threatened dismissal of the railway and other officials, aroused much feeling among the classes who were chiefly affected by these changes, and it was not long before it found expression in Parliament. On a motion of want of confidence moved by Mr. Turner, who had been chosen leader of the Opposition, the Government was defeated (Aug. 30) by 46 votes to 42, upon which Sir John Patterson obtained leave from the Governor to dissolve.

The general election was held on September 20, resulting in a complete defeat for the Ministry. Sixty-seven members of the Opposition were returned, and only twenty-eight Ministerialists. Upon an analysis of the declarations made by the successful candidates, it did not appear very clear what was the issue on which the elections turned, excepting that a decided majority was in favour of a change of Government. The larger number of the new members were pledged, indeed, to "tariff revision," but by that convenient phrase it was not very clear whether the majority which turned out Sir John Patterson were in favour of revising the tariff in the direction of increased duties to serve the cause of protection, or of diminished duties to further the interests of revenue. Judging by subsequent events, it was not difficult to come to the conclusion that the defeat of Sir John Patterson, which was acclaimed as a great Liberal and Democratic triumph, was brought about, not so much because of any political reasons, but because in carrying out his measures for redressing the balance between the falling revenue and the bloated expenditure Sir John Patterson had taken no account of the individual interests affected. In fact, it was the threatened discharge of the 500 railway servants (which in ordinary circumstances might seem to be the natural course when the railways were carried on at a loss) which more than anything else led to the Ministerial crisis and to the change of Government in Victoria—a striking instance of the radical viciousness of the political system under

which the State becomes the largest employer of labour and the chief source of wages.

The Governor having sent for Mr. George Turner, the leader of the successful party of the Opposition, a new Ministry was formed under his Premiership, with himself as Treasurer; Mr. Peacock, Chief Secretary; Mr. Isaacs, Attorney-General; Sir Frederick Sargood, Minister of Defence; Mr. Williams, Minister of Railways; Mr. Foster, Minister of Mines and Water Supply; Mr. R. N. Best, Minister of Lands and Customs; Mr. Taverner, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Cuthbert, Solicitor-General; and Mr. Gavan Duffy, Postmaster; with Messrs. Vale, McCulloch, McLean, and Pratt, Ministers without portfolios. From the composition of the Cabinet it was not easy to gather the character of the new Government, all the policy announced before the opening of the new Parliament being comprised in Mr. Turner's declaration, that "there would be no hasty tinkering with the tariff."

The Parliament was opened on October 30. Tariff revision occupied the principal place in the Governor's speech, the question to be dealt with in a special session to be held in March. A general reduction in salaries was announced, with a Royal Commission to inquire into the desirability of a State Bank.

Sir Graham Berry, late Agent-General for the colony in London, and once leader of the Victorian Democracy, was elected Speaker of the Assembly in place of Mr. Bent, who had failed to obtain a seat in the House. Mr. Zeal was re-elected President of the Legislative Council.

Mr. Turner, as Treasurer, made his financial statement on November 7. He declared the deficit on the year to be 528,000*l*. He asked for a tax on unimproved land, which he calculated would yield half a million, and an income tax, from which 100,000*l*. was expected. A vote of want of confidence, based on the taxation scheme of the Government, was moved by Mr. McKenzie on November 28, which was defeated by 55 votes to 33. The Taxation Bill, including the new taxes on unimproved land, passed the Assembly on December 20.

In consequence of their disapproval of the financial policy of the Government, especially of the scheme for the taxation of land, Sir Frederick Sargood, the Minister of Defence, and Mr. Pratt, a Minister without portfolio, resigned their connection with the Government. This result was hailed by the so-called Liberal journals as completing the triumph of Democracy in the new Government, the two gentlemen who resigned being regarded as Conservatives. A good deal of feeling, however, was created among the extreme or Labour members friendly to the Ministry by the announcement that among the salaries to be reduced were those of members of Parliament. "Payment of members" was openly declared to be the "groundwork and cornerstone of Democracy."

In view of the agitation respecting the revision of the tariff, it may be stated that the imports into the colony fell off to the extent of 1,148,118*l.*, a fact which it may seem difficult to reconcile with any reasonable scheme of tariff reunion which is to be at once protective of industry and prolific of revenue. If the fiscal measures for the re-adjustment of the Customs duties have for one of their objects the increase of revenue, as we might suppose they should have in a time of financial deficiency, it is not clear how that object is to be attained by augmenting the duties, already amounting to some fifty per cent. on the value of the article imported.

A statement made by the Minister of Lands respecting the arrears due to the State by the free selectors, to whom so large a portion of the estate of the colony has been alienated on terms of special favour, was not calculated to inspire public confidence in the soundness of Victorian institutions. According to Mr. McIntyre, the debt due from the free selectors amounted at the end of the year 1893 to 699,655*l.* Up to July, 1894, the total quantity of land alienated was 22,620,000 acres, of which only 6,652,000 had been disposed of by auction, and in a legitimate manner to those who wanted it most, and could give the best price for it. Of the remainder of the estate, which may be said to be so much capital on which the colony has been living as income, it now appears that even the low—less than the market—purchase money has not been duly paid; nor can it be said that there has been any equivalent to the State in the shape of extended cultivation or settlement.

The great case turning on the management of the State railways, of Speight *versus* Syme, the late Director-General of Railways against the *Age* newspaper, had an abortive issue. The first trial ended after a hundred days in a verdict on one of the counts for the plaintiff, the jury being unable to agree on the rest of the issues. The costs were estimated at 21,000*l.* The second trial resulted, after eighty-nine days, in a verdict for the plaintiff on nine counts, with damages of one farthing. The case had long ceased to occupy public attention, involving as it did merely personal and trifling issues, as to the details of railway management. Both plaintiff and defendant found sympathisers, however, to the extent of testimonials affirming their public spirit and integrity.

The English cricket team under Mr. Stoddart defeated the Victorians, after a five days' match, by 144 runs.

Martha Needle, convicted of the wholesale poisoning of her lodgers at Richmond, was hanged on October 23.

Mr. Duncan Gillies, once Prime Minister, and many years a leading politician, was appointed to the office of Agent-General in London.

The Federal Bank Directors, Sir Matthew Davies and his associates, who were tried for conspiracy and fraudulent concealing of the affairs of the bank, were acquitted on March 7.

A four and a half per cent. loan for the Metropolitan Board of Works to the extent of 500,000*l.* was equally subscribed for three times over at 100*l.* 5*s.*, a fact which excited much interest as a sign of returning prosperity.

At a meeting of the settlers in Gildurn, one of the immigration colonies, the Gothenburg system of liquor traffic was adopted by a large majority of votes.

The total revenue of the colony, as made up to the end of 1894, was 6,880,000*l.*

*Queensland.*—This colony had her share of financial troubles consequent on the bank failures, but the Government, endowed with a large portion of vigour and determination, was enabled to escape some of the more serious effects of the commercial depression. At the opening of Parliament on July 17, the Governor took the opportunity of congratulating the colony on the fact that his advisers had maintained an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, and on the outlook of trade. New facilities were promised for settling the people on the public lands.

Serious troubles again broke out in the pastoral districts owing to the lawlessness of the shearers. Irritated by the violent speeches of the leaders of the Labour party, and inflamed by the leaflets issued by an anarchist propaganda, openly advocating civil war, numerous outrages against life and property occurred in the thinly populated settlements of the interior. Sheep and cattle were wantonly destroyed, and woolsheds burnt down, while many of the labouring class who refused to join in the perpetration of these disorders had to pay the penalty of their independent behaviour in being deprived of their means of subsistence, and maltreated. Among the doctrines preached by the advocates of anarchy, was an injunction to the labouring man to "study the science of death." He was recommended to "use bullets, steel, melinite, kerosene, phosphorus, firesticks, torpedoes, litho-fracteur, poison, blasting-powder, bomb-shells, any weapon you can get hold of." The advice in more than one instance was acted upon, so that peaceful citizens who ventured to disobey the law of the Shearers' Union went in peril of their lives, and were prevented from following their lawful occupations.

In consequence of this state of things, and urged thereto by public opinion, the Government brought in a Peace Preservation Bill on September 9, which, in spite of the determined opposition of the Labour party, was carried through Parliament by the most summary process. The proclamation of the act in the disturbed districts was attended by the best effects. The outrages of the discontented shearers ceased, and the power of the law was asserted.

The Labour members, who were suspended for disorderly conduct in the House, took their revenge by uniting with the Opposition in carrying a vote for the increase of members'

salaries against the Government by a majority of four. The bill having been thrown out by the Upper House, there ensued a brief crisis. The Ministry ultimately succeeded in reversing the vote of the Assembly by a majority of one.

An ominous sign of the continued vitality of the powers of disorder, pregnant with future trouble, is in what appears to be the steady increase in the strength of the Labour party, in spite of its acknowledged sympathy with the cause of anarchy and lawlessness. At a bye-election for Townsville, the Labour candidate, Mr. Ogden, defeated the Ministerial candidate, Mr. Wilmet, by 150 votes. At Ipswich, one of the oldest towns, another candidate in the Labour interest beat the representative of the Government by 156 votes. The total number of Labour members in the Assembly rose to seventeen.

A new loan of 2,000,000*l.*, of which the avowed purpose was "the conversion of higher priced securities," was among the financial features of the year.

The revenue for the twelve months ending June 30 was 3,343,000*l.*, showing a decrease of 102,000*l.* on the year.

Mr. Stoddart's team of English cricketers beat Queensland by an innings and 274 runs.

*South Australia.*—The South Australian Parliament was opened on June 7. The Ministry had to tell the usual tale of falling revenue, consequent on the prevailing depression, the stagnation of trade, the decline of agriculture through the depreciation of the value of all kinds of produce, and the shrinking of all the sources of national wealth.

The distress among those out of employment was severely felt in Adelaide as well as in the rural districts, and was apparently of a more genuine character than in the other colonies. At a great meeting of the unemployed, violent speeches were made, recommending the people to help themselves to the property they saw about them. The Government agreed to provide stones for breaking, and by public advertisement those desiring work were invited to send in their names. It is a significant fact that out of one hundred who did so, only one took the work which was offered him. Over a thousand men, women, and children were being fed daily at the Government charge.

Sir John Bray having been relieved of the office of Agent-General in London, on the score of broken health, Mr. T. Playford was appointed in his place. There was some unpleasantness arising out of this appointment, Sir John Bray's friends alleging that he was removed from office with scant ceremony, and on insufficient grounds. Shortly after his suspension Sir John Bray died, while on his voyage back to Adelaide.

The revenue for the year ending June 30 was 2,516,000*l.*, showing a slight increase.

The English cricketers under Mr. Stoddart were defeated



by the South Australian eleven by six wickets, in the first match played by them on Australian soil, on November 14.

*Western Australia.*—The Parliament was opened on July 25. Something like a Ministerial crisis occurred in consequence of a vote of the Assembly requiring that no Minister should be a director of a Mining Company. Mr. Marmion, Minister of Lands, being in that position, resigned office; Mr. Parker, Colonial Secretary, following, on the same ground. Mr. Wittenoom was appointed in place of Mr. Marmion.

The yields from the new gold-fields in the south-eastern districts continued to be very large, and the excitement in consequence of the rich deposits at Londonderry, afterwards surpassed by other discoveries, was such as had scarcely been paralleled since the early days of Australian gold-mining. The miners at Coolgardie and the country adjacent had to contend with many serious difficulties, however, in consequence of the scarcity of water. Up to March 25 hardly any rain fell in the district. The road to Coolgardie for fifty miles was absolutely waterless. Several mines were deserted in consequence of the total failure of a water supply. The wells which were sunk in the immediate neighbourhood mostly yielded salt or brackish water, unfit for human consumption. Since the early part of the year matters improved a little. The rains commenced to fall on March 25, and for some weeks there was water in plenty—even in excess, causing new troubles through the flooding of the mines. Since then there was again a dearth, and without doubt the uncertain supply of water will be the greatest drawback to Coolgardie as a gold-field. Large numbers, however, continued to arrive from the other colonies and from Europe; scarcely a week passed without some new discovery being reported. From the Londonderry field 4,000 ounces of gold were “dollied” out in five weeks by the rudest process. The mine was afterwards sold by its fortunate discoverers for 50,000*l.* and a sixth share. The Wealth of Nations Mine was said to have “gold in sight” to the value of 400,000*l.* Whatever exaggerations there may have been in these reports, it was evident that in the Coolgardie and other districts further east, the colony possessed a very valuable gold-field, which would attract a large population, with results tending to the rapid development of Western Australia as a colony.

The revenue for the year ending June 30 had increased to 744,377*l.*, with an expenditure of 686,357*l.*

The Homestead Acts, which were in advance of any measure of the kind in the Australian colonies, as a liberal scheme of land settlement, came into operation on January 10.

Sir Henry Parkes, the New South Wales ex-Premier, paid a visit to the colony, and was received at Perth with great enthusiasm.

*Tasmania.*—The year's record of Tasmania contained, as

usual, no incident of stirring interest. The island suffered, like its richer neighbours, from the commercial depression, and nearly the whole of the time of the Legislature was taken up in contriving the ways and means of providing for the financial deficiency.

The Parliament was opened by commission on February 27, Mr. R. S. Bird being chosen Speaker of the Assembly.

The Budget speech was delivered by the Treasurer on March 2. A total deficit of 363,235*l.* was acknowledged. The revenue for the past year was only 700,000*l.*, instead of 907,000*l.*, as had been estimated.

The Dobson Government was defeated on its Land Tax proposals by one vote. A new Ministry was formed on April 12, with Sir Edward Braddon, Premier; Mr. P. O. Fysh, Treasurer; Mr. W. Moore, Chief Secretary; Mr. A. S. Clark, Attorney-General; Mr. A. T. Pottinger, Lands, Works, and Mines; Mr. C. O. Reilly, without portfolio. This Ministerial combination was regarded as the strongest which, for many years past, had been formed in Tasmania.

One of the chief measures of the new Government was to start a new loan for 750,000*l.*, which was successfully floated in the London market at the end of the year.

An International Exhibition was opened at Hobart on November 15.

*New Zealand.*—The history of New Zealand, under the vigorous administration of Mr. Seddon, continued to be marked by bold and startling experiments in legislation.

The heroic measures which were adopted in 1893, in pursuance of the paternal policy of making the State the general factor of the colony, the head grazier, farmer, and dairyman, with its hand in every citizen's business, were carried a step further by the Prime Minister, who after denouncing the banks for their pusillanimity and blindness to the popular interests, especially in respect of having deposits largely in excess of their advances, publicly avowed that it was "not fair that the people of the colony should suffer from the tightness or want of money through no fault of their own." This generous declaration was followed up by a bill, which was rapidly passed through all its stages in the Legislature, authorising the Bank of New Zealand to issue 2,000,000*l.* of fresh share capital, on a Government guarantee. A Bank Shareholders Bill and a Bank Note Issue Bill were simultaneously hurried through Parliament in the last days of June. These measures, in direct violation of all accepted laws, and a manifest interference with the liberty of individual trade, were not adopted without strenuous opposition on the part of the moneyed classes, but their avowed object being the redistribution of what were supposed to be the gifts of fortune, they were undoubtedly popular with the great bulk of the community. And in their justification it was claimed by the supporters of the Government that it was only by the adoption of so spirited

and daring a policy, that the colony had been preserved from the financial troubles which had visited its neighbours.

How far Mr. Seddon was prepared to go in the direction of re-creating a new community on the basis of State socialism, was shown in his speech made to the Maoris, at a great meeting held at Maukanga. The Government, he declared, would no longer permit millions of acres to remain idle while thousands wanted settlement. The same rule would apply to Europeans as to natives. In the case of land with only a few sheep upon it, "the Government would take it for settlement whether the owners desired it or not."

Nor was the Government slow to act in the spirit of this declaration. A bill was passed through the Legislature empowering the Government to raise a loan locally, to the extent of 75,000*l.*, for the purpose of purchasing Maori lands. Another bill, for advancing money to settlers at a cheap rate on the security of their holdings, was carried through Parliament on October 2.

The New Zealand Parliament was opened on June 21. Sir George Maurice O'Rourke was elected Speaker of the Assembly. In the Governor's speech a reference was made to the tri-partite treaty, by which Samoa was placed under the protection of England, Germany, and the United States. That arrangement was declared to be injurious to New Zealand, which should take the leading part in Polynesia, and should be content with nothing short of the protectorate of Samoa.

A bill for allowing women to sit in Parliament was shelved, as being in advance of public opinion.

The Budget speech was delivered by the Treasurer on July 24, who announced a gross surplus of 550,000*l.* A bounty was proposed on beet sugar produced in the colony.

Rewi, the famous chief of the Ngatimaniopoto, the consistent and faithful friend of the Europeans, died on July 24, being upwards of eighty years of age. He had witnessed the whole process of the birth and establishment of the colony, in which he had taken a leading and most honourable part.

The so-called Maori king, Tawhaio, died of influenza in August. He was the son of Potatau, who was chosen head chief of the independent Maoris in 1860. He visited England in 1884, having previously taken the pledge to abstain from spirituous liquors. Since 1892 he was in the enjoyment of a pension from Government of 225*l.*, having long ceased to be an object of anxiety to his white neighbours, or to be anything more than a figure-head in the Maori councils. Tawhaio was buried with great ceremony on September 28.

The New Zealand Parliament was prorogued on October 24, the Government still maintaining its large majority.

The steamship *Wairarapa*, on her voyage to Auckland, was totally wrecked on the north coast of the Great Barrier Island, on the night of October 29. The captain and nineteen of the

crew, with 114 passengers, were drowned. A court of inquiry held at Auckland found the captain alone responsible for the wreck, on the ground that accurate bearings of the position of the ship were not taken, and censured the chief officer for not taking sufficient measures for the safety of the passengers.

The lady mayor of the municipality of Onehunga, Mrs. Yates, who had made herself unpopular during her year's tenure of office, was defeated in her attempt to be re-elected for a second year.

The Government supported a proposal for the establishment of a whaling station on the Kermadec Islands, north-west of New Zealand.

*Polynesia.*—Events in the Western Pacific were unimportant. In Samoa the agitation among the natives respecting the kingship still continued, with occasional flashes into open war between the partisans of Malietoa and Matasese. The British and German joint influence, while successful in preventing bloodshed, was unable to restore peace to the islands, owing to the prevalent belief that the two powers were not acting cordially in maintaining the *condominium*. The British ship of war *Curaçoa* and the German *Falke* reached Apia simultaneously in May, but their efforts to maintain order were to some degree neutralised by mutual jealousies. The Germans were suspected of giving secret encouragement to the party of Matasese, even to the extent of supplying men with arms and ammunition. The proposal by the New Zealand Government to put an end to the tri-partite treaty by taking over the protectorate of Samoa, tended to increase the jealousies of the German faction, who aimed at nothing short of the annexation of the islands to Germany.

The Government of Hawaii, eager to cement its connection with the United States by the laying down of a submarine cable with San Francisco, endeavoured to forestall a parallel undertaking projected by the British colonies, by annexing the outlying Island of Necker, which had been selected as one of the stations in the line between Sydney and Vancouver. Much agitation was caused throughout the Australian colonies on the receipt of this news, which seemed to threaten future trouble in the relations between Great Britain and the United States.

The Governor of New Caledonia, in concert with the French Consul at Sydney, made a report to the French Government, recommending the suspension of transportation to New Caledonia.

A serious conflict took place in the summer between the inhabitants of Raiatea and the French. The islanders had always claimed to be independent of the Society group, and had steadfastly refused to acknowledge the Tahitian jurisdiction.

Mr. R. L. Stevenson, the popular English author, died suddenly of apoplexy at Apia on December 3.



## PART II.

### CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

#### IN 1894.

#### JANUARY.

1. The Manchester Ship Canal, which had been ten years in course of construction and had cost 15,000,000*l.*, formally opened by a long procession of boats and steamers, which traversed the entire length of the canal in four and a half hours.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone announced that an understanding had been arrived at with the Opposition, by which, in view of mutual concessions, the business of the session might be promptly closed.

— Domiciliary visits paid to prominent Anarchists in various parts of France, and upwards of 2,000 arrests made in Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Havre, Lille and other centres, under the new law of public safety.

2. The Globe Theatre at Boston, Mass., totally gutted by a fire which raged unchecked for several hours, causing damage estimated at a million dollars.

— The forces acting under Colonel Ellis in Sierra Leone defeated a large force of Sofas at Bagwema and set free 400 slaves.

— The Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath conferred upon the Ameer of Afghanistan.

— The Spanish police arrested at Saragossa a prominent Anarchist named Franch, supposed to have been the author of the bomb explosion in the Liceo Theatre at Barcelona. When arrested Franch made a determined attempt to commit suicide, first by shooting and then by poison.

3. Dr. Gregg, the newly elected Primate of Ireland, enthroned at Armagh Cathedral in presence of a large gathering of clergy and laity.

— Mr. Rhodes reached Cape Town on his return from Matabeleland and was received with great enthusiasm by the population and with much ceremony by the leading officials. He said, in reply to an address, that he knew his duty, and would defend constitutionally the cause of the people of South Africa against any unfair treatment from England.

— After a long continuance of mild weather, a sharp frost accompanied by a strong north-east wind set in, prevailing over the greater part of Europe. At Vienna the thermometer suddenly fell to 12 degrees below freezing point (Réaumur), and in England as many degrees (Fahrenheit) were marked, with

severe snowstorms amounting to blizzards throughout the country, especially on the South coast, where the mail service with the Continent was interrupted and many wrecks occurred. The highest temperature in Europe was telegraphed from Alvö, a station within the Arctic circle.

4. A royal decree issued at Rome proclaiming a state of siege over the Island of Sicily, and placing full powers in the hands of the new Prefect of Palermo, General Morra di Lavriano. Conflicts with the authorities, often attended with loss of life, took place at various spots, in consequence of the establishment of octroi duties on a number of small towns, hitherto free.

— In the House of Commons the whole of the remaining clauses, 45-71, of the Parish Councils Bill, excepting those postponed, disposed of in committee.

— At Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A., a fire broke out, and before it could be extinguished destroyed the Chamber of Commerce and many other public buildings valued at a million dollars.

5. The fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the literary career of Moritz Jokai celebrated throughout Hungary, the national festival lasting three days.

— A fire broke out in one of the dormitories of the Victoria Hospital for Chest Diseases on the north side of London and speedily spread to the main building. There were about 160 patients in the hospital, of whom upwards of thirty were in the rooms attacked, but all were removed safely to other parts of the building. On the following day a fire, unattended by serious results, broke out at the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's Inn Road.

— The Pope addressed a letter to the Bishop of Autun, reiterating his admonition to French Catholics to accept the Republic.

6. A storehouse in the Rue Richer, used for the scenery of the Paris Opera, caught fire, and in consequence of the frost great delay occurred before a supply of water could be obtained. The scenery of twenty operas, valued at 800,000 francs, was totally destroyed.

— The democratic caucus of the Washington Congress, in view of the difficulty in obtaining a quorum in the House, passed a resolution calling upon the Serjeant-at-Arms to take into custody and produce before the House of Representatives all members absent without leave.

— A grand banquet given at Cape Town to the Premier, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, on his return. All the leading members of the Opposition as well as of the Government party attended. Mr. Rhodes in his speech said that he had always held that the Hinterland was a reversion to the Cape.

— The traditional prayer recited in all Russian churches on Christmas day since 1812, anathematising the French, omitted by direction of the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg.

7. The French Senatorial elections for one-third of the body showed a slight increase in the Radical element. M. Floquet, who had failed to secure a seat as a Deputy, was elected a Senator, and M. Waddington, who had for ten years been Ambassador to England, was defeated at Laon. The Senate was made up of 225 Republicans, 43 Reactionaries, 23 Radicals, and 4 "Rallied."

8. At a final meeting of the Volunteer Patriotic Fund at the Mansion House, Alderman Sir J. Whitehead, ex-lord mayor, stated that 41,897*l.* had been raised to provide what was deficient in the equipment of the volunteers and pay off the debts incurred for that purpose. All the charges had been met and a balance of 720*l.* was divided among the corps.

9. A fire broke out in the buildings of the World's Fair, Chicago, by which the Casino and Music Hall were completely destroyed. The manufacturers' building was next attacked and some damage was done to the remaining exhibits, chiefly French.

— At a general assembly of the Royal Academy Mr. J. Bramley and Mr. J. S. Sargent, painters, and Mr. J. Frampton, sculptor, were elected Associates.

— A serious collision took place at Prague between the police and a mob who were attempting to disturb the peace and to loot the shops.

— In the House of Commons the committee stage of the Parish Councils Bill brought to a close after having occupied nearly forty days.

10. At the Seine Assize Court the Anarchist Vaillant tried and convicted of attempted murder by throwing a bomb into the hall of the Chamber of Deputies on December 9, 1893. After half an hour's deliberation the jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to death.

— A gentleman named Lindus followed his wife to the office of her solicitors in the Old Jewry, where he shot her and one of the partners, inflicting dangerous wounds.

— A fire broke out in one of the principal streets of Patras and was dealt with so leisurely by the inhabitants that a large section of the town was destroyed before the flames were arrested.

11. The polling of the Horncastle division of Lincolnshire, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. E. Stanhope (C.), resulted in the return of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby (C.) by 4,582 votes against 3,744 polled by Mr. Torr (L.).

— The Belgian Ministry, having failed to obtain from the Right of the Chamber adequate concessions on proportional representations, one of the points of the new constitutional reforms, tendered their resignation.

12. A French expeditionary column under General Bornier, which had been operating in the Western Soudan, whilst approaching Timbuctoo was attacked during the night by a large force of Tuaregs, and completely annihilated. The total loss of the French was eleven officers and seventy-five men, chiefly Senegalese.

— The Chancellor of the Exchequer in answer to a deputation, headed by Lord Aberdare, promised a grant of 3,000*l.* to the new university for Wales, established by Royal Charter.

— A memorial in favour of a "Democratic Budget," signed by ninety-four Radical members of the House of Commons, presented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

— The House of Commons adjourned for a month, during which the House of Lords was to consider the Parish Councils Bill and other matters.



13. Mr. Gladstone, accompanied by Mrs. Gladstone, left town for Biarritz, where they arrived on the following morning.

— By a serious fire which broke out in the Caledonian Road, King's Cross, the mills, factory, and stores of Thorley's food for cattle were almost wholly destroyed.

— The customary New Year's Day reception and other ceremonies at the Russian Court were suddenly countermanded in consequence of the indisposition of the Emperor and his son the Archduke George.

— A 100 mile bicycle race between Arthur Linton, the English champion, and the Frenchman Dubois resulted in the victory of the former by about 420 yards.

15. In the Chamber of Deputies the French Minister of Finance brought in a bill to convert  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The expense of conversion was about 150,000*l.* and the saving of interest about 2,800,000*l.* per annum.

— A serious railway accident occurred on a branch of the Delaware Railway near Jersey City, U.S.A., by which fifteen persons were killed and at least twenty-five seriously injured; the "Orange" express running into the end of the "Dover" express, of which the rear carriages were completely smashed.

— Serious disturbances occurred in the Cariaco district, and in the conflicts which ensued between the troops and the mob the latter suffered severely.

16. The annual conference of the Miners' Federation, attended by delegates representing 206,000 miners, opened at Leicester by Mr. S. Woods, M.P., and cordially welcomed by the mayor and corporation.

— At a general assembly of the Royal Academy Mr. John M. Swan and Mr. Arthur Hacker, painters, elected Associates.

— The session of the Prussian Diet opened by the German Emperor, who, referring to the deficiencies in the Estimates, urged the necessity of a reorganisation of the financial system of the empire.

— A Catholic congress largely attended by delegates from many places outside the empire met at Buda-Pesth under the presidency of Cardinal Vaszary, the Hungarian Primate. Resolutions were carried condemnatory of the ecclesiastical measures of the Government.

17. The funeral of M. Waddington at Père Lachaise was preceded by a service at the Protestant Church, at which M. Spuller the Minister of Education, M. Léon Say and others delivered speeches.

— A state of siege proclaimed in the province of Massa-Carrara and General Hensch appointed to administer the district.

— The Banca Generale of Rome with branches at Milan and Genoa compelled to apply for a *moratorium* in consequence of the continuous withdrawal of current accounts.

18. The Czarina, accompanied by the Czarevitch, in the absence of the Czar, and attended by the whole Court, was present at the ceremony of blessing the waters of the Neva.

18. In the Prussian Landtag, Dr. Miquel produced the Budget for 1898-94 and the Estimates for 1894-95, the former showing a deficit of 2,840,000*l.* and the latter an excess of proposed expenditure over anticipated income of 3,510,000*l.*

— Mr. Jabez S. Balfour, managing director of the Liberator Building and other societies, who had absconded a year previously, arrested at Salta in the province of Jujuy, Buenos Ayres, by the British Consul.

19. The French Senate by 182 to 84 votes agreed to give the franchise at elections of the Tribunal of Commerce to women engaged in business.

— The Miners' Federation Conference before closing its proceedings passed a resolution in favour of the nationalisation of miners of all descriptions throughout the country.

— A run on the State Savings Bank, lasting over two hours, occurred at Rome, but the depositors finding themselves repaid without delay ceased to make withdrawals. The Banca Popolare at Alessandria, however, with liabilities exceeding 2,000,000 lire applied for a *moratorium* of six months.

— The Government of India notified that they would not maintain the limit of 1*s.* 3½*d.* for bills of exchange which had been laid down, but would accept tenders at the market price.

20. In the German Reichstag the representatives from Württemberg protested against the imposition of a wine tax, proposed by the Government, as being a violation of promises given in 1870.

— A conference of representatives of the coal and iron industries in the West of England was held at the invitation and under the presidency of the Bishop of Durham, with the view to establishing a provisional Board of Conciliation. He was warmly supported by representatives of both employers and miners.

21. The ex-King Milan of Servia suddenly arrived at Belgrade notwithstanding the decree of his banishment having not been repealed. The Ministry under General Gruitch at once resigned, and two members of the previous Cabinet, although under impeachment, were summoned to confer with the King.

22. The Secretary of State at Washington informed the British and Belgian Governments that the United States Government would not take the initiative in reconvening the International Monetary Conference.

— In consequence of the criticism passed on the Egyptian frontier force by the Khedive, General Kitchener, the Sirdar, tendered his resignation, which, however, he subsequently withdrew at the Khedive's request.

— One of the German Emperor's aides-de-camp, Count von Moltke, visited Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe with an autograph letter from the Emperor and a present of old wine from the imperial cellars.

23. A Royal decree issued authorising an increase of the note circulation of the Banks of Italy, Naples and Sicily to the extent of 5,000,000*l.* to be covered by a metallic reserve of one-third at the time of issue, and of two-fifths later.

— Sir Henry Roscoe, M.P., appointed to the the vacancy in the Senate of the London University caused by the death of Sir Wm. Smith.

23. Lobengula, the Matabele chief, deserted by nearly all his followers, died of fever at a short distance from the Zambesi River, towards which he was making flight.

24. The political crisis in Servia momentarily ended by the formation of a Ministry of Moderate Liberals, chiefly unconnected with politics. On meeting the Skuptshina, however, the Ministers were refused a hearing and were forced to leave the Assembly.

— A sacred drama in verse entitled "Izeÿl," dealing with the story of Buddha, by MM. Sylvestre and Morard, in which Madame Sarah Bernhardt played the title rôle, produced at the Théâtre de la Renaissance at Paris.

— The civil Governor of Barcelona fired at and wounded by a workman, who, on his arrest, proclaimed himself an Anarchist. Simultaneously a dynamite explosion in the harbour killed two persons and wounded several.

25. M. Challemel-Lacour on his reception at the French Academy delivered an *éloge* on M. E. Renan, to whose chair he succeeded.

— A further serious landslip took place at Sandgate, the sea wall opposite Battery Fort moving forwards and causing such wide gaps in the road that business was suspended.

— The Speaker in the House of Commons nominated Lord Shand as Chairman of the Miners' Conciliation Board.

— Rev. C. W. Stubbs, Rector of Wavertree, appointed Dean of Ely, and Rev. E. C. Wickham, late Headmaster of Wellington College, Dean of Lincoln.

— In the House of Lords the second reading of the Parish Councils Bill was taken without a division after a brief debate.

— A prize fight between Corbett, the American champion, and Mitchell, an Englishman, for the championship and 8,000*l.* took place at Jacksonville, Florida, the Governor having found it impossible to prevent it without having recourse to martial law. The fight lasted nine minutes and in the third round Mitchell was completely beaten.

26. Prince Bismarck on the invitation of the Emperor came to Berlin, and was most enthusiastically received by the populace and cordially welcomed by the Emperor, who, on returning, accompanied him to the railway station.

— The Khedive withdrew by telegraph all adverse criticism on the frontier force, and subsequently published a general order expressive of his satisfaction with the state of the Army.

— Behanzin, King of Dahomey, who had been abandoned by the members of the royal family, surrendered unconditionally to the French Commander at Ajego, north-west of Abomey.

27. The Rochdale Theatre and Opera House, built in 1867, destroyed by fire, which was not discovered until some hours after the performance had ended. No lives were lost, but the building and its contents, valued at 10,000*l.*, were wholly destroyed.

— In the Chamber of Deputies, M. Thivrier, a Socialist deputy, having cried out "Vive la commune!" and refused to withdraw the expression,

the sitting was temporarily suspended and M. Thivrier was removed by force.

27. At Rome the Congregation of Rites unanimously pronounced in favour of the beatification of Joan of Arc, and the decision was immediately approved by the Pope.

28. A serious encounter took place at Zurich between the police and an Anarchist mob who had fixed revolutionary emblems over the door of the Italian consulate.

— Serious illness of the Czar, who had for some time been suffering from influenza and bronchitis, publicly announced.

— The United States embassy at Rome broken into by burglars who wrecked the furniture of the library and destroyed the archives.

— A demonstration against the proposed industrial tax in Lisbon took the form of closing all shops, taverns, and offices, the Government having prohibited public meetings.

— Marshal Martinez Campos arrived at the city of Morocco as ambassador-extraordinary, and was subsequently received by the Sultan with great state and courtesy.

30. In consequence of the decision of the Council of the University of Brussels to suspend M. Elisée Reclus' course of lectures, the students made a violent demonstration against the professors, and the University doors were ultimately closed.

— The Princess Marie Louise, wife of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, safely delivered of a son, who was named Boris, Prince of Tirnovo.

— At Rio de Janeiro the United States ships protecting the merchant shipping of their nationality in the bay came to blows with the insurgent vessels, but Admiral de Gama, promptly recognising his inferior strength, surrendered at discretion.

31. The report of Mr. Gladstone's impending resignation excited considerable sensation and subsequently produced an official statement from Sir A. West, on Mr. Gladstone's authority, that such a statement was untrue, although he was conscious of his increasing infirmities.

— The state entrance of the Duke of Coburg and his family into Gotha was made the occasion of an enthusiastic welcome and an imposing ceremonial.

— The Khedive was present at a grand military tournament given by the British garrison at Cairo, and expressed himself most graciously to the British officers.

## FEBRUARY.

1. At the London School Board the proposal of a circular to school teachers prescribing certain rules as to religious instruction in the Board schools occupied the whole sitting, although protracted till midnight, when the board adjourned without coming to a final decision.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 8 to 2½ per cent.; the proportion of reserve standing at 19,739,090*l.* or 54½ per cent. of the liabilities and the stock of bullion at 28,026,646*l.*

1. At Washington the Tariff Bill passed the House of Representatives by 204 to 140 votes amid much enthusiasm from its supporters and their friends, Mr. Wilson, the mover, being carried in triumph from the Chamber.

2. The judicial trustee of the Panama Canal Company announced that an arrangement had been made with M. Eiffel and others whereby another revival of the enterprise was to be attempted. M. Bartissol, the contractor, however, stipulated that 60,000,000 francs should be paid on demonstrating the feasibility of his plan and 500,000,000 on the completion of the work in four years.

— A baronetcy conferred on Mr. E. Burne-Jones, the eminent painter, and a similar honour offered to but declined by Mr. Watts, R.A.

— The Dutch police succeeded in arresting eight men and obtaining possession of forged bank-notes to the value of 227,000 guilders which were about to be put in circulation.

— The United States cruiser *Kearsage*, which in 1864 had sunk the Confederate ship *Alabama* off Cherbourg, ran on the Roncadore Reef off the Mosquito Coast of South America and was totally lost, but all hands were saved.

3. A meeting of the unemployed at Tower Hill, having resolved to march to Trafalgar Square, was broken up by the police at Blackfriars. A certain number of the body subsequently assembled at Trafalgar Square and made wild speeches.

— The blockade of the harbour of Rio de Janeiro by the insurgents finally abandoned.

— In consequence of negotiations between the presidents of the commercial associations of Lisbon and the Government it was arranged to re-open the shops and warehouses of the city and that pending some financial arrangements the industrial tax would be withdrawn.

5. Vaillant, the perpetrator of the bomb outrage in the French Chamber of Deputies, guillotined at the Place de la Roquette. Extreme precautions had been taken by the authorities to prevent any disturbance. Vaillant showed no lack of courage, maintaining his principles to the last.

— A sculling race for 200l. rowed on the Thames from Putney to Mortlake between G. Bubear, the champion, and C. R. Harding of Chelsea, who led from start to finish and won easily in 23 min. 18 sec.

— Two football matches (Rugby) played between French and English teams at Oxford and Bedford. In both the Englishmen were victorious.

— A cyclone burst upon Diego Suarez, the chief French settlement in Madagascar, destroying two-thirds of the houses and most of the public buildings.

6. In the Washington House of Representatives a resolution in favour of the recognition of the provisional Government in the Hawaiian Islands and their ultimate annexation to the United States was rejected.

— In the London Silver Market silver bars were quoted at 29½d. per ounce, the lowest price ever touched.

— Serious religious riots between Mahomedans and Hindus took place at Teola near Nassik in the Bombay Presidency. Several temples and

mosques were destroyed and numerous casualties occurred; order was not restored until the troops arrived.

7. The south-west wing of Duncombe Park, the seat of the Earl of Feversham, which had escaped the fire of 1879, entirely destroyed; the greater part of the valuable furniture together with Lady Feversham's jewels being consumed.

— Brigadier General H. H. Kitchener, C.B., Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, and Mr. John Scott, judicial adviser of the Khedive, appointed Knights Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

— The express train between Paris and Brussels ran into a large package of ice which had fallen on the line between Janville and Compiègne. The engine and luggage van and one carriage were thrown off the line and rolled down the embankment, and almost immediately afterwards a luggage train ran into the wrecked train, killing three passengers and seriously injuring ten others.

8. The House of Lords after four sittings protracted till nearly midnight disposed of the committee stage of the Parish Councils Bill.

— Baron de Soubeyran, ex-member of the Chamber of Deputies and a director of the Banque d'Escompte, arrested on charges connected with the management of that establishment. The Comptoir d'Escompte, with liabilities of several million francs, suspended payment at the same time.

9. The conclusion of a commercial treaty between Russia and Germany, based upon a reduction of 50 per cent. of the existing duties on Russian cereals, notified.

— A conspiracy discovered at Rio for the murder of the President, Marshal Peixoto, who at once ordered several of the ringleaders to be shot, and condemned the others to long terms of imprisonment.

10. H.M.S. *Edinburgh*, a large ironclad, whilst leaving the Medway came into collision with an iron-built barque, the *Scottish Admiral*, which was lying at anchor. The latter sank very quickly, but the *Edinburgh* sustained no damage.

— A four-handed match at tennis between Saunders and Latham representing England, and Lesueur and Ferdinand representing France, played at Prince's Club, resulted in the victory of the former by three sets to one.

11. At a meeting of the Liberal Catholics held at Buda-Pesth resolutions were carried in favour of the Church reforms proposed by the Government and protesting against the statement that they were contrary to the Catholic faith.

12. The House of Commons after a month's recess met to wind up the business of the session of 1893. Mr. Gladstone, having returned from Biarritz, was present.

— A south-westerly gale, which in some districts acquired the force of a hurricane, raged for nearly six and thirty hours over the whole of England and the southern parts of Scotland and Ireland. Houses were unroofed, factory chimneys and church spires blown down and trees laid low in various parts of the country. In North Germany the damage was still greater; the roof of the Stettiner Station at Berlin was torn off and carried to a distance, and

the new tower of the Johannis Kirche at New Brandenburg was blown down. Throughout the Central and Western States of the Union the damage done was unprecedented. In New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, there was a heavy fall of snow, quite putting a stop to all railway traffic, and damage to upwards of \$1,000,000 was done to the telegraphs.

12. The National Liberal Federation held its annual congress at Portsmouth, and in anticipation of the formal meeting, discussed the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales and the formation of a society of certificated Liberal agents.

— A bomb thrown into the midst of the people assembled in a *café* attached to the Terminus Hotel, Rue St. Lazare, Paris, and nearly a dozen persons were more or less injured. The man who threw the bomb had been seated in the gallery and tried to escape in the confusion, and on an attempt being made to capture him wounded two or three persons with a revolver he had in his hand. He was at length secured and taken to the police office and gave the name of Le Breton, but it was subsequently ascertained that his real name was Emile Henri, aged 22, born at Barcelona of French parents.

13. In the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated there was no intention of re-opening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, or of returning to a minimum rate for the sale of bills.

— Mr. Cobb's amendment to the Lords' amendment on the contracting-out clause of the Employers' Liability Bill carried by 215 to 213 votes.

14. At the meeting of the National Liberal Federation Sir Wm. Harcourt predicted that the Liberal party were about to enter upon a great and successful struggle with the House of Lords, an announcement which was enthusiastically cheered.

— The medical department of the South Wales University at Cardiff formally opened by Sir Richard Quain, M.D., President of the General Medical Council.

— A second fire at the World's Fair, Chicago, supposed to be the work of an incendiary, destroyed the machinery *annexe* and other buildings covering a large area.

15. A meeting of the Liberal Unionist members of both Houses held at Devonshire House at which it was informally decided not to support the extreme party of the Conservatives in the conflict between the two Houses.

— Martial Bourdin, a French tailor and well-known Anarchist, suspected of concealing explosives from the police, found in Greenwich Park near the Observatory terribly mutilated by an explosion which was presumably caused by his own stumbling and falling with a bottle full of explosives. The police, however, inclined to the view that Bourdin's intention was to blow up the Greenwich Observatory and then to escape to France, upwards of 13*l.* being found upon him.

— M. Brunetière, silver-successor to M. John Lemoine at the French Academy, formally received Comte d'Haussonville. In his speech he criticised very severely lots of methods of modern Parisian journalism.

16. The London police <sup>the B</sup>, a raid upon the Autonomie Club in Gt.

Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, frequented by Anarchists of all nationalities. Having quietly obtained possession of the building they awaited the arrival of the members, who, without a word, were admitted and then detained until after midnight. About eighty members were thus temporarily put under supervision.

16. A duel took place in Paris between M. Waldeck-Rousseau, a barrister and ex-minister, and M. Frisch de Feh, on whose conduct M. Waldeck-Rousseau, while conducting a case in court, made imputations. The ex-minister's seconds at first declined to allow their principal to fight on such a pretext, but M. Frisch de Feh having subsequently insulted and assaulted M. Waldeck-Rousseau a meeting followed in which the latter was slightly wounded.

— The German first-class ironclad *Brandenburg* whilst trying her engines outside Kiel Harbour burst her main steam pipe. Thirty-nine men were killed on the spot, and nine others injured of whom two died during the night.

17. A congress of the Agrarian League, claiming to represent 178,000 persons, assembled at Berlin to denounce the commercial treaty with Russia.

— The statue of Napoleon I., erected by an Englishman at Boulogne, blown down during a severe gale and shattered to pieces.

18. A demonstration organised by the Bermondsey Vestry held in Trafalgar Square against the action of the House of Lords in obstructing Vestry Reform and the Parish Councils Bill.

19. The German Emperor paid a visit to Prince Bismarck, with whom he stayed to dine on his way from Berlin to Wilhelmshafen.

— Donniciliary visits made by the police to the houses of well-known Anarchists throughout France, and Sebastien Faure, the friend of Vaillant, arrested.

20. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone moved the discharge of the Employers' Liability Bill, which was agreed to by 225 to 6 votes, the Opposition taking no part in the division.

— A bomb explosion occurred in a house in the Rue St. Jacques at Paris, where a man had taken a room and left on a shelf over the door a bomb which fell on the door being opened. The same man also acted in a similar way in another part of Paris and then wrote the Commissary of the Police of the district that he had committed suicide, his object being that the police officers on opening the door of his room should fall victims to the explosion. Three persons were wounded, one of whom, the landlady, subsequently died from the effects.

21. In the Italian Chamber the Finance Minister, Signor Sonnino, explained the measures by which it was proposed to place the national finances on a safer footing. A deficit of 7,080,000*l.* was admitted, which would be met by economies in expenditure amounting to 1,800,000*l.* and fresh or adjusted taxation which was expected to yield 6,000,000*l.* additional.

— At Prague the Omladina trial, which had lasted some weeks and given rise to great scandals, concluded; all the prisoners except two were found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from seven months to eight years.



21. The Court of Cassation at Sofia dismissed the appeal of Archbishop Clement against the sentence of three years' imprisonment passed on him for preaching seditious sermons.

— The annual football match between the University teams decided at Queen's Club, West Kensington, in favour of Cambridge by three goals to one.

22. A severe hurricane passing over the island of Mauritius, but avoiding Port Louis, caused great damage to the crops and plantations. A train was blown into the water and five officials killed.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent., the reserve standing at 22,601,698*l.*, being  $60\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 29,749,768*l.*

— At a meeting of the French Academy M. de Hérédia, born in Cuba, the author of a single volume of poetry "*Les Trophées*," elected a member after five ballotings in succession to M. de Mazade.

— A great auk's egg sold by auction in London and purchased for 300 guineas by Sir Vauncey Crewe of Calke Abbey, Derbyshire.

— On a second ballot Signor Biancheri elected President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies by 191 votes against 187 given to Signor Zanardelli.

— An expedition composed of mariners and bluejackets under the command of Captain Gamble, R.N., H.M.S. *Raleigh*, after destroying two stockaded villages on the Gambia Coast, attacked by the natives in force and forced to retreat with three officers and ten rank and file killed, and five officers and forty-seven men wounded.

23. The funeral of the French Anarchist Bourdin, who was killed by the explosion of a bomb he was carrying in Greenwich Park, took place at Finchley Cemetery. A large police force accompanied the funeral procession and had much difficulty in protecting those who formed it from the mob.

— At the Seine Assizes in Paris the Anarchist Leauthier, who had stabbed the Servian Minister in a restaurant, found guilty with extenuating circumstances and sentenced to hard labour for life.

— In the House of Lords the Parish Councils Bill again discussed with regard to the Commons' rejection of the Lords' amendments. Many of these were withdrawn but some were maintained.

24. The Prince and Princess of Wales formally opened the Battersea Polytechnic Institute, erected at a cost of 60,000*l.*, subscribed by Mr. H. Tate and other private persons.

25. At the Opera House at Pisa, during the performance, a bomb was thrown into the building and exploded, but without injuring any of those present.

— Two serious fires occurring simultaneously on the south side of the Thames, one at the large granaries known as Shad's Wharf, and the other at a furrier's in Bermondsey, taxed the resources of the London Fire Brigade to the utmost, and caused the destruction of a large amount of property.

26. The New York Legislature passed a bill uniting under one common

Government, New York, Brooklyn, and other adjoining towns, covering 319 miles and embracing a population of 3,000,000.

26. M. le Comte d'Aunay, French Minister at Copenhagen, recalled in consequence of an article appearing in the *Paris Figaro*, asserting that the negotiations for a Franco-Russian alliance had been carried on at Copenhagen during the previous summer behind the back of the French Minister by General Borius, military secretary to the President, and the Princess Waldemar.

27. An infernal machine of elaborate construction found in a narrow passage in the centre of Nottingham. In an ordinary cigar box filled with bits of broken glass and iron was a clock-work arrangement, with two bottles filled with some dark liquid wrapped round with cotton wool.

— In the Greek Chamber the Opposition withdrew in a body on the introduction of the Government measure for the relief of distress in the eurrant-growing district. There being no quorum, the bill had to be adjourned.

— In an expedition against the Abors, an outlying hill tribe on the north-east frontier of India, after Membo, their chief fortress, had been captured, a party of forty-four Bengal infantry soldiers was surprised by the Abors and lost thirty men and a native officer.

28. In the Italian Chamber Signor Crispi, speaking on the internal affairs of the country, declared that in Sicily the Socialistic clubs, numbering 280,000, had planned an insurrection which was originally intended to take place in the middle of February under the leadership of "the new Garibaldi of Anarchy."

— M. Brunetière, the newly elected member of the French Academy, mobbed whilst lecturing at the Sorbonne by a number of young men whose feelings had been hurt by his remarks on modern journalism.

— Dr. Prudente de Moraes of Sao Paulo, ex-President of the Senate, elected President of the United States of Brazil.

## MARCH.

1. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone, whilst accepting the last amendments of the House of Lords to the Parish Councils Bill, protested against the action of that body which had created a state of things which in his judgment could not continue. It was felt by many that this declaration of war was Mr. Gladstone's last speech as Prime Minister.

— A serious explosion of cordite took place at the Government gun-cotton factory near Waltham Abbey, very seriously injuring the master worker and three assistants.

— At Calcutta the Finance Member of Council (Mr. Westland), in view of the deficit in the Indian Revenue, introduced a bill reviving the tariff schedule of 1875, except as regards cotton goods.

— In the Japanese general elections the Liberals supporting the Government against the anti-foreign faction gained upwards of thirty seats, returning over 120 members.

2. A severe shock of earthquake, lasting several seconds, felt at Odessa and elsewhere in Southern Russia.

— Dr. José Ellauri elected President of the Republic of Uruguay by the two Chambers after three votings in which no candidate obtained a requisite majority. Dr. Ellauri, however, declined to accept the nomination.

— General Daza, who, during the war between Bolivia and Chili, had absconded to Europe with several hundred thousand dollars belonging to the National Treasury, lynched by a mob at Urjurri in Peru, having returned to South America to look after his estates.

— The Royal Commission on secondary education nominated by Mr. Acland, M.P., included for the first time the names of three ladies.

3. After a council for the prorogation of Parliament held at Windsor, the Queen gave a private audience to Mr. Gladstone, who tendered his resignation as Prime Minister, which was accepted. Lord Rosebery was subsequently entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet, assuming the post of Lord President of the Council in addition to that of First Lord of the Treasury.

— The 500th anniversary of the birth of Prince Henry the Navigator celebrated by a five days' *fête* at Oporto with great ceremony and enthusiasm.

— The negotiations between Marshal Martinez Campos and the Sultan of Morocco brought to a close, Spain demanding an indemnity of 20,000,000 peretas for the damage done to the rights and property of her citizens.

5. Parliament, which had been in session (with short holidays) since the last day of January of the previous year, prorogued by Royal Commission.

— A postal conference between representatives of the Australasian Colonies opened at Wellington under the presidency of Mr. J. G. Ward, Post-master-General of New Zealand.

— On the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone peerages were bestowed on Sir Reginald Welby, K.C.B., Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, and on Mr. Stuart Rendel, M.P. for Montgomeryshire.

6. The West Indian troops under Major Madden, having attacked the strongly stockaded village of Jaquar, from which they drove the natives, advanced towards Birkama, where Fodi-Silah was encamped in force.

— The Duke of Devonshire speaking at a Unionist meeting at Yeovil declared that if the Liberals under Lord Rosebery were content to abandon Home Rule, there would be no endeavour on the part of the Liberal Unionists to displace them.

7. The trial at Melbourne of Sir Matthew Davies and Messrs. Millidge and Munts, director and officials of the Mercantile Bank of Australia, charged with fraud, ended in their acquittal.

— Major Madden, commanding the West Indian contingent, after a hot fight, carried Fodi-Silah's position at Birkama, one of the strong places of the West African chief, and a noted slave depôt.

— A collision between the British and Portuguese forces in East Africa took place at Tete in consequence of the Portuguese Mozambique Company attempting to interfere with the transcontinental telegraph being erected under the orders of the British South African Company.

8. At Rome a bomb, by which one person was killed and seven injured, exploded in the Piazza Monte Citorio outside the Chamber of Deputies. The sitting had been closed sooner than was anticipated and consequently the stream of Deputies, who would have been leaving the House at the usual time, escaped.

— Lord Rosebery definitely constituted his Ministry, which was altogether made up of members of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, with certain changes in their respective offices.

9. The Spanish Cabinet of Señor Sagasta resigned in consequence of the opposition shown by the Cortes to certain proposals made by the Ministers of Finance and the Colonies with regard to raising the necessary revenue.

— Sir Frederick Cavendish Lascelles, G.C.M.G., H.B.M. Minister at Teheran, appointed ambassador at St. Petersburg.

— At Warsaw one police officer was killed and three seriously wounded in an attempt to arrest six Nihilists, three of whom were women. Further police aid was obtained and the whole party was conveyed to prison.

— The operations against Fodi-Silah in the neighbourhood of Bathurst, on the West African Coast, ended in the complete destruction of Gurrjara and other strong places used as slave depôts.

10. Sir Mortimer Durand, who had headed the successful mission to the Ameer of Cabul, appointed British Minister at Teheran.

— The Indian Legislative Council, by eleven votes to seven, adopted the Government Budget, notwithstanding the strong protests of the non-official members.

— The action of the Chief Justice of Samoa in imprisoning a number of turbulent natives and other unpopular acts caused widespread discontent in Samoa and the neighbouring islands. Hostilities broke out between the islanders opposed to the Government and its supporters, marked by savage acts of cruelty, especially in Savaii and Aarra.

12. The third session of the thirteenth Parliament of her Majesty's reign opened by Royal Commission.

— Lord Rosebery and his colleagues, previous to the delivery of the Queen's Speech, met their supporters at the Foreign Office and briefly indicated the policy of the reconstituted Ministry, which was cordially endorsed by those assembled.

— Señor Sagasta completed the reconstruction of his Ministry by the introduction of more Conservative elements.

— The Brazilian insurgent, Admiral de Gama, commanding the ships in Rio harbour, offered to surrender to Marshal Peixoto the fleet and forts already captured on certain conditions.

13. The Queen, accompanied by Princess Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Florence, travelling by way of Port Victoria, Flushing, Strasburg, Basle, St. Gothard, and Milan, reaching Florence at midday of the 16th inst., and took up her residence at the Villa Fabbriotti.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Labouchere's amendment to the address, urging an immediate creation of 500 new peers or the passing of some similar reform, carried against the Government by 147 to 145 votes.

13. In the German Reichstag the second reading of the Russian Commercial Treaty, by which Russian corn was imported at a reduced rate, passed by 205 to 151 votes.

— The Earl of Cork, who had declined to join Mr. Gladstone's Administration in 1890, appointed Master of the Horse in the place of Viscount Oxenbridge.

14. In the House of Commons, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the address in answer to the Queen's Speech, after the application of the closure, was negatived in consequence of the adoption of Mr. Labouchere's amendment, and a new address moved and passed without discussion.

— The Empress Frederick of Germany after visiting the Shoreditch Municipal Technical Schools received an address of welcome at the Shoreditch Town Hall.

— The Navy estimates for the year 1894-95, showing an increased expenditure of upwards of 3,000,000*l.*, chiefly due to shipbuilding and armaments, presented and published.

15. A man, subsequently identified as a well-known Belgian Anarchist named Pauwels, whilst entering the Church of the Madeleine at Paris let fall a bomb, which it was presumed he had intended to throw amongst the congregation. It exploded between the swinging doors, killing Pauwels instantly and horribly mutilating him, but doing little damage to the building.

— At a general court of the Bank of England the governor referred to the circumstances under which the chief cashier had been removed, and stated that 250,000*l.* had been set apart to meet possible losses.

— At the meeting of the Court of Common Council, after a long and noisy discussion on the transfer of Mr. A. C. Morton's vote from the negative to the affirmative, the resolution to open the Guildhall Picture Gallery on Sundays, which had been carried by the casting vote of the Lord Mayor, was rescinded.

— On the protracted debate of the London School Board on the religious teaching in elementary schools, the Board adopted a circular to teachers embodying the leading principles of the teaching of the Established Church by 27 to 21 votes.

16. The Cunard steamship *Lucania* reached Queenstown from New York, having made the fastest eastward voyage, in 5 days 18 hours 11 minutes.

— The Belgian House of Representatives rejected by 75 to 50 votes the Government scheme of proportional representation.

— The discovery of rich gold-bearing mines announced from Wyalong, thirty-three miles south-west of Sydney, N.S.W. The reefs were traced for a distance of fourteen miles.

— Dr. Jameson, the chief Commissioner in Matabeleland, reported that on December 2 Lobengula had sent messengers to Major Forbes' patrol with 1,000*l.* in gold and a request that the pursuit should cease as he would surrender. Two troopers were arrested on suspicion of having stolen the gold and suppressed the message.

17. The University boat race rowed in splendid weather from Putney to Mortlake. Oxford, who won the toss, led throughout and finally finished winners by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lengths. The following were the crews:—

OXFORD.	ST. LB.	CAMBRIDGE.	ST. LB.
H.B.Cotton, Magdalen (bow)	9 $18\frac{1}{2}$	A.H.Finch, Th. Trinity (bow)	11 $0\frac{1}{2}$
2. M. C. Pilkington, Magdalen	12 4	2. N. W. Paine, Third Trinity	11 2
3. W. B. Stewart, Brasenose	- 18 6	3. Sir Chas. Ross, Third Trinity	11 8
4. J. A. Morrison, New	- 12 6	4. H. M. Bland, Third Trinity	11 $8\frac{1}{2}$
5. E. G. Tew, Magdalen	- 18 9	5. L.A.E. Ollivant, Ft. Trinity	18 $7\frac{1}{2}$
6. T. H. E. Stretch, New	- 12 5	6. C.T. Fogg-Elliot, Trin. Hall	11 7
7. W. E. Crum, New	- 12 1	7. R. O. Kerrison, Th. Trinity	11 18
C. M. Pitman, New (stroke)	12 0	T. G. Lewis, Th. T. (stroke)	11 $18\frac{1}{2}$
L. Portman, University (cox.)	8 7	F.C.Begg, Trinity Hall (cox.)	8 2

— In the Inter-University Sports, held at the Queen's Club Grounds, Oxford won six of the nine events.

— Lord Rosebery addressed a large meeting at the Edinburgh Corn Exchange, at which he defined his attitude towards Home Rule, and explained the programme of his Ministry.

18. A largely attended demonstration held in Hyde Park under the auspices of the various labour organisations in London to protest against the action of the House of Lords in the Employers' Liability Bill. Resolutions condemnatory of the House of Lords were carried at twelve platforms, and the Government was invited to take steps for the entire abolition of that body.

19. It was announced that the trustees of the British Museum had arranged with the Duke of Bedford to purchase for 200,000*l.* five acres of land surrounding the museum. The existing houses were to be pulled down as the rents fell in, and the museum buildings proportionately extended from time to time.

— An extraordinary murder discovered in Great Marylebone Street, to which a woman had removed from Grafton Street, Tottenham Court Road, taking with her a trunk which was found to contain the body of a murdered man. She had previously attempted to get it conveyed to the Charing Cross Station for transmission to Berlin.

— A violent shock of earthquake, lasting fifteen seconds, felt at Larissa (Greece) by which many houses were thrown down and much damage done.

20. A proclamation issued at Cape Town by Sir Henry Loch, High Commissioner, accepting the cession of, and declaring the sovereignty of the Queen over Pondoland.

— Tornados and cyclones for three days raged over the Southern and South-western States of the Union, doing enormous damage in Texas and Louisiana.

— In Eastern Europe after a long spell of fine weather a heavy fall of snow took place which blocked the railways and roads over a large tract of country east of Breslau and Presburg.

21. A congratulatory address presented to Lord Rosebery at St. James' Hall by the Progressive members of the London County Council, and in reply the Premier, speaking to a large and enthusiastic audience, discussed various social problems.

21. Mr. Gladstone, in reply to an address of the Midlothian Liberals, wrote a long letter to Sir John Cowan explaining the reasons of his retirement.

— The Rev. Thomas Spurgeon elected permanent successor to his father in the pastorate of the Metropolitan Tabernacle.

— At Santander, which town some months previously had been terribly wrecked by the explosion of a dynamite-laden steamer in the harbour, a further explosion took place whilst the divers were attempting to remove the remains of the wrecked steamer. Twenty-one persons were killed and the town was again seriously damaged.

22. The first voting took place under the new licensing law for New Zealand giving a three-fifths majority the power to veto the licence. The prohibitionists, male and female voters, secured the requisite majority in two districts, and in several others the licences were reduced 25 per cent.

— Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., addressed a crowded meeting of Unionists at Edinburgh in reply to Lord Rosebery.

— A grand reception given at the Grosvenor Galleries to Professor Joachim and Signor Piatti in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of their first appearance in England.

— Riots occurred in Buda-Pesth got up by the university students, who insisted upon the suspension of performances at the Opera House and National Theatre until after Kossuth's funeral.

23. The Belgian Prime Minister, M. Beernaert, and M. Le Jecuse, Minister of Justice, resigned office, but were unable to communicate with the King, who was travelling incognito in Italy.

— A violent explosion took place in a dynamite factory at Pittsburg, U.S.A., by which five persons were killed and the whole of the adjoining premises destroyed.

24. A fire caused by the upsetting of a paraffin lamp on the first floor of a house in Northampton Street, Clerkenwell, caused the death of five occupants of the second floor, two adults and their three children.

— Cholera reported to have reappeared at Constantinople, five persons being attacked, of whom one succumbed.

— Admiral Walker of the United States Navy appointed to the command of the Pacific Station with instructions to establish a naval station at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, for which Congress had voted \$250,000.

25. An attempt made by a young orthodox Christian from Cæsarea to assassinate the Patriarch of Constantinople as he was leaving the cathedral, on the ground that he had urged his co-religionists to show obedience to the Sultan's Government.

26. The Easter Volunteer manœuvres, undertaken in the most splendid weather, brought to a close by sham fights and reviews at Dover, Winchester, Guildford, Portsmouth, and elsewhere.

— The Leith Burghs election resulted in the return of the previous sitting member, Mr. H. Munro-Ferguson (G. L.), who polled 5,848 votes against 4,692 given to Mr. W. A. Bell (U.).

27. The vacancy in the Hawick district, caused by the acceptance of the Solicitor-Generalship of Scotland by Mr. T. Shaw, resulted in his return by 3,208 votes, 2,556 being given to Mr. McLeod Fullarton, Q.C. (U.), showing a largely increased Ministerialist majority.

— At the Lincoln Spring Race Meeting the Lincolnshire Handicap won by the favourite, Baron de Rothschild's Le Nicham, 4 yrs., 8 st. 7 lb. (T. Loates). Nineteen ran.

28. The Duke of Bedford unveiled a bronze statue of John Howard, the philanthropist and prison reformer, erected in the market-place of Bedford.

— The meeting at Dublin of the shareholders of the *Freeman's Journal*, extending over two days, was marked by a serious split between the partisans of Mr. J. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. T. Healy, M.P. The former announced his retirement from the board of directors.

— After a funeral service held in the Protestant Church at Turin, the body of Louis Kossuth on a magnificent funeral car, attended by the chief municipal and military authorities, was conveyed to the railway station and handed over to the Hungarian deputation.

29. The result of the polling in Montgomeryshire was Mr. A. C. Humphreys Owen (G.L.), 3,440, against Mr. R. W. Wynne (C.), 3,215 votes, and in Berwickshire Mr. H. J. Tennant (G.L.), 2,722, against Mr. C. B. Balfour (C.), 2,157 votes; the representation in each case remaining unchanged.

— At the French Archæological School in Athens an ancient hymn to Apollo, of which both the text and musical notation had been discovered at Delphi, was sung by a quartette of male voices.

— President Cleveland in a message to Congress announced his intention to veto the Seigniorage Bill.

— The remains of Hans von Bülow, the pianist and composer, removed from Egypt, and cremated at Hamburg after an imposing funeral ceremony.

30. The blowing up of the hull of the dynamite-laden steamer sunk in Santander harbour carried out without accident. The greater portion of the population had been removed, at the expense of the Government, to a distance from the town, and all approaches to the harbour were strictly guarded.

— The attempt to enforce the South Carolina Dispensary Liquor Law confining the sale of liquor to Government agencies produced serious riots at Darlington and elsewhere. Two State constables were killed and others driven into a neighbouring swamp. The Governor's appeal to the local militia was disregarded, and the whole State was practically in revolt before twenty-four hours had passed. Governor Tillman showed great energy in coping with the disaffection, seizing the telegraph and railways and applying to Washington for assistance to enforce the law.

— At Liverpool the Grand National Steeple Chase won by Captain C. H. Fenwick's Why not, aged, 11 st. 18 lb. (A. Nightingall), which had become the favourite on the scratching of Cloister, the previous year's winner. Fourteen ran.



81. The revenue of the year 1893-94, which had shown a large falling off in the three first quarters, and on which a deficit was estimated by some authorities at 2,000,000*l.*, closed with a difference of only about 50,000*l.* between the actual receipts and the Budget Estimates.

## APRIL.

1. The funeral of Louis Kossuth took place at Buda-Pesth with imposing ceremonies, upwards of 200,000 persons crowding the route. The coffin was followed by twenty cars bearing wreaths from all parts of Hungary. The funeral oration was delivered by Mauritz Jokai.

— Prince Bismarck's seventy-ninth birthday celebrated at Friederichsruhe and at many places throughout Germany with great enthusiasm; the Emperor's present was a steel cuirass, richly adorned.

2. Through the personal intervention of the Czar, the chief obstacles to the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty between Russia and Austria-Hungary were removed. This act gave further strength to the prevalent rumour that the continental powers had under contemplation an arrangement which would lead to a decrease of the enormous sums annually spent on military preparations.

— The polling for the Romford division of Essex, where a vacancy had been caused by the death of Mr. Theobald (C.), resulted in the return of Mr. Money-Wigram (C.), 7,573, against Mr. J. H. Bethell (L.), 6,890 votes.

3. The Newfoundland Ministry of Sir Wm. Whiteway appealed to the Governor to dissolve Parliament to free them from the difficulties in which they were placed by the numerous petitions of bribery lodged against themselves and their supporters; seventeen in a House of twenty-six members. Ultimately the Governor refused to grant a dissolution and the Ministry resigned.

— A large warehouse in the London Docks, containing wool on the upper floors and coffee and spices on the lower, almost entirely destroyed by fire.

— The Rev. the Hon. T. W. Leigh, Rector of St. Mary's, Bayswater, appointed Dean of Hereford.

— The Miners' Board of Conciliation held its fourth meeting at St. Martin's Town Hall, Lord Shand presiding for the first time.

4. Hon. A. G. Brand (L.) re-elected for the Wisbech division of Suffolk by 4,363 votes against 4,227 given to Mr. Stopford-Sackville (C.).

— In Paris a bomb, charged with nitro-glycerine, exploded at the Restaurant Foyot, facing the Luxemburg, injuring several persons including the Anarchist poet Tailharde.

— The Spring elections in the northern part of the United States showed considerable gains to the Republican party. In Colorado, where woman suffrage existed, many women were elected to local offices.

— A French Anarchist named Meunier, charged with being one of the principals in the bomb explosion at the Café Very at Paris in 1892, arrested at the Victoria Station, London, and after a sharp struggle captured.

5. The Duke of York visited Newcastle-on-Tyne, and inaugurated Rutherford College, an institution in affiliation with the University of London.

— The man "Scott," *alias* Sweeney and Davies, who had been proclaimed an outlaw for having failed to appear at Edinburgh at the trial of the Ardlamont case, surrendered himself to the London police, who declined to arrest him as the warrant had been withdrawn.

— Serious labour riots took place in the coal districts of South-western Pennsylvania, where the colliers were chiefly Hungarians. In the encounters with the sheriff's *posse* more than twenty persons were killed and several others wounded.

— The election for Mid Lanark resulted in the return of Mr. J. Caldwell (L.), 8,965, against Mr. Harrington Stuart (C.), 8,685, and Mr. Smellie (Lab.), 1,221 votes.

6. The first meeting of the University Court of the Welsh University held in the Privy Council Chamber, Downing Street, Lord Rosebery presiding.

— The Bank Notes Bill, making notes legal tender throughout all parts of New South Wales except in Sydney, passed both Chambers and became law.

— President Cleveland signed the Behring Sea Claims Bill, which had passed both Houses of Congress.

7. The German Emperor, after paying a visit to the Austrian Fleet assembled at Pola under the command of the Archduke Albrecht, arrived at Venice, where he was cordially received by King Humbert.

— The annual meeting of the Bar of England took place at Lincoln's Inn Hall, when, after some discussion, a committee was appointed to report on the constitution of the Bar Committee.

— The Sultan issued a decree closing the Stamboul Law School on account of the Liberal ideas of certain professors.

— An explosion took place at a fire-work factory at Blankford near Petersburg, Virginia, by which twelve persons were killed and many injured.

9. Davidson's Hotel and the adjoining theatre, one of the largest blocks of buildings in Milwaukee, totally destroyed by a fire in which ten persons lost their lives.

— A serious collision took place between a detachment of the Dorset Regiment and a party of Moplahs, who had fled after a murderous attack upon the Hindus in the Malabar district. The Moplah Mussulmans, thirty-five in number, having refused to surrender, attacked the troops and thirty-three of them were killed and the remaining two wounded.

— The Technical Commission on the Nile Reservoir question presented their report, the English and Italian engineers favouring a dam at Assouan, to which the French delegates objected on the ground of its interference with the temples at Philæ. These, according to Sir B. Baker, could be raised above the water level for 150,000*L.*, in addition to the 650,000*L.*, the cost of the proposed Assouan dam.

10. King Humbert reached Florence from Venice, and was met there by Queen Margherita and other members of the royal family, to pay a visit to Queen Victoria at the Villa Fabbriotti.

— At a livery stable in Baltimore upwards of 120 valuable horses were burnt to death and damage caused exceeding 80,000*l*.

— A general congress of German artisans attended by nearly 1,000 delegates met at Berlin to discuss a scheme promulgated by the Prussian Minister of Commerce for the reorganisation of handicrafts, to include compulsory as well as optional guilds of employers, a Chamber of Industry, and stricter apprenticeship. The congress agreed to the general principles of the plan with several modifications of detail.

11. The Superior Council of War at Madrid recommended the Spanish Government to refuse a concession of a supply of drinking water from Spanish territory for the inhabitants of Gibraltar, on the ground that such a concession would be contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht.

— At a large Unionist meeting held at Bradford Mr. A. J. Balfour spoke at great length in support of Lord R. Churchill's candidature, and reviewed the policy of the Rosebery Government.

— An exhibition of blacksmiths' work (masters and apprentices) opened at the Ironmongers' Hall by the Lord Mayor.

— The Government, having considered Sir Gerald Portal's report, decided to declare a British protectorate over Uganda and to establish a regular Administration in the district.

12. At a meeting of the Court of Common Council in the Guildhall, London, it was decided by 87 to 79 votes to open the Loan Exhibition of pictures on alternate Sundays.

— In the Lower House of the Hungarian Diet the Civil Marriage Bill was read a second time by the unexpectedly large majority of 281 against 106 votes.

— A great gale lasting for nearly thirty-six hours, followed by a heavy fall of snow, did enormous damage in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. It was estimated that the force of the wind from end to end of the district was seventy miles an hour, and the fall of snow in some places exceeded thirty inches.

13. At Ottawa the Dominion Parliament after ten days' debate negatived by a majority of 56 an amendment to the Government Tariff Bill, proposing freer trade with the world.

— The German Emperor arrived at Vienna on a visit to the Emperor of Austria, and was received with much cordiality by the Viennese.

— In the House of Commons Mr. J. Morley introduced the Registration Bill and explained its chief provisions. After a short debate it was read a first time without a division.

14. Serious disturbances extending over three days took place at Valencia, where a number of pilgrims were assembled to embark for Rome. The rioters, upwards of 1,000 in number, attacked each party on their way to the boats. The Bishops of Cadiz, Madrid, and Salamanca were attacked by the mob and all more or less maltreated and their carriages stoned, and the

Bishop of Madrid was wounded by a sword-cut intended for the Bishop of Salamanca.

14. The Egyptian Ministry of Riaz Pasha resigned; and after consultation with Lord Cromer the Khedive entrusted Nubar Pasha with the formation of a Cabinet.

— The members of the Whiteway party in the Legislature of Newfoundland refused to obey the Governor's summons to attend him for the prorogation of the Assembly. They ordered the doors to be closed against the officials and passed a vote of want of confidence in the new Ministry, which the Governor in his turn refused to accept.

— Admiral de Mello, who had taken an important part in the attempted revolution against the Brazilian Government, having been defeated at Rio Grande, took refuge in Uruguay, where, with several hundreds of followers, he surrendered to the authorities.

— A well-known Anarchist named François Polti arrested in Farringdon Street, London, with a bomb in his possession, and his rooms on being searched were found to contain a large store of explosive materials.

16. In the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Wm. Harcourt) brought forward the budget for the year 1894-95 to meet an estimated expenditure of 95,500,000*l.*, exclusive of those sums paid in aid of local taxation. An appropriation of the sinking fund, revised death duties, increased beer and spirit duties, and income tax with graduated reductions were the chief features of his scheme.

— In the German Reichstag the bill for repealing the law against the Jesuits read a third time by 168 to 145 votes.

— The Queen, after a stay of twenty-six weeks, left Florence for Coburg, where she arrived on the following day and was received with great enthusiasm by the population.

17. A strike of Vienna joiners and cabinetmakers, involving 12,000 men, began, the demands of the men being an eight hours' day, the abolition of piece-work, and a minimum wage of 16*s.* 6*d.* per week.

— An appeal made to every municipality in France to contribute five francs towards a memorial of the recapture of Toulon from the English in 1793.

— At Epsom the Great Metropolitan Stakes won by Sir J. Thursby's Paddy, 5 yrs., 7 st. 13 lb. (Calder). Nine started.

18. In the House of Commons the second reading of Colonel Nolan's bill to repeal the Crimes Act (1887), Ireland, carried by 254 to 194 votes.

— At Epsom the City and Suburban Handicap won by the Duke of Westminster's Grey Leg, 8 yrs., 7 st. (W. Bradford), the favourite Callistrate being fifth. Eleven ran.

19. The marriage of the Grand Duke of Hesse with the Princess Victoria Melita of Coburg celebrated at Coburg in presence of Queen Victoria (grandmother of both the bride and bridegroom), the Emperor William, the Prince of Wales, the Czarevitch, and other members of the imperial and royal families.

19. The annual gathering of the Grand Habitation of the Primrose League took place at Covent Garden Theatre under the presidency of the Duke of Abercorn. The Marquess of Salisbury spoke at some length on political questions past and pending.

20. The betrothal of the Czarevitch to the Princess Alix of Hesse officially announced at Coburg by the Emperor William to Queen Victoria.

— Severe shocks of earthquake felt throughout Greece. They lasted over two days, and in Bœotia and Thessaly were very severe. Thebes suffered most severely, and Volo, Larissa, and Chalcis were much injured. Upwards of 250 lives were lost and much damage done to public buildings. The Parthenon and other buildings at Athens sustained some damage.

— A medallion portrait of Madame Lind-Goldschmidt (Jenny Lind) erected to her memory in Westminster Abbey unveiled by Princess Christian.

— In the House of Commons the resolution to give Parliament power to revoke the annuity of 10,000*l.* paid to H.R.H. the Duke of Coburg, when Duke of Edinburgh, defeated by 298 to 67 votes.

21. A number of loafers known as the "Coxeyite Army" started from San Francisco and recruiting itself on the way marched to Washington to urge the Congress to pass measures for the relief of the unemployed. At various places on the route collisions took place with the police.

— In Paris a municipal loan of 200,000,000 francs at 2½ per cent., issued at 340 francs for 400 francs bonds, covered eighty-five times.

— Sir Charles Russell, Attorney-General, appointed Lord of Appeal in Ordinary in succession to Lord Bowen.

22. A man named Farana, said to be the Anarchist Carnot who employed Polti to order the bombs found in his possession, arrested at Stratford. After his arrest Farana stated that it was his intention to throw a bomb into the Royal Exchange, where it would kill many rich people.

23. Colliery strikes throughout six States in the United States threw upwards of 200,000 men into idleness, and caused a daily loss of 25,000*l.* in wages alone.

— A sculling race from Putney to Mortlake between George Bubear of Putney, champion of England, and W. A. Barry of Wandsworth resulted in the victory of the former, after a severe struggle, by two lengths. The race was rowed in 21 minutes 44 seconds, the shortest time on record.

24. At the Council meeting of the Royal Geographical Society the Royal Medals were bestowed on Captain H. Bower for his journey across Thibet, and on M. Elisée Reclus on the conclusion of his great work "*La Géographie Universelle*."

— Lord Rosebery presided at the twentieth anniversary of the City Liberal Club, and in reply to the toast of her Majesty's Ministers urged upon the members reasons for re-uniting the party who "had the copyright of the name Liberal."

25. In the House of Commons the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, introduced by Mr. Roby, read a second time by 281 to 184 votes.

— An inquest was held on the body of Owen Williams, aged forty-two, who earned his living by swallowing bottles, saucers, and other strange

articles. His death was caused by perforation, a piece of leather nine inches long with a hook at each end being found in his stomach, together with a leaden bullet, eight bronze pennies, pipe stems, a piece of string with corks attached, etc.

26. The result of the general elections in Holland for the Second Chamber of the States General was the decided defeat of the Ministry, who held only forty-four seats against fifty-six gained by the Opposition.

— In the House of Commons the Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith, Q.C.) moved for leave to terminate the Establishment of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and after two nights' debate leave was accorded without a division.

— A train carried off by the "Coxeyite industrials" in Montana, after travelling 400 miles eastward, carrying 500 "industrials," recaptured by the United States troops in Dakota. It was estimated that altogether the "Coxeyites" seeking to reach Washington numbered 7,250.

27. Another violent earthquake shock felt over nearly the whole of Greece, doing fresh damage at Atalanti, Chalcis, and Thebes, the centres of the previous disturbance.

— Mr. E. J. Poynter, R.A., appointed to succeed Sir F. W. Burton as director of the National Gallery.

— It was announced that the Russian and Chinese Governments had concluded a *modus vivendi* on the Pamir question, concessions having been made on both sides.

— King Alexander of Serbia issued a ukase annulling as unconstitutional the measures taken by former Governments against the ex-King Milan and Queen Natalie, and restoring to them their constitutional rights as members of the royal house.

28. The Anarchist Emile Henry tried at the Paris Court of Assize for placing a bomb in the offices of the Carmaux Company and for throwing another into the Restaurant du Terminus. He read an exposition of his views, but the jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to death.

— The Queen Regent of Swaziland definitely refused to sign any document authorising the Transvaal Government to occupy or administer the country.

29. The Queen reached Windsor from Coburg after a prolonged absence on the Continent.

30. A disastrous flood, caused by a landslide which dammed the bed of the river, occurred near Quebec, causing the loss of upwards of twenty lives, and the destruction of much property.

— An epidemic of cholera, distinctly recognised as a form of cholera morbus, raged at Lisbon for about ten days, during which many hundred persons were attacked, but few if any deaths ensued.

— The jubilee of the Liberation Society celebrated at the City Temple and elsewhere, the opening ceremonies coinciding with the introduction of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill.

## MAY.

1. The "May Day" labour celebrations passed off everywhere on the Continent of Europe without disturbance, except at Hamme near Ghent in Belgium and at Gratz in Styria. There were meetings of Socialists, Social Democrats, and others in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and other large cities.

— In London the Anarchists attempted to hold a meeting in Hyde Park, but their platforms were promptly cleared by their audience and the police had to protect the Anarchists, who took refuge in flight.

— At Washington Mr. Coxey with his "army" marched up to the Capitol with the object of speaking, but was promptly stopped by the police, and sent away in his own carriage accompanied by Miss Coxey dressed as the goddess of peace and mounted on a cream-coloured pony.

2. The Prince of Wales, on behalf of the Queen, opened the new buildings of the Royal College of Music at Kensington, erected at the expense of 45,000*l.* by Mr. Samson Fox of Leeds.

— An International Bimetallic Conference opened at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding, and attended by numerous foreign and colonial delegates.

— The Chester Cup won by the favourite, Lord Penrhyn's Quaesitum, 4 yrs., 8 st. (T. Loates). Eleven started.

— The masons and builders' assistants of Vienna, upwards of 30,000 in number, having struck for a rise in wages, were joined by about 9,000 carpenters and joiners acting under instructions from their trade unions.

3. President Ezeta, whilst proceeding by rail with 1,500 troops to the assistance of the Government forces operating against the rebels at Santa Anna, met with a serious disaster, the rebels having removed some rails on a steep gradient. The train was completely wrecked, 200 troops were killed on the spot, and 122 others injured.

— Mr. Gladstone came to town to speak at a meeting, presided over by the Duke of Cambridge, to promote a memorial of Sir Andrew Clark.

— Dynamite outrages occurred at Liège in Belgium, where a doctor and his wife were seriously injured by the explosion of a bomb on the doorstep of their house; and at York Town in Western Australia, where the presbytery attached to the Roman Catholic Church was wrecked.

— Symptoms of insubordination shown in the 17th Bengal Infantry at Agra but promptly suppressed by the discharge of the mutinous troops.

4. In the House of Commons the Registration Bill, after the rejection of Sir E. Clarke's amendment by 292 to 278 votes, was read a second time.

— A desperate fight took place between some colliers on ships at Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, and the Sheriff's deputies, in which fifteen men and one woman were shot by the latter.

— Farana and Polti, the Italians charged with the unlawful possession of bombs, after two days' trial at the Old Bailey, sentenced by Mr. Justice Hawkins to twenty and ten years' penal servitude respectively.

4. The questions for some time at issue between France and Portugal amicably settled by a general surrender of the latter's pretensions.

5. The Antwerp Exhibition opened with much state by the King and Queen of Belgium. An Art Exhibition also opened at Milan by King Humbert, and an Industrial Exhibition at South Kensington by the Lord Mayor of London.

— A royal commission, which for some years had been studying the reclamation of the Zuider Zee, unanimously reported in favour of the scheme, of which the cost including compensation to fishermen was estimated at 315,000,000 guilders.

— The Kempton Park Jubilee Stakes (eighth year), value 3,000*l.*, won by three lengths by Sir W. Throckmorton's Avington, 4 yrs., 8 st. 1 lb. (Calder). The favourite, Sir J. Blundell's La Siffleuse, finished twelfth. Twenty started.

6. A large meeting, organised by the London Trades' Council and other bodies, held in Hyde Park, when resolutions in favour of an eight hours' day and universal adult suffrage were adopted at twelve platforms.

— Another severe shock of earthquake occurred in Bœotia, of which the oscillation was felt in Athens and Northern Eubœa.

7. The election for the seat at South Hackney, vacant by the elevation of Sir Charles Russell (G.L.) to the bench, resulted in the return of Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C. (L.), 4,530, against Mr. Herbert Robertson (C.), 4,838.

— Two explosions in rapid succession occurred in the Government cordite factory at Waltham Abbey by which four men were killed and upwards of twenty injured, three of them seriously.

— Three more shocks of earthquake felt in Greece, doing further damage to the remaining buildings at Thebes and Chalcis.

8. A bomb exploded, injuring three persons, at the entrance of the palace of Prince Odescaolchi at Rome.

— Coxey and the other leaders of the "Commonweal" army found guilty of carrying banners in the Capitol ground at Washington. Pending a motion for a new trial they were admitted to bail.

— A serious commercial crisis broke out at Buenos Ayres, failures to the extent of 4,000,000*l.* sterling being announced.

— At Algiers a small hotel kept by an Italian named Tosti blown up by dynamite, the hotel-keeper having given evidence at Toulon which led to the conviction of two Anarchists.

9. A reception given at the National Liberal Club to Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, and other members of the Ministry, at which the Prime Minister spoke with great confidence on party prospects.

— A serious fight took place at Mährish Ostran, in Austrian Silesia, between a party of miners on strike, and the gendarmes who were defending the buildings at the pit head. Ten of the strikers were killed and about twenty others injured.

— At Newmarket the Two Thousand Guineas won by the favourite, the Earl of Rosebery's Ladas, 9 st. (J. Watts), by a length and a half. Eight ran.



9. Nine German newspaper editors, including Herr Schmidt of the *Vorwärts*, tried for libelling the Berlin police. All were found guilty and sentences varying from 150 marks fine to five months' imprisonment were pronounced.

— The Upper House of the Hungarian Assembly, by a majority of twenty-one votes, rejected the Civil Marriage Bill.

10. In the House of Commons after three nights' debate the Budget Bill read a second time by 308 to 294 votes.

— The completion of the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral, at a cost of 41,000*l.* raised by voluntary contributions, celebrated by a succession of services.

11. Serious anti-Jewish riots at Ekaterinoslav and on the South-eastern frontier of Russia necessitated the intervention of the troops, and led to the loss of many lives and the destruction of much property.

— A dynamite explosion, involving no loss of life, occurred at Paris in the Avenue Kleber, one of the fashionable quarters of the city.

— Much anxiety produced in various parts of India by the systematic smearing of mango trees with mud and hair, which was interpreted by some authorities as being the signal for a general rising, and by others as only to arouse native enthusiasm in a gathering at the sacred tanks of Janakpur, where oracles were to be delivered by the gods.

12. Right Honourable A. J. Mundella, in consequence of the remarks made by Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams on his responsibilities in connection with the New Zealand Loan Company, resigned his place as President of the Board of Trade.

— The annual convention of the Irish National League of Great Britain held at Liverpool under the presidency of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, where, after recriminating speeches by Mr. T. H. Healy, M.P., and Mr. Dillon, M.P., a resolution was agreed to deprecating the petty feuds constantly arising in the National party.

— Upwards of one hundred students of the St. Petersburg University arrested for political reasons.

13. At the conclusion of the evening service, Dr. Talmage's Tabernacle in New York took fire, which spreading destroyed an adjoining hotel and several other houses; the total damage done fell little short of \$1,000,000. This was the third time that the Tabernacle had been burnt down.

14. Marshal Peixoto, President of the Brazilian Republic, broke off diplomatic relations with Portugal and recalled the Brazilian Legation from Lisbon in consequence of the attitude of that kingdom during the recent rebellion, and the connivance of the naval officers in the escape of the defeated insurgents.

— The International Miners' Congress, attended by eighty-nine delegates and representing about 1,000,000 miners, met at Berlin under the presidency of Mr. T. Burt, M.P., who delivered an address on the moral effects of the peaceful discussion of labour questions.

— A serious election riot took place in the Bay de Verde district of Newfoundland, where three of the new Ministry were badly beaten and their

carriages broken by a body of opponents incited by a member of the previous Ministry.

15. A fire broke out on the grand-stand in the Baseball League Grounds at Boston, Mass., and rapidly spreading to some adjoining wooden buildings set on fire a number of houses in the south-end district of the city. An area of twelve acres was swept by the flames and 500 families were rendered homeless and six persons were injured.

— The Japanese Diet opened by the Emperor in person, after which the Premier, Carl Ito, amid much interruption proposed an address in answer, but an amendment expressing a want of confidence was brought forward by the Opposition and carried by 149 to 144 votes, and the Diet was subsequently dissolved.

16. A strike of hansom cabmen, in which about 4,000 at first took part but were afterwards joined by as many more, made in London against the excessive terms, 15s. to 17s. per day, charged by the masters for the hire of cabs and horses.

— At Bangor Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P., and three other members who had adopted an independent attitude in Parliament towards the Government received a vote of confidence by a very large majority.

— Jones's Woods, a well-known picnic resort near New York, totally destroyed by fire, together with fifty houses and four blocks of buildings in Washington Park.

— The archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, the Bishop of Worcester excepted but not dissenting, issued a manifesto against the Welsh Disestablishment Bill as a proposal to dismember the Church and as detrimental alike to the moral, temporal, and spiritual welfare of the country.

17. The Queen at Aldershot reviewed between 12,000 and 13,000 men of all arms under the command of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.

— Destructive river floods in Wisconsin swept down the valley of the Black River, forcing the dam and spreading ruin on all sides. All railway communication between Milwaukee and St. Paul cut off for several days.

— The Court of Cassation at Belgrade with a full bench declared the Royal ukase reinstating the ex-King and Queen in their royal rights to be null and void.

— One of the fiercest and most destructive storms on record raged for several hours over Lake Michigan, a number of vessels being driven ashore and many lives lost.

18. The Queen reviewed the Berkshire and Middlesex Yeomanry in Windsor Great Park.

— In consequence of a display of insubordination on the part of certain students of Christ Church, Oxford, in the course of which upwards of 450 windows were broken in Peckwater, fifteen undergraduates were sent down, their progress to the railway station being made the occasion of a further demonstration against the authorities.

— Another large fire at Boston, Mass., destroyed amongst other buildings

an old bonded warehouse in which had been stored the records of the past of Boston from the evacuation of the British in 1789.

18. The race for the Manchester Cup resulted in a dead heat between the favourite, Sir R. Jardine's Red Ensign, 4 yrs., 7 st. 7 lbs. (F. Findlay), and Mr. Buchanan's Shancrofta, 6 yrs., 7 st. 12 lbs. (J. Woodburn). Sixteen ran.

19. A new lock on the Thames at Richmond opened by H.R.H. the Duke of York.

— The greater portion of Warwick Station, on the Great Western Railway, burnt down by a fire originating in the booking office.

— In France the Chamber of Deputies rejected, by 350 to 145 votes, a proposal for the abolition of capital punishment.

— The Czar of Russia issued a ukase depriving all ministers, governors and other dignitaries of the power of appointing or dismissing subordinates of all classes, and re-establishing the special committee of control existing from 1846-58.

21. The King of Servia suspended by proclamation the existing Constitution and restored that of 1869 in its entirety.

— Emile Henri, the French Anarchist, guillotined in Paris, and six Spanish Anarchists, involved in the attempt on Marshal Campos and the Liceo Théâtre outrage, shot outside the walls of Barcelona.

— The Lower House of the Hungarian Diet passed, by 276 to 105, the resolution sending back the Civil Marriage Bill to the Chamber of Magnates.

— After a month of unusually warm and genial weather, which had brought forward the crops of all kinds, the wind veered to the north-east with heavy snow and hail in some parts of the country and severe frost in others, doing an incalculable amount of damage.

— The Queen on her way to Balmoral stopped at Manchester for a few hours and formally opened the new Ship Canal, passing from the terminal docks to the nearest lock, where she performed the inaugural ceremony.

22. Mr. Bryce, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, nominated President of the Board of Trade in place of Mr. Mundella.

— The honour of knighthood conferred on Mr. Isaac Pitman of Bath, the inventor of Phonographic Shorthand; and on Dr. Bucknill of Bournemouth, one of the originators of the Volunteer movement.

— In the Chamber of Deputies the French Ministry under M. Casimir-Périer defeated by 251 to 217 votes on the question of allowing workmen employed on the State railways to attend the meetings of a Socialist Congress.

23. A conference held at Birmingham with the view of founding a Liberal Federation for the Midlands attended by the Earl of Rosebery, who afterwards delivered a long speech in the Town Hall to a large gathering.

— An ocean race from New York took place between the White Star steamship *Majestic*, and the American liner *Paris*, the former landing her mails at Queenstown and the latter at Southampton, both being delivered at the General Post Office, London, within half an hour, in favour of the Queenstown route.

23. The Newmarket Stakes, value 4,500 sovs., won easily by the favourite, Lord Rosebery's Ladas, 9 st. (J. Watts). Five started.

— Experiments made at the Alhambra Palace, Leicester Square, on the bullet-proof breastplate of Herr Dowe in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief and the chief representatives of the Army and Navy. The results were considered on the whole satisfactory.

24. Mr. Gladstone successfully underwent an operation for cataract of the right eye.

— The Queen's seventy-fifth birthday celebrated abroad and throughout the provinces, and a review, attended by 11,000 troops, held at Aldershot under the command of the Duke of Connaught.

— The bank returns showed the unprecedented return of a reserve amounting to 26,296,000*l.* or 67½ per cent. of the liabilities, whilst the stock of bullion had risen to 84,256,000*l.*

25. Mr. H. H. Johnston, Commissioner in Nyassaland, arrived at Port Said, bringing news of a great battle on Lake Nyassa, in which the slave-trading chief Mahanjua was completely defeated, and his submission to British terms assured.

— A plot discovered at Buenos Ayres to blow up the Parliament House and the Bourse by means of explosive bombs.

— The institution of a long service medal to be granted to Volunteers of twenty years' service announced.

— Numerous conflicts between the coalmen on strike and the sheriffs' officers occurred at various spots in Indiana and Illinois, resulting in the loss of many lives. At one pit in Colorado a canister containing 100 pounds of fine powder was thrown down a shaft, and exploding caused the death of eleven miners.

26. The "Birthday" *Gazette*, which contained no additions to the Peerage, included amongst other honours the promotion of Sir Donald Stewart and Lord Wolseley to the rank of Field Marshal.

— Lord Tweedmouth appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in addition to his former post of Lord Privy Seal.

— The Speaker of the House of Commons (Right Honourable W. A. Peel) elected Visitor of Balliol College, Oxford, in the place of Lord Bowen, deceased.

— M. Lionel Dècle arrived at Cairo, having started from Cape Town exactly three years previously, and thus traversed the African Continent from south to north.

28. The marriage of the Princess Josephine, daughter of the Count of Flanders, to Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen celebrated at Brussels.

— After a week's delay and repeated refusals M. Dupuy consented to undertake the formation of a Cabinet.

— At a general assembly held at Burlington House Mr. Val. C. Prinsep, A.R.A., elected a Royal Academician.

28. The tree daubing which began in North Behar extended through the southern districts of that province and was found to have been practised as far west as Allahabad.

29. The annual meeting of the Canadian Imperial Federation League held at Ottawa, and resolutions passed in favour of commercial union with the mother country.

— M. Stambouloff, who had been head of affairs since 1886, and the members of the Bulgarian Cabinet tendered their resignation.

— Captain Castilho, who had commanded the Portuguese naval force at Rio and had given an asylum to the Portuguese insurgents, arrived at Lisbon, and on reporting himself at the Admiralty was placed under arrest.

30. The Prince of Wales inspected the Warwickshire and Staffordshire Yeomanry at Whittington Heath, near Lichfield, on the occasion of the centenary of their enrolment.

— A colossal statue of Apollo, and the base of a votive altar bearing the date 480 B.C., discovered at Delphi.

— The Fraser River in British Columbia overflowed its banks, causing enormous destruction through various valleys. Many houses, hotels and other buildings were swept away and much cattle destroyed.

— The Sicilian Deputy, Signor de Felice, charged with being connected with the riots which had taken place in various parts of the island, convicted and sentenced to eighteen years' solitary confinement, and sentences varying from two to twelve years passed on the other prisoners.

31. The elections to the vacant *fauteuils* in the French Academy resulted in the return of M. Sorel, an historian, to that of M. Taine; and of M. Paul Bourget, the novelist, to that of M. Maxime du Camp.

— The Bank of England returns showed a reserve of nearly 20,000,000*l.*, and a stock of bullion and coin of 36,000,000*l.*, the highest figures recorded.

— All Saints' Church, Norfolk Square, Paddington, completely gutted by fire, of which the origin was not satisfactorily traced.

## JUNE.

1. The German Emperor underwent a slight operation for the removal of a small tumour from the left cheek.

— The Austrian Emperor having refused to grant the guarantee required for passing the Civil Marriage Bill through the House of Notables, the Hungarian Cabinet of Dr. Wekerle resigned.

— Serious rioting took place at Sofia and in many provincial districts of Bulgaria. The Vice-President of the Chamber, the Public Prosecutor and other officials were severely maltreated by the mob, which the police was unable to hold in check.

2. The two troopers of the Bechuanaland police, Daniels and Wilson, charged with suppressing a message of submission sent by Lobengula, and appropriating a sum of 1,000*l.* which accompanied it, found guilty at Bulawayo and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude.

2. M. Casimir-Périer, the out-going French Premier, re-elected President of the Chamber of Deputies in the place of his successor in the Ministry, M. Dupuy.

3. The French Derby at Chantilly won by an outsider, M. Ephrussi's Gospodar, an event which gave rise to a disgraceful disturbance on the course, in which the trainer and owner of the horse were nearly lynched.

4. Lord Rosebery attended the Eton celebration of the "Fourth of June" and made a long speech in acknowledging the toast of his health.

— In the Italian Chamber, after an exciting debate, a committee was appointed by 225 to 214 votes, and six abstentions, to draw up a measure for the reform and retrenchment of the public services. Signor Crispi thereupon tendered his resignation as Premier.

5. At a conference of the National Reform Union held in the Westminster Town Hall under the chairmanship of Hon. P. Stanhope, M.P., resolutions were unanimously passed in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords, adult suffrage, second ballots, payment of members, local option, etc.

— In the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Paschal-Grousset, a Socialist, who had played a prominent part in the Commune of 1871, accused General de Gallifet of having reflected on the efficiency of the army. An excited scene ensued, after which a resolution of confidence in the general was passed by an overwhelming majority.

— In the House of Commons the motion to adjourn over the Derby Day defeated by 246 to 160 votes.

6. The race for the Derby Stakes at Epsom won by a length and a half by the favourite, Lord Rosebery's Ladas (J. Watts). Seven ran. After the race the owner received a remarkable ovation from the thousands assembled on the course.

— M. Haffleine, from the Pasteur Laboratory, and Dr. Simpson, the Health Officer of Calcutta, submitted to a Committee of Investigation the results of experiments made with a protective vaccine in cholera-stricken districts.

— The Belgian Chamber of Representatives, after several months' discussion, passed by seventy to forty-four votes the Electoral Bill giving effect to the new Constitutional Reform.

— The action taken by the heirs of the Duke of Sutherland to invalidate his will and codicils settled by agreement, the Dowager Duchess receiving 500,000*l.* and an annuity of 5,000*l.*, and abandoning all other claims.

7. A terrific hailstorm burst over Presburg and Vienna, doing immense damage to both cities and the intervening district. More than 100,000 windows were broken in Vienna, and many fatal accidents occurred from horses taking fright and other causes. All the trees in the track of the storm were completely stripped of their foliage.

— Strike riots continued to take place in the mining districts of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, accompanied by much violence and destruction of property.

7. A deputation to Berlin of English officers of the 1st Royal Dragoons received in great state by the German Emperor, who had been appointed to be honorary colonel of the regiment.

— The French Chamber of Deputies unanimously passed an order of the day encouraging the Ministry to protest against the arrangement made between Great Britain and the Congo Free State in Central Africa.

8. At a meeting of the Scotch Miners' Federation held at Glasgow, it was declared that the result of a vote taken through the mining districts showed 25,617 votes in favour of a strike and 14,490 for continuing work.

— At Epsom the Oaks Stakes won by the Duke of Portland's *Amiable* (W. Bradford), the favourite, Baron de Rothschild's *La Nievre*, being nearly last. Ten ran.

— A seizure of 5,900 false 5*l.* Bank of England notes and 59,000 \$5 American notes made at Hamburg, and a photographer and a lithographer arrested. It was asserted that notes to the value of 114,000*l.* sterling were unaccounted for when the seizure was made.

9. The Chamber of Deputies on the application of the French Colonial Deputies voted 72,000*l.* for the despatch of troops to preserve the territories dependent on the French Congo.

— The Hungarian Ministerial crisis settled by the return of Dr. Wekerle as Prime Minister.

— At Rotherhithe the Moderates were able to return their candidate for the vacant seat on the London County Council, which had been hitherto held by the Progressists.

11. The Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by the Duke of York and the two Princesses of Wales, opened the new home of the Missions to Seamen erected at Poplar, and afterwards the Poplar Hospital for Accidents.

— The Home Secretary, Mr. H. Asquith, Q.C., acting as "mediator," pronounced his award on the cab strike, which abolished yard-money and based the net cash price of each cab at 12*s.* 3*d.* per day, with a maximum of 16*s.* per day for five weeks in the year.

— Great Britain and Portugal agreed to refer to arbitration their differences respecting the delimitation of Manicaland.

— A form of plague (bubonic pest) broke out in Hong Kong, from which half the native population had fled. It was estimated that 1,700 deaths had occurred since its first appearance early in May, and half as many more succumbed before it finally died out.

12. The formal annexation of Pondoland to Cape Colony by letters patent under the Great Seal announced.

— Protests against the Anglo-Belgian treaty presented by both Germany and France.

— Miss A. M. Johnson of Newnham, who had been placed equal to fifth wrangler in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos, Part I., obtained the only place awarded in First Division, First Class of Part II., defeating all the competitors of the previous year.

13. The Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by other members of the royal family, presented new colours to the 2nd Worcestershire Regiment (formerly 86th Herefordshire) at Aldershot.

— A third part of the city of Panama destroyed by fire, over 300 buildings, including the Prefecture and all the houses of the Chinese quarters, were left in ruins.

— The Ministerial crisis in Italy ended by the return to office of the previous Cabinet with very slight changes.

14. A boat, on which were upwards of 100 labourers, crossing from Achil Island to Westport, Co. Galway, capsized in a squall, and more than thirty of them, mostly girls, drowned.

— A succession of explosions of fire-damp in a coal-mine at Karwin, in Austrian Silesia, proved fatal to 200 miners, including a rescuing party who had descended into the pit.

— Mr. Emerson, the Speaker of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, carried off, in order to raise a constitutional question, from the bonded warehouse at St. John's a package which was refused to him without payment of duty. A subsequent attempt to repeat this on a larger scale was repelled by the police.

15. In the House of Lords the second reading of the Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Bill defeated by 129 to 120 votes.

— The United States Senate by 35 to 33 votes defeated a motion to impose a duty on raw wool.

— The High Seneschal of Canterbury Cathedral made the discovery of an immense store of historical records bearing upon the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the stoneyard and sheds attached to the cathedral.

16. A serious fire occurred at Devonport Dockyard by which a large building filled with valuable stores, valued at several thousands of pounds, was destroyed.

— An attempt made by an Anarchist named Paolo Lega to shoot Signor Crispi when driving to the Chamber. The Italian Premier escaped unhurt.

— An International Athletic Congress opened at the Sorbonne in Paris, under the presidency of Baron de Courcel, having in its programme a proposal to revive the Greek Olympic games.

17. The Grand Prix de Paris won by Baron Schickler's Dolma-Baghtché (Dodge), defeating the favourite, Baron Hirsch's Matchbox (M. Cannon), by a neck. Eleven ran.

18. At a conference held at Grosvenor House, under the presidency of the Duke of Westminster, it was resolved that every Welsh constituency should be contested at the next general election by Unionists and upholders of the Established Church.

— A serious explosion took place at a building in the Rue Royale at Brussels, by which the lower storeys were completely wrecked but no lives were lost.

— The Spanish war vessel sent to Mazagan to collect the first instalment of the Melilla indemnity returned to Tangier without the money.



18. The chief European Powers acknowledged Abdul Aziz, the youngest son of Muley El Hassan, Sultan of Morocco; the chiefs and tribes have generally adhered to him, in preference to his brother, Muley Mahammed, the eldest son.

19. Sir George Grey, ex-Governor and for many years Prime Minister of New Zealand, entertained at the National Liberal Club by a number of his admirers, presided over by the Marquess of Ripon, Secretary for the Colonies.

— Inundations more disastrous than any reported since 1818 devastated the Valley of the Waag in Eastern Hungary, whilst many places on both sides of the Polish frontier were visited by alarming and destructive hail-storms.

— The Queen's statue at Madras during the great religious festival of the year smeared with Hindu marks, and many natives were noticed prostrating themselves and burning incense before it.

20. At a conference of the National Liberal Federation, specially convened at Leeds and attended by 2,000 delegates, resolutions were passed condemning the House of Lords and calling upon the Government to bring in a bill for the abolition of the Lords' veto.

— At the Oxford Commemoration honorary degrees were conferred on the Earl of Kimberley, Lord Justice Davey, Captain Mahan, U.S.N., Mr. Francis Galton, F.R.S., and others.

— The Lisbon bakers, numbering 1,000, struck work in consequence of having to deposit with the municipality 8,000 reis as security against fines they might incur for selling bread of light weight. The military authorities undertook baking for the capital.

21. The Hungarian House of Magnates passed, by 252 to 248 votes, the Civil Marriage Bill, which had been returned to them unaltered by the Lower Chamber.

— A great fire broke out in Tabernacle Street, Finsbury, entirely destroying twenty warehouses, occupied chiefly by cabinetmakers.

— Mr. A. J. Balfour addressed a large meeting of Nonconformists, assembled at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, and urged his hearers to maintain inviolate the unity of the Kingdom.

— The papal Encyclical *Praeclarae Gratulationis*, urging unity and concord, issued and addressed, not as usual to the dignitaries of the Church, but *principibus populisque universis*.

22. The principal events at the Ascot meeting were thus decided:—

Ascot Stakes.—Mr. A. Taylor's Aborigine, 4 yrs., 7 st. 12 lbs. (G. Barrett). Eleven ran.

Gold Vase.—Lord Penrhyn's Quæsitum, 4 yrs., 9 st. (G. Challoner). Eight ran.

Royal Hunt Cup.—Mr. T. Worton's Victor Wild, 4 yrs., 9 st. 2 lbs. (J. Harrison). Twenty-four ran.

Coronation Stakes.—Sir F. Johnstone's Throstle, 3 yrs., 8 st. 4 lbs. (M. Cannon). Eight ran.

Gold Cup.—Baron Hirsch's La Flèche, 5 yrs., 9 st. 1 lb. (J. Watts). Five ran.

New Stakes.—Duke of Westminster's Kissing Cup, 2 yrs., 8 st. 7 lbs. (M. Cannon). Sixteen ran.

Wokingham Stakes.—Duke of Devonshire's Oatland, 4 yrs., 7 st. 1 lb. (O. Madden). Twenty-one ran.

Alexandra Plate.—Mr. A. Taylor's Aborigine, 4 yrs., 9 st. (G. Barrett). Seven ran.

22. Lord Salisbury presided at a Congress on University extension at the University of London, and in his speech expressed the opinion that examinations might be carried too far.

23. A son born to the Duke and Duchess of York at White Lodge, Richmond Park.

— A frightful explosion took place at the Albion Colliery, Clifynydd, near Pontypridd, South Wales, by which 268 lives, men and boys, were lost.

— Prince Adalbert of Prussia, third son of the German Emperor, formally introduced into the German Navy, which was to be made his profession.

— In consequence of the strongly expressed anti-Semitic feelings of a majority of the Viennese Municipal Council, the chief dealers in the corn trade decided to abandon the annual market held in the Austrian capital.

24. M. Carnot, President of the French Republic, mortally stabbed during his visit to Lyons by an Italian named Caserio Santo, as he was driving from the Palais de Commerce to attend a gala performance at the Grand Theatre.

25. Messages of sympathy and condolence received by the French Government from every country in Europe and America, and the sittings of the Italian Chamber and United States Congress adjourned.

— At Paris and at Lyons mob demonstrations made against the Italians and a number of Italian restaurants and cafés attacked and sacked, the police and troops being apparently powerless until too late.

— Sir Henry Loch, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, received with great enthusiasm by the British settlers at Pretoria, who at the same time hooted President Krüger.

26. In the House of Commons the clause of the Budget Bill imposing an additional duty of 6d. per barrel on beer passed by 289 to 271 votes.

— The body of President Carnot reached Paris and conveyed to the Elysée, where it was laid in state and subsequently visited by thousands of persons.

— The coal miners in the south-west of Scotland, to the number of 65,000, came out on strike, and 20,000 steel workers were then thrown out of work. The men demanded an advance of 1s. per week on their wages.

27. M. Casimir-Périer, at the first ballot, elected President of the French Republic by 451 votes out of 851 Senators and Deputies assembled in Congress at Versailles.

— At Cambridge the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon H.R.H. the Duke of York, Mr. A. Peckover, Lord Lieutenant; the Duke of Richmond, and others, and that of Doctor of Science on Sir J. B. Lawes, Sir J. H. Gilbert, and Professor Mendeleff of St. Petersburg.

27. King Alexander of Servia, simultaneously with the Khedive, arrived at Constantinople on a visit to the Sultan.

— The new elections to the Althing showed an increased majority in favour of further autonomy for Iceland and a more marked opposition to Danish intervention.

28. At a meeting of the London School Board the Chairman of the Finance Committee stated the gross expenditure for the year 1894-95 was estimated at 2,155,612*l.*, and the net expenditure at 1,469,850*l.*, as compared with a net expenditure for 1893-94 of 1,296,638*l.*

— The Imperial and International Conference, attended by delegates from the principal Australian and South African Colonies, opened at Ottawa under the presidency of the Governor-General, the Earl of Aberdeen.

— M. Dupuy, who had been one of the defeated candidates for the French Presidency, tendered his resignation as Minister, as well as that of his Cabinet, but ultimately resumed office under the new President.

29. The Japanese Government, which on the outbreak of disturbances in Corea had despatched an expedition, refused to withdraw her forces simultaneously with China, and put forth a demand for joint occupation.

— Upwards of 40,000 railway servants in the Western States of America struck work in consequence of a strike of the men in the Pullman car works.

30. The match played at Winchester between Eton and Winchester resulted in the victory of the former by five wickets. Scores :—

## ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. L. D. Gosling, c Stephens, b G. H. Gibson	2	b Jones . . . . .	37
Mr. B. Chinnery, c Jones, b G. H. Gibson	6	c Stephens, b G. Gibson	1
*Mr. G. Bromley-Martin (capt.), b Renshaw	17	b Jones . . . . .	11
*Mr. F. H. E. Cunliffe, c Auchinleck, b G. Gibson	0	not out . . . . .	2
*Mr. C. C. Pilkington, c Festing, b A. L. Gibson	41	c Stephens, b G. Gibson	36
Mr. A. B. Lubbock, c Weatherby, b G. Gibson	35	c Rowe, b A. L. Gibson	12
Mr. A. M. Hollins, c Jones, b Renshaw	22	not out . . . . .	8
Mr. T. D. Pilkington, c Barry, b A. L. Gibson	29		
Mr. F. B. Robertson, run out . . . . .	9		
Mr. R. W. Mitchell, c Festing, b Renshaw	19		
Mr. A. W. F. Baird, not out . . . . .	10		
Extras . . . . .	16	Extras . . . . .	5
	206		112

\* Played last year.

## WINCHESTER.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
*Mr. G. H. Gibson, c Baird, b C. Pilkington	2	c Robertson, b C. Pilkington	50
*Mr. H. W. Kaye, c C. Pilkington, b Hollins	46	c Mitchell, b Cunliffe	1
Mr. A. L. Gibson, c Baird, b C. Pilkington	31	b C. Pilkington	16
*Mr. G. B. Stephens (capt.), c Lubbock, b Hollins	0	run out	4
*Mr. G. H. Rowe, c Baird, b C. Pilkington	9	b C. Pilkington	2
Mr. D. G. H. Auchinleck, b Cunliffe	23	not out	28
Mr. B. J. W. Barry, lbw, b Cunliffe	31	c Chinnery, b C. Pilkington	8
Mr. J. T. Weatherby, b Cunliffe	4	c Robertson, b C. Pilkington	1
*Mr. F. L. Festing, b Cunliffe	4	c Mitchell, b C. Pilkington	2
Mr. W. W. Renshaw, run out	11	c Robertson, b Cunliffe	6
Mr. L. O. W. Jones, not out	0	c Gosling, b Cunliffe	12
Extras	11	Extras	14
	172		144

\* Played last year.

80. The Tower Bridge, commenced in June 1886, formally opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales on behalf of the Queen. The total length of the bridge and abutments, designed by Mr. C. Wolfe Barry, was 940 feet and the opening span about 200 feet, and the total cost of erection was estimated at 1,250,000*l*.

— The Queen conferred a baronetcy on the Lord Mayor, Alderman G. R. Tyler, and knighthoods on the two Sheriffs.

— Lord Russell of Killowen (Sir Charles Russell) appointed Lord Chief Justice of England in succession to Lord Coleridge, and Rev. Canon Ainger to be Master of the Temple in succession to Dean Vaughan.

— The royal stud at Hampton Court, which had existed since 1837 and was the continuation of a stud maintained by George III. and his two successors on the throne, finally dispersed; twenty-eight yearlings realising 5,640 guineas, forty-five brood mares and foals 17,085 guineas, and three stallions 845 guineas. The highest price paid was 4,600 guineas by Baron Hirsch for Wedlock and her foal.

## JULY.

1. The funeral of President Carnot took place in Paris amid signs of general sympathy and national sorrow. The funeral service was held at Notre Dame, the Archbishop of Paris officiating. The body was afterwards transported to the Pantheon and laid beside that of his grandfather.

2. Mr. Ludwig Mond announced his intention to present to the Royal Institution a large house adjoining the building in Albemarle Street to be converted at his expense into the "Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory." He also proposed to give a large endowment for the salaries of professors and maintenance of the laboratory.

2. The French press expressed in warm terms the public appreciation of the German Emperor's courtesy in releasing, on the occasion of M. Carnot's funeral, two French officers condemned as spies.

— The Canadian Pacific Express wrecked near Greenville (Maine), between Montreal and Halifax, owing to the collapse of a bridge. Five passengers were killed and eight injured.

3. The railway strike in the United States, caused by the refusal of the men to run Pullman cars until the wages of the car-builders were raised, assumed a serious form in the Western States. The United States troops had to be despatched to Chicago and other important centres to prevent intimidation and the complete stoppage of traffic.

— The Queen reviewed, at Windsor Castle, the boys of the Greenwich Hospital School, numbering about 1,000, on the occasion of the bi-centenary of the foundation of the Hospital as a retreat for naval pensioners.

— The Salvation Army celebrated its jubilee at the Crystal Palace under the leadership of "General" Booth; about 80,000 members, including delegates from all colonies and foreign countries, were present.

— The Princess of Wales opened the new buildings of the British Home for Incurables at Streatham, and the Duke of York laid the memorial stone of the Cripplegate Institution, and afterwards lunched with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs at the Mansion House.

— The United States Senate by thirty-nine to thirty-four votes passed the third reading of the Tariff Bill.

4. Madame Carnot wrote to decline the State pension which it was intended to propose to the Chamber for her.

— The University cricket match resulted in the success of Oxford by eight wickets. Scores:—

#### OXFORD.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. R. C. N. Palairet, c Mitchell, b Pope	18	c Douglas, b Mitchell	38
Mr. H. G. D. Leveson-Gower, c Field, b Pope		c Pope, b Douglas	15
Mr. H. K. Foster, c W. G. Druce, b Mitchell	27	not out	19
Mr. G. J. Mordaunt, c W. G. Druce, b Mitchell	41	not out	13
Mr. C. B. Fry, not out	100		
Mr. F. A. Phillips, c Field, b Gray	78		
Mr. L. C. V. Bathurst, c and b Robinson	4		
Mr. G. B. Raikes, c W. G. Druce, b Mitchell	29		
Mr. G. R. Bardswell, c N. F. Druce, b Robinson	0		
Mr. D. H. Forbes, b Robinson	0		
Mr. R. P. Lewis, b Mitchell	0		
B, 10; 1-b, 6; w, 9; n-b, 1	28	L-b, 1; w, 2	3
	338		88

## CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. J. Douglas, b Bathurst	31	c Fry, b Bardswell.	16
Mr. F. Mitchell, lbw, b Bathurst	1	c Bathurst, b Leveson-Gower	28
Mr. E. Field, b Bathurst	0	b Bardswell	6
Mr. J. Du V. Brunton, c Bathurst, b Leveson-Gower	47	c Forbes, b Bathurst	66
Mr. P. H. Latham, c Palairet, b Bardswell	21	b Forbes	16
Mr. T. N. Perkins, c Forbes, b Raikes	23	c Fry, b Bardswell	24
Mr. N. F. Druce, c Lewis, b Bathurst	39	c Phillips, b Bardswell	4
Mr. W. G. Druce, b Forbes	9	c Fry, b Bardswell	15
Mr. G. C. Pope, run out	11	lbw, b Bathurst	0
Mr. J. J. Robinson, not out	5	not out	4
Mr. H. Gray, b Bardswell	3	c Bathurst, b Bardswell	6
B, 20; l-b, 5; w, 3; n-b, 4	32	B, 4; w, 1	5
	222		200

5. The election for the Attercliffe division of Sheffield, caused by the elevation of Hon. B. Coleridge (G.L.) to the peerage, resulted in the return of Alderman B. Langley (L.), 4,486, against Mr. G. H. Smith (C.), 3,495, and Mr. F. Smith (Lab.), 1,249 votes.

— At the Clyde Regatta the *Valkyrie* and *Satanita*, whilst manœuvring to take up positions, came into collision; the former was struck amidships and sank in three minutes. In the match for the Muir Challenge Cup which followed the *Britannia* (152 tons), belonging to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, defeated by thirty-three seconds, on a fifty miles' course, the American yacht *Vigilant* (175 tons), belonging to Mr. George J. Gould.

— At Newmarket the Princess of Wales' Stakes of 10,000 sovs. won by Mr. M'Calmont's Isinglass, 4 yrs., 10 st. 3 lbs. (T. Loates), defeating the Duke of Westminster's Bullingdon, 3 yrs., 8 st. 18 lbs., by a head, and the favourite, Lord Rosebery's Ladas, 3 yrs., 9 st. 5 lbs., by three lengths. Seven ran.

6. At Henley Regatta the results of the final heats were:—

Grand Challenge Cup.—Leander Club beat Thames Rowing Club,  $\frac{1}{2}$  length, 7 min. 22 sec.

Silver Goblets.—Messrs. Vivian and Guy Nickalls beat Mr. J. Crisp and Mr. G. Smith, 1 length, 9 min. 25 sec.

Thames Challenge Cup.—Trinity College, Oxford, beat London Rowing Club,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lengths, 7 min. 58 sec.

Wyfold Challenge Cup.—Thames Rowing Club beat Balliol College, Oxford,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lengths, 8 min. 16 sec.

Stewards' Challenge Cup.—Thames Rowing Club beat New College, Oxford, 40 sec., 8 min. 20 sec.

Diamond Challenge Sculls.—Guy Nickalls beat Vivian Nickalls,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lengths, 9 min. 32 sec.

Ladies' Challenge Plate.—Eton College beat First Trinity, Cambridge, 5 lengths, 7 min. 36 sec.

Visitors' Challenge Cup.—New College, Oxford, walked over, 9 min. 34 sec.

— The railway strike in the Western States and especially at Chicago assumed a very serious aspect, the strikers, numbering many thousands, refusing to allow the trains to be moved. Most of the remaining buildings

of the Chicago World's Fair were set on fire and other outrages committed, but the troops being only 1,500 in number were not allowed to fire, although they repeatedly charged the mob. At one time the strikers held all the western suburbs of Chicago, and destroyed all the station yards of the various railroads.

7. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Harrow School on the occasion of Speech Day, the Princess subsequently distributing the prizes.

— At the annual meeting of the Midlothian Liberal Association a letter was read from Mr. Gladstone announcing his definite retirement from public life at the close of the sitting Parliament.

— After a splendid race the Prince of Wales' yacht *Britannia* again defeated, on less time allowance, the American yacht *Vigilant* over a fifty miles' course for the Clyde Cup.

— By a railway accident near Bilbao in Spain thirty-one out of a total of thirty-eight passengers were either killed or seriously injured.

9. President Cleveland issued a proclamation practically declaring martial law in Chicago, and although several conflicts occurred with the strikers, resulting in loss of life, the situation was improved by the firm attitude of the Government.

— The German Federal Council declined to endorse the negotiations of the Imperial Diet in favour of the repeal of the law against the Jesuits and kindred orders.

— Lord Rosebery, on behalf of his colleagues, declined the Lord Mayor's invitation to the annual dinner given at the Mansion House at the close of the session to her Majesty's ministers.

— The banking of the Birmingham Canal at Spring Vale, Wolverhampton, gave way, flooding several collieries and doing considerable damage.

10. Three violent shocks of earthquake were felt at Constantinople, causing a general panic. Several buildings were thrown down and about 150 lives lost.

— The International Conference at Ottawa held its closing sitting; the delegates before separating joined in singing the National Anthem.

— The Norwegian Legislature passed a measure by which sixty-five per cent. of the profits arising from the sale of spirits would be handed over to the State for the formation of an old age pension fund.

— Right Rev. George Kennion, Bishop of Adelaide, appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells.

11. The Queen on her way from Windsor to Osborne spent a night at Aldershot, where she was present at a grand military tattoo, and on the following day held a review of the troops.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales attended the Welsh National Eisteddfod at Carnarvon, where they were received with great enthusiasm. A special session was held at which the Prince of Wales was initiated as "Iorweth Dywysog" (Edward the Prince), the Princess of Wales as "Hoffder Prydain" (Britain's Delight), and the Princess Victoria of Wales as "Bud-dug," the modern Welsh form of Boadicea.

11. The orders for a general strike issued by the officers of the Chicago Joint Trades and the Master Workman of the Knights of Labour almost totally disregarded throughout the States, the situation rapidly improving in face of the steady determination of the authorities to carry out the law.

12. The English expedition to the North Pole, equipped by Mr. G. Harmsworth and under the leadership of Captain Jackson, left London in the steam-ship *Windward* for Archangel.

— At the Royal Northern Yacht Club Regatta held on the Clyde the *Britannia* met and beat, for the sixth time, the American yacht *Vigilant*.

13. The Queen received at Windsor the Lord Mayor and members of the Corporation of London to present an address of congratulation on the birth of her great-grandson.

— The Cork Municipal Council passed a resolution calling upon the Dublin Corporation to appoint O'Donovan Rossa to the vacant office of City Marshal.

— Congress passed a bill, to become operative in 1896, admitting Utah as forty-fifth State of the Union.

— Mr. Debs, the Chicago labour leader, finding his cause hopeless, declared the railway strike in the United States at an end. The federal authorities at once commenced to withdraw the troops, and President Cleveland announced his intention to appoint a commission to investigate the causes leading to the labour disturbances.

14. The cholera having assumed serious proportions in Russia public prayers were offered in the Cathedrals of St. Petersburg and Moscow for the stay of the epidemic.

— A statue to the memory of Condorcet erected on the Quai Conti at Paris.

— The Eton and Harrow cricket match, reduced to one day's contest in consequence of the bad weather, ended in a draw. Scores:—

#### HARROW.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. R. V. Vibart, b Cunliffe . . .	13	b C. C. Pilkington . . .	4
Mr. A. S. Crawley, c Lubbock, b Cunliffe	11	c Baird, b Cunliffe . . .	3
Mr. J. H. Stogdon, c C. Pilkington, b Cunliffe	32	c Mitchell, b C. C. Pilkington . . .	19
Mr. J. L. Fisher, b Cunliffe . . .	0	not out . . .	3
Mr. G. P. Gore, c Chinnery, b Cunliffe	18	b Cunliffe . . .	4
Mr. C. D. Williams, b Cunliffe . . .	0	c Lubbock, b Cunliffe . . .	8
Mr. A. Page, c Chinnery, b Mitchell	10	c Chinnery, b C. C. Pilkington . . .	9
Mr. A. H. W. Bentinck, run out . . .	2	b Cunliffe . . .	4
Mr. J. H. Bulloch, lbw, b Cunliffe . . .	4	b C. C. Pilkington . . .	0
Mr. F. Symes Thompson, not out . . .	5	c Mitchell, b Cunliffe . . .	1
Mr. J. Bradshaw, b C. C. Pilkington . . .	16	st Baird, b Cunliffe . . .	4
B, 6; 1-b, 5; n-b, 7 . . .	18	B, 16; 1-b, 1; n-b, 4 . . .	21



## ETON.

Mr. L. D. Gosling, c Bulloch, b Bradshaw . . . . .	0
Mr. B. Chinnery, b Williams . . . . .	7
Mr. G. E. Bromley-Martin, c Stogdon, b Bradshaw . . . . .	0
Mr. C. C. Pilkington, c Bulloch, b Fisher . . . . .	33
Mr. A. B. Lubbock, c Bentinck, b Fisher . . . . .	15
Mr. A. M. Hollins, run out . . . . .	7
Mr. F. H. E. Cunliffe, st Bulloch, b Williams . . . . .	32
Mr. H. W. Kettlewell, c Page, b Williams . . . . .	0
Mr. T. D. Pilkington, b Bradshaw . . . . .	0
Mr. R. W. Mitchell, c Bradshaw, b Williams . . . . .	17
Mr. A. W. F. Baird, not out . . . . .	5
B, 7; 1-b, 3; n-b, 1 . . . . .	11

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14. A destructive cyclone passed over Upper Bavaria, destroying a number of houses in several villages and much property.

16. The infant son of the Duke of York christened at White Lodge, Richmond, in the presence of the Queen and other members of the royal family. He received the names of Edward Albert George Andrew Patrick David Christian.

— A bust of John Keats, executed by Miss Anne Whitney of Boston, Mass., and presented by a number of American admirers, unveiled at Hampstead Parish Church by Mr. Edmund Gosse.

— The labour strike throughout the United States practically brought to a close; the House of Representatives by 125 to 27 votes adopted a resolution thanking President Cleveland for his energetic action.

17. In the House of Lords the Aliens Bill brought in by Lord Salisbury and opposed by the Government read a second time by eighty-nine to thirty-seven votes. In the House of Commons the Budget Bill passed its final stage by 288 to 268 votes.

— Debs and other strike leaders having been arraigned at Chicago for contempt of court, bail was fixed at \$6,000 in each case, and not being forthcoming they were committed to prison.

— Kassala, the chief stronghold of the Dervishes in the Eastern Sudan, captured and occupied by the Italian troops under Colonel Baratieri.

18. The Scottish peers assembled at Holyrood elected Viscount Falkland and Lord Torphichen representative peers in the room of Lords Lindsay and Strathallan deceased.

— The ships and torpedo vessels intended to take part in the naval manœuvres commissioned at the home ports, the Red Fleet under Vice-Admiral R. O. B. Fitzroy to assemble at Portland and Berehaven, and the Blue Fleet under Admiral Ed. Seymour at Milford Haven and Torbay.

19. At a meeting of the Miners' Conciliation Board the wages' dispute was settled upon the basis of a reduction of ten per cent. until Jan. 1, 1896.

— A boat's crew of seven men, engaged in blowing up the wreck of a yacht in the Solent, were all killed by an explosion on their own boat.

-- Earthquake shocks felt at short intervals at Little Chuth, Wisconsin,

U.S.A., Monaco, and Constantinople, but in no case was any loss of life reported.

20. The Eclipse Stakes at Sandown Park, value 11,200*l.*, won by Mr. H. M'Calmont's *Isinglass*, 4 yrs., 10 st. 2 lbs. (T. Loates), defeating Lord Rosebery's *Ladas*, 9 st. 4 lbs., by a length. Seven ran.

— A banquet, attended by the Prince of Wales, given by Sir John Pender, M.P., at the Imperial Institute, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of submarine telegraphy in the far East.

— A large body of Chinese troops left for Corea with instructions to employ force should the Japanese attempt to oppose their landing.

21. Hackney Marsh, an area of 887 acres of meadow land intersected by the River Lee, purchased for 75,000*l.*, opened to the public as a pleasure ground for East London.

— The American yacht *Vigilant* in two successive matches defeated the *Britannia* at the Irish Yacht Club Regatta in Dublin Bay.

— The United States House of Representatives passed a resolution in favour of Senators being elected by the people instead of by the State Legislatures.

— Don Jaime, son of Don Carlos, compelled by the French authorities, at the request of the Spanish Government, to quit St. Jean de Luz.

— The meeting of the National Rifle Association at Bisley, marked by exceptionally unfavourable weather and excellent shooting, closed with the distribution of prizes by H.R.H. the Duchess of Connaught. The following were the principal events:—

## PRIZES.

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Winner.
Waldegrave (any rifle)	800, 900	98	J. A. Gibson, Musselburgh . 98
Secretary of State (Magazine Breech Loader)	800, 900	70	Sgt. G. E. Fulton. 18th Mdx. 61
Bass (any rifle)	900, 1,000	150	Capt. G. C. Gibbs, 2 Gloa. Eng. 139
Spencer Cup (Martini-Henry)	500	35	Corp. Apperby, Cheltenham . 32
Duke of Cambridge (Magazine Breech Loader)	900, 1,000	100	Pte. Paterson, 1st V.B. Gordon Highlanders . 74
Imperial			Pte. Brown, Cameronians . 156
Winan's Prize (any rifle)	900, 1,000	150	T. Caldwell, Belfast . 140
Wimbledon Cup (any rifle)	1,100	75	Capt. G. C. Gibbs, 2 Gloa. Eng. 71
Albert Cup (any rifle)	{ 800, 900 1,000	{ 100 1st stage 75 2nd stage }	Capt. G. C. Gibbs, 2 Gloa. Eng. 159
Alexandria (Martini-Henry)	500, 600	70	Maj. Heap, 2nd Manchester . 65
Prince of Wales (Martini-Henry)	200, 600	105	Col.-Sgt. Ball, 3rd Welsh . 98
Martin's Cup (Martini-Henry)	600	35	Sgt. Goodyear, 2nd Yorkshire 35
Queen's Prize (M.-Henry).	200	35 1st stage	1st range Col.-Sgt. Lewis, 1st V.B. Welsh . 34 and two ties
" " "	200, 500	70 "	2nd range Col.-Sgt. Lewis, 1st V.B. Welsh . 66 and three ties
" " "	200, 500, 600	105 "	3rd range Corp. Bailey, 3rd E. Surrey . 97
" " "	500, 600	125 2nd stage	Capt. Bateman, 2nd T. Ham. Eng. (Silver Medal)
" " "		1st stage 2nd stage	195 113 208
" " "	800, 900	100 "	Pte. Rennie, 3rd Lanark (250 <i>l.</i> and Gold Medal)
" " "		1st stge. 2nd stge. 3rd stge.	84 112 77 233
St. George's (Martini-Henry)	600, 800	85	Staff-Sgt. King, Canadians 1st stage 2nd stage 31 45 77

## MATCHES.

Matches.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Total scores.
Challenge Cup(Martini-Henry)	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ Volunteers . . . 1,637 { Regulars . . . 1,631 { Cambridge . . . 790 { Oxford . . . 734
Humphry Cup (any rifle) .	800, 900, 1,000	900	{ Rugby . . . 422
Ashburton Shield (24 teams) } (Martini-Henry) . . . }	200, 500		2nd V.B. Liverpool . 76
Duke of Westminster's Cup .	Field Firing		{ Royal Navy . . . 698 { Army . . . 696 { R. Marines . . . 696
United Service Challenge Cup } (Lee-Metford) . . . }	200, 500, 600	735	{ Scotland . . . 1,627 { Ireland . . . 1,622 { England . . . 1,619 { Cambridge . . . 665 { Oxford . . . 598 { England . . . 699 { Canada . . . 677 { Jersey . . . 655 { Guernsey . . . 642 { Glamorgan . . . 401 { Devonshire . . . 400 { and 35 other counties
Elcho Shield (any rifle) . .	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ Scotland . . . 1,804 { England . . . 1,727 { Ireland . . . 1,725 { Wales . . . 1,708
Chancellor's Plate (Martini- } Henry) . . . }	200, 500, 800	840	
Kolapore Cup (Martini-Henry)	200, 500, 600	840	
China Cup (Martini-Henry) .	600	500	
National Challenge Trophy } (Martini-Henry) . . . }	200, 500, 600	2,100	

23. In the House of Commons the Evicted Tenants' (Ireland) Arbitration Bill read a second time by 259 to 237 votes, Mr. L. Courtney being the only Unionist voting with the Government.

— The contest for the Wingfield Sculls, carrying with it the Amateur Championship of the Thames, resulted in the success of Mr. Vivian Nickalls, of Magdalen College, who defeated by three lengths the only other competitor, Hon. Rupert Guinness.

— The Japanese Minister in London, acting under instructions from his Government, officially apologised for the violence with which Mr. Gardner, the British Consul-General at Seoul, who had inadvertently gone within the lines of the Japanese troops, had been treated.

24. In the French Chamber, whilst the Anarchist Bill was under discussion, protests were raised by some of the occupants of the Press Galleries against statements made by one of the speakers. The President ordered the galleries to be cleared by gendarmes.

— Serious floods occurred at Poona and Surat, and in other parts of Western India, and much damage was done to the railways and the crops.

— Upwards of 3,500 Anarchists stated to have been arrested in Italy since 1st May.

— The University of Königsberg celebrated the 350th anniversary of its foundation.

25. In the trial of the Newfoundland Election Petitions, Sir William Whiteway, the former Premier, and subsequently Mr. Emerson, the Speaker, were found guilty of bribery and unseated. Fifteen members altogether were unseated, including all those of the late Cabinet except one.

25. The Norman west front of Rochester Cathedral, built in the twelfth century, having been carefully restored, dedicated by a special service, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury assisted.

— In the House of Commons, the Equalisation of Rates (London) Bill read a second time without a division.

26. The French Chamber, after a four days' debate, voted the Anti-Anarchist Bill by 268 to 163 votes.

— Meunier, the Anarchist, arrested in London, and extradited for complicity in the explosions at the Café Véry and Loban Barracks, in Paris, found guilty, but with extenuating circumstances, and sentenced to penal servitude for life.

— The House of Lords, after strong protests by the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyll, and others, allowed the Government Budget Bill to be read a second time without a division.

27. The Prince of Wales distributed at Marlborough House the medals awarded by the order of St. John of Jerusalem to a number of persons who had risked their own lives in endeavouring to save those of others on land.

— A small-pox epidemic of some severity declared itself in Portland Town, St. John's Wood.

— The silver wedding of the Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark celebrated at Copenhagen with general rejoicing.

— An engagement took place between Chinese and Japanese warships, in the course of which one of the former was taken and sunk, and the others beaten off. A Chinese transport, *Kowshang*, with 1,500 men on board, was sunk, only about fifty men being saved.

28. Senator Tanlougo, Governor of the Banca Romana, and six other of its principal officials, after a trial lasting sixty days, acquitted amidst popular enthusiasm of the charges of fraud brought against them, the jury holding that they were tools of persons high in office, whom it was wished to shield.

— The French Chamber unexpectedly prorogued, the Ministry having decided to put a stop to the discreditable scenes daily provoked by the Socialist deputies.

— Extensive forest fires occurred in Wisconsin, involving serious loss of life and property. Near Washburn, a freight train, running over a bridge which had been set on fire, fell through, killing the engineer and guard.

30. The House of Lords gave judgment in the cases of the London and Edinburgh Street Tramways, declining to recognise the liability of County Councils to pay for the good-will when purchasing the tramways under statute. Lord Ashbourne dissented.

— Five Russian Nihilists, including three women and a prince, who had been banished to Siberia, whence he had escaped, handed over by the Spanish authorities to the French police.

— In consequence of the results of the general election in New South Wales, the Cabinet of Sir George Dibbs resigned.

— A telegraph line from Toti to Buluwayo, a distance of 108 miles, constructed in 183 days, at a cost of 3,400*l.*, opened for public use.

80. In a second naval engagement between the Japanese and Chinese fleets, the largest ironclad of the latter power, the *Chen Yuen*, 7,280 tons, sunk. The Japanese land forces at the same time attacked Asan, which was captured with heavy loss to its Chinese defenders.

31. War formally declared by Japan against China and notified to the neutral powers.

— The proceedings of the Irish Land Committee cut short by a closing motion carried by the casting vote of the Chairman (Mr. J. Morley), who refused to accept the protest of the minority.

— The London County Council decided to request the Home Secretary to extend the cab radius for London, and to draw up a fresh scale of fares applicable to the whole county of London.

— In the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's motion for imposing a time limit ("the guillotine") on the debate on the Evicted Tenants' (Ireland) Arbitration Bill carried by 217 to 174.

— At the Central Criminal Court, two Anarchists found guilty of using seditious language on Tower Hill, and sentenced to six months' hard labour.

## AUGUST.

1. A banquet given by the members of the Liberal party to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, to celebrate the passing of the Budget.

— In the House of Commons, on the adjourned debate in Committee of the Evicted Tenants' (Ireland) Bill, the Opposition withdrew from taking part in the proceedings, all the members, Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, with a few exceptions, being absent.

— Doggett's Coat and Badge (course from London Bridge to Chelsea) won by F. Pearse, of Hammersmith, in 32 min. 44 sec. Six competitors entered for the race, which was instituted in 1715 by Doggett a comedian, of "Old Drury Lane," to commemorate the accession of George I.

— A burglary committed at Beechwood, Slough, the residence of the Princess Alexis Soltykoff, during the dinner hour. Jewellery to the value of 10,000*l.* was carried off by the thieves.

2. News reached the country that the *Regnvald Jarl*, the ship belonging to the Wellman Arctic expedition, had been nipped in the ice at Walden Island and totally lost, but that the crew had escaped, and had started on sledges for the North Pole. A week later Mr. Wellman arrived safely at Tromsø.

— By the upsetting of a pleasure-boat at Barmouth ten lives were lost, mostly young ladies, members of a reading party, who were spending their holidays at that place.

3. At the Goodwood Race meeting the principal events were:—

Stewards' Cup.—Sir J. Blundell's Gangway, 4 yrs., 8 st. 7 lb. (Bradford). Twenty-one ran.

Richmond Stakes.—Duke of Hamilton's The Nipper, 2 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb. (Finlay). Ten ran.

Goodwood Stakes.—Mr. T. Wardlow's Spindle Leg, 4 yrs., 6 st. 13 lb. (Allsopp). Eight ran.

Sussex Stakes.—Baron Hirsch's Matchbox, 3 yrs., 8 st. 11 lb. (T. Watts).

Four ran.

Goodwood Cup.—Capt. Machell's Kilsallaghan, 4 yrs., 8 st. 2 lb. (T. Loates).

Six ran.

Chesterfield Cup.—Mr. J. Best's Worcester, 4 yrs., 7 st. 4 lb. (S. Loates).

Six ran.

3. Caserio Santo tried at the Lyons Assize Court, and found guilty of having murdered President Carnot with premeditation. He was sentenced to death.

— Dr. Cornelius Herz, whose extradition had been hindered by his illness at Bournemouth, sentenced by the Paris Correctional Tribunal to five years' imprisonment *in contumaciâ* for blackmailing in connection with the Panama frauds.

4. Lord Justice Davey appointed Lord of Appeal in Ordinary in succession to Lord Russell of Killowen.

— The Lord Mayor of London visited the Antwerp Exhibition in state, and was received by the burgomaster and échevins of Brussels.

— The steam yacht *Windward*, with the members of the Jackson-Harmsworth Polar Expedition, left Archangel.

— A demonstration of the Social Democratic League held in Trafalgar Square, and resolutions in favour of manhood suffrage, payment of members and their election expenses, and the second ballot, were passed.

6. The German Emperor arrived at Cowes on his yacht *Hohenzollern*, and was warmly received by a large assemblage of people. In the first match at the Cowes Regatta the *Britannia* was beaten by the *Vigilant* by 6 min. 42 sec. on a fifty miles' course.

— News reached Europe of the murder of the French explorer, M. Dutreuil de Rhins, at a village in Thibet, where he had been seized, bound and thrown into the river.

— The Grand-Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna, the Czar's eldest daughter, married to her first cousin, the Grand-Duke Alexander Michaelovitch, at St. Petersburg, in the presence of the Czar and representatives of the imperial and royal families of Europe. On driving to the palace prepared for the bride and bridegroom, their carriage was overturned, both occupants hurt, and the driver killed. It was asserted that the accident was the result of a Nihilist plot.

7. In the House of Commons the third reading of the Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill passed by 199 to 167 votes.

— A proclamation of neutrality in the Chino-Japanese war appeared in the *London Gazette*.

— A gang of men charged at the Thames Police Court with having stolen 5 cwt. of silver in four blocks from the premises of the refiners.

— At the Cowes Regatta, the Queen's Cup won by the *Carina*, belonging to Admiral Montagu, the Prince of Wales' *Britannia*, which arrived first, being disqualified on the ground of a false start, and the German Emperor's *Meteor*, which followed, losing on the time allowance.

8. The British Association opened its meeting at Oxford, the Marquess of Salisbury delivering the presidential address, in which he discussed the

limitation of modern science, and on the following day unveiled a statue of Sydenham at the Museum.

8. An earthquake of some violence felt at Aci Reale in Sicily, by which thirteen people were killed and twenty-nine injured.

— M. Estrup, who had been Danish Prime Minister for fifteen years, resigned his post, in view of the improved relations between the Chambers and the Government.

9. A discovery of rich quartz-bearing gold made at Coolgardie, in Western Australia, upwards of 2 cwt. having fallen to the lot of one searcher.

— The mission steamer *William Booth* belonging to the Salvation Army totally wrecked on a reef in Lake Ontario.

— In the race for the Cowes Town Plate the Prince of Wales' yacht *Britannia* defeated the American yacht *Vigilant* by 4 min. 19 sec. on a fifty miles' course.

— The apartments in the Doria Palace at Genoa, inhabited by the composer Verdi, burglariously entered and several articles of value carried off.

10. The gold chalice presented by Charles X. and the diamond-set monstrance given by Napoleon III. to the Pantheon on his marriage, handed over to the authorities of Notre Dame, the secularisation of the Pantheon having been determined.

— The Postmaster-General announced that private post-cards with a halfpenny stamp would be accepted for inland circulation.

— A railway accident, attributed to train-wreckers, took place at Lincoln, Nebraska, by which twelve lives were lost and the train totally destroyed.

— In commemoration of the marriage of his daughter the Czar founded an educational establishment for women entitled the "Xenia Institute."

— The British cruiser *Curacao* and the German sloop *Buzzard* bombarded Luatoanu, the stronghold of the chiefs who had risen in rebellion against Malietoa, the recognised King of Samoa.

11. The trial of thirty "Anarchists" at Paris ended in the acquittal of all but three, who were sentenced to long periods of imprisonment, two for common robbery, and the third for the unlawful possession of prohibited weapons.

— The naval manœuvres brought to a conclusion, the victory being awarded to the Blue Squadron under Admiral Seymour.

12. A serious cyclone passed over the districts of Herencia (Ciudad Real), destroying the crops and doing enormous damage to cattle and buildings.

— The Scotch express on entering the Midland terminus, St. Pancras, dashed with great violence against the stop-block, seriously damaging the station and foremost carriages, and injuring about twenty passengers.

13. The American Tariff Bill, as amended by the State, after many weeks of party manœuvring finally adopted by the House of Representatives by 182 to 105 votes. Although the Democratic proposals for free coal, sugar, and iron were not adopted a considerable reduction of the duties was allowed.

13. News reached Pretoria that the Kaffirs in the Zoutpansberg district were in open revolt.

— A review of 12,000 troops held at Aldershot, in which the German Emperor led the 1st Royal Dragoons as its Colonel-in-Chief.

— A fire broke out in a large warehouse at Fiume and spreading rapidly destroyed property valued at upwards of 5,000,000 florins. The fire continued burning for over six days.

14. In the House of Lords, after two nights' debate, the second reading of the Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill negatived by 249 to 30 votes.

— In the House of Commons in committee on the Eight Hours (Miners) Bill an amendment in favour of local option, moved by Mr. D. A. Thomas, carried by 112 against 107 votes. The bill was consequently withdrawn by its promoters.

— Paul Korzula, a waiter, executed in Newgate for the murder of Mrs. Rasch, the wife of a restaurant-keeper in Shaftesbury Avenue.

— An agreement between France and the Congo State signed in Paris by which the advantages secured to Great Britain by the May convention were set aside.

15. The Ministerial White-bait dinner, interrupted for fifteen years, held at Greenwich and attended by nearly all the ministers.

— The gun-powder magazine at the North Stack gun station near Holyhead exploded and smashed to atoms; caused by the negligent firing of a gun with the port-hole closed.

— The Royal Victoria Yacht Club Cup won by Mr. A. D. Clarke's yacht *Satanita*, defeating the Prince of Wales' *Britannia* by 1 min. 10 sec. (including time allowance) on a fifty miles' course.

— All the Republics of Central America, with the exception of Costa Rica, concurred in a protocol uniting them in a Central American Republic.

16. Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden addressed a large gathering of excursionists from Torquay, referring to his early associations with Devonshire.

— Caserio Santo, the assassin of President Carnot, guillotined at Lyons.

— Lord Edmund Talbot (C.), only brother of the Duke of Norfolk, returned unopposed for the Chichester division of Sussex.

17. Upwards of forty Anarchists, for the most part belonging to the party of action, arrested at Berlin, leading to the discovery of a large quantity of explosives.

— The cholera epidemic assumed serious proportions in Eastern Europe, especially in Galicia and the Bukowina.

— Under the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act Lord Kimberley authorised the detention of a torpedo-catcher at Newcastle, of two cruisers in the Clyde, and one in the Thames, on the ground that they were being equipped for the Japanese Government.

— Admiral Ragvozzoff, Governor of the fort of Cronstadt, assassinated by a discharged workman, who immediately blew out his own brains.



18. The Federal Judge at Buenos Ayres granted, subject to appeal, the extradition of Jabez Balfour, the director-in-chief of the "Liberator" companies.

— The Kabyles, in the neighbourhood of Mazagan, who had revolted against the Sultan of Morocco, defeated the imperial troops with great loss.

19. A fire broke out in the royal palace of Cintra, but was checked before extending to the chapel and other buildings which contained the most valuable art and historical treasures.

20. Forty-one Devonshire Volunteers dismissed for insubordination in refusing to strike tents at a brigade camp.

— Experiments made at the Crystal Palace with rifle and dagger-proof cuirasses invented by Mr. Loris with satisfactory results. On the following day Herr Dowe was wounded whilst experimenting with his cuirass at Aix-la-Chapelle.

21. The claims against the United States in respect of the seizure of Behring Sea seal-fishing vessels settled by the Secretary of State and the British Ambassador at Washington for \$600,000.

— The German fleet assembled for naval manœuvres in the North Sea, including an attack upon Heligoland, and afterwards in the Baltic.

— At a regatta at St. John's, New Brunswick, a sudden squall struck the yachts whilst racing; one was capsized and eight men drowned.

22. At Osborne the Queen presented new colours to the Portsmouth division of the Royal Marines.

— Large numbers of the men, who had been engaged in the Scotch coal strike for several weeks, returned to work on the masters' terms. Serious riots followed, the pickets attempting to wreck the mines opened.

23. The report of the select committee, signed by seven members, on the Land Acts (Ireland) presented by Mr. Morley; the minority of six members abstained from signing.

— The Turkish Minister of Public Works decided to reconstruct the aqueduct which had supplied Jerusalem with water in the time of King Solomon.

— The Russian military manœuvres in the province of Smolensk countermanded in consequence of the illness of the Czar, who was laid up with influenza following upon overwork.

— Mr. J. Wylie, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, brutally murdered by a party of Chinese soldiers at Lias-Yang in the province of Nin-Chang.

— The Governments of Great Britain and China ratified at Peking a convention settling the Eastern frontiers of Burmah, establishing free trade between Yunnan and Burmah and practically getting rid of the overlordship of China.

24. Mr. Hatch, British Vice-Consul at Blue-fields, and several other foreigners arrested by the Nicaraguan authorities, and conveyed to Grey Town on the charge of inciting the Indians to revolt.

— The Cape liner *Dunottar Castle* grounded in a dense fog on the Eddystone Rock, but floated off without injury on the rising tide.

24. A fire which broke out in a mine near Seattle, Washington Territory, U.S.A., resulted in the loss of thirty-seven lives.

— The Theatre Royal, Reading, totally destroyed by fire which broke out some hours after the performance had finished.

— The Dutch troops met with a serious reverse whilst attempting to reduce to submission the Rajah of Lombok. Their loss was 164 men, including General van Ham and thirteen officers.

25. Parliament prorogued by Royal Commission at 3 P.M., the House of Commons having assembled at 9 A.M., and the House of Lords at 9.30 A.M. to dispose of the remaining business.

— The Hotel Victoria at St. Beatenberg on the Lake of Thun totally destroyed by a fire caused by the upsetting of a lamp in the *portier's* room. Upwards of 150 guests, who were at dinner when the fire broke out, lost the whole of their effects.

— Ratifications of a new Commercial Treaty between Great Britain and Japan exchanged at Tokio.

26. A demonstration against the House of Lords, under the auspices of the various Radical associations and trade unions of the Metropolis, held in Hyde Park. The procession only numbered about 1,500 persons, but several thousands were assembled in the park. Resolutions calling upon the Government to abolish the "mischievous and useless" hereditary Chamber were passed at six platforms.

27. The United States new Tariff Bill became law without the President's formal approval.

— The Derbyshire miners, numbering about 10,000, held a demonstration at Chesterfield in favour of a compulsory eight hours' day, and to condemn the House of Lords for mutilating the Employers' Liability Bill.

— The Gohna Lake formed some months previously by a landslip on the Upper Ganges in the Eastern Himalayas broke through the natural dam. All the Government and other buildings, between Gohna and Hardwar, on the banks of the river, were swept away, about 320 feet of water escaping in less than five hours. Warnings having been given along the course of the river, no loss of life was reported.

28. Three Pashas and several other persons arrested at Cairo on the charge of trafficking in female slaves and being the accomplices of slave-dealers.

— A serious fire broke out in the village of St. Moritz, Engadine, destroying several houses, but none of the hotels were injured. The fire was caused by the upsetting of a spirit lamp in a private house.

— The session of the Icelandic Althing closed after a bill had been passed making the island more autonomous by the abolition of the Icelandic Department at Copenhagen and transferring the administration to a resident governor assisted by three ministers.

29. The election at Leicester, caused by the resignation of both sitting members, resulted in the return of Mr. H. Broadhurst (G.L.), 9,464, and Mr. W. Hazell (G.L.), 7,184 votes; Mr. J. F. L. Robertson (L.U.) polled 6,967.

and Mr. J. Burgess (Lab.), 4,402 votes. Doubts were expressed on the validity of the election.

29. Notice received at Larnaca of the withdrawal of the greater portion of the British garrison in Cyprus, the reason assigned being the want of troops in Malta.

— The close of the yachting contests at various regattas round the kingdom showed that in seventeen contests with the American yacht *Vigilant*, the Prince of Wales' yacht *Britannia* had won twelve times, whilst the *Satanita* had defeated the *Britannia* four times, and had been outraced by her twice.

30. The Abbé Bruneau, who had been a curé in the Mayenne, guillotined at Laval for the murder of his rector, the Abbé Fricot.

— The results of the county cricketing season showed that the championship was won back by Surrey gaining eleven points against Yorkshire ten, and Middlesex three.

— A steam cutter belonging to H.M.S. *Alecto*, whilst reconnoitring off the coast of Bonny, fired upon by the natives. One man was killed and two others seriously wounded.

31. After a drought lasting for nine weeks, gigantic fires broke out in the pine forest district of Wisconsin and Minnesota. It spread with such speed that railway trains were caught and their occupants burnt or stifled, as well as upwards of twenty lumbermen's houses, whilst on Lake Superior vessels were wrecked in the dense fog. The loss of life was estimated at upwards of 500 persons.

— Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tweedmouth contributed 100*l.* each to the Irish Parliamentary Fund. The acceptance of the money was the cause of a serious schism in the Nationalist party.

— During some military manœuvres near Pesth a captive military balloon escaped and rose to an immense height. It was subsequently carried eastwards, and twelve hours afterwards descended safely near a Croatian village on the frontiers of Bosnia.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. A party of officers belonging to the garrison of Athens, numbering 150, armed with revolvers and axes attacked the offices of the *Akropolis*, a leading daily paper, and systematically wrecked them, destroying type, presses, account books, etc. The newspaper had been making very plain comments on the conduct of the Greek officers.

— The clerk to the British Minister at Tangier violently attacked by Moorish fanatics close to the legation.

2. Violent shocks of earthquake felt at Bucharest and other Roumanian towns, where considerable damage was done.

3. The Trade Union Congress, attended by 870 delegates, met at Norwich, and after adopting a report strongly condemning the action of the House of Lords on the Employers' Liability Bill, the president of the year,

Mr. F. J. Delves, delivered his address, in which he insisted that collectivism was the ultimate solution of industrial problems.

3. Formal declaration of war by Japan against China on account of the latter's action in Corea published in the Japanese official gazette.

— A terrible accident occurred near Grange-over-Sands, where a sailing boat from Morecombe was capsized by a gust of wind and twenty-five persons were drowned.

4. An extraordinary robbery of three bags of letters, chiefly registered, committed at the Post Office, St. Martin's le Grand, by a discharged official, who, receiving the bags from the sorter, transferred them to a cab and drove away with them.

— A monument of the Emperor Wilhelm I. unveiled at Königsberg in presence of the German Emperor and Empress.

— H.M.S. *Ringarooma*, employed on a survey, went ashore on the Marquelline reef, off the New Hebrides. For some time she was in a critical position, but after several ineffectual efforts to float her off, she was enabled to reach Noumea.

5. M. Stambouloff, who for some years had been Prime Minister and practically Dictator of Bulgaria, summoned before a magistrate at Sophia to answer a charge of insulting Prince Ferdinand in an interview with the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Nachrichten*. He was ordered to find bail in 1,400*l*.

— A war balloon sent up from Aldershot and attached by a wire cable 200 feet in length struck by lightning, its gas reservoir destroyed, and three sappers severely injured and scorched.

— A stranger who escaped detection succeeded in cashing at Messrs. Glyn, Mills & Co.'s bank a forged draft for 4,800*l*. Two other forgeries, one of a cheque of 830*l*. and the other of circular notes to the extent of 3,000*l*., were also committed on Messrs. Coutts'.

6. The Canadian sealers having claims against the United States under the Paris award intimated their willingness to accept the sum tendered, \$425,000, in full settlement of their demands.

— At the request of the Dieppe authorities the municipal officials of Aubonne (Vaud), Switzerland, opened a cache in the walls of the church, where, according to the inscription, the heart of the French Admiral Duquesne had been placed, his body, as that of a Protestant, having been refused burial in France. The relic was discovered in a silver casket with an inscription proving its authenticity.

— At a state banquet given at Königsberg, the historical capital of north-eastern Prussia, the German Emperor expressed himself in very strong language on the opposition shown to his policy by the nobility of the province.

7. At the final meeting of the Trade Union Congress at Norwich, at the election of the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, on the first ballot Mr. S. Woods, M.P., received 140 votes, Mr. Fenwick, M.P. (existing secretary), 117, and Mr. Tom Mann 105. On the second ballot Mr. Woods received 211 votes and Mr. Fenwick 141 votes.

8. The Duke and Duchess of York visited Birmingham and laid the foundation stone of the new General Hospital.

— H.R.H. the Comte de Paris died at Stowe House near Buckingham.

— The Marquess of Lansdowne and Sir C. Tennant appointed trustees of the National Gallery in succession to Sir A. H. Layard and Viscount Hardinge.

9. A collision took place between the Paris and Cologne express and a luggage train close to Apilly near St. Quentin by which five persons were killed and about thirty others injured.

10. The Duke and Duchess of York visited Liverpool and laid the foundation stone of the new Post Office buildings. Afterwards they were entertained at the Town Hall by the Lord Mayor, and presented with a silver dinner-service, subscribed by the town as a marriage gift.

— The committee appointed to inquire into the revenue and management of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals reported that they should continue to be maintained for the benefit of deserving, aged, maimed and infirm pensioners.

— Fresh forest fires broke out in Northern Minnesota, attacking districts which had previously escaped.

— The insurgent chiefs in Samoa surrendered their arms to the captain of H.M.S. *Curaçoa* and declared their submission to King Malietoa.

11. The autumn meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held at Huddersfield under the presidency of Sir A. Rollit, M.P. Resolutions were passed in favour of a treaty of commerce with Spain, congratulating the Government on its decision to retain Uganda, and advocating certain changes in parliamentary procedure.

— During a cholera epidemic at Lucknow several English soldiers were inoculated with Dr. Haffleine's protective virus, but the proportion of fatal cases differed very slightly from that of non-inoculated patients. It was, however, stated that the vaccine employed had lost much of its supposed efficacy.

— A serious fire broke out in the Californie quarter of Cannes and five miles of forest were reduced to ashes. Great forest fires also took place in the neighbourhood of Bona (Algeria), covering the sky with smoke over an area of seven miles broad and seventy miles in length.

— At the Doncaster Meeting the St. Leger Stakes won by Lord Allington's Throstle, 8 st. 11 lbs. (M. Cannon), a complete outsider, defeating the favourites, Lord Rosebery's Ladas by three-quarters of a length, and Baron Hirsch's Matchbox by two and three-quarter lengths. Eight ran.

— The funeral of the Comte de Paris took place at Weybridge, and was attended by the Duke of York and the members of the Orleans family, and representatives of several reigning houses, as well as by about 1,000 French Royalists.

— A four mile foot-race between F. E. Bacon, the English champion, and J. J. Mullen, the Irish champion, decided at Dublin in favour of Bacon by eight yards. Time, 20 min. 41½ sec.

13. Serious riots broke out at Villa Franca near Pamplona, in connection with the sale of communal lands, which the people resented as an alienation of public property.

— At Vienna a monument erected in St. Stephen's Cathedral to commemorate the deliverance of the city from the Turks in 1683, unveiled in the presence of the Emperor of Austria and a large attendance of State officers.

— In the neighbourhood of Charleston, Missouri, a train blown off the lines by a cyclone, and falling down a steep embankment killed two persons and injured twenty others.

— A great fire occurred in buildings forming part of the Leather Market in Bermondsey and damage to a large amount was done to the premises and their contents.

— A Dutch diamond merchant, invited to call at an office in Hatton Garden, attacked by three men, was chloroformed and robbed of upwards of 2,000*l.* worth of diamonds.

14. The court-martial at Cairo on the persons charged with complicity in slave-dealing returned a verdict of not guilty with regard to two of the Pashas. The Sirdar refused to confirm the finding of the court in their case, but accepted it in the others.

— The International Commission for the delimitation of the Canada-Alaska frontier decided that Mount Elias, 18,023 feet, and Mount Logan, 19,535, were both included in British Territory.

— The Dutch-Indian forces gained a very decided advantage over the Balinsee insurgents in Lombok.

— At Doncaster the Doncaster Cup won by the favourite, Sir R. Waldie Griffiths' Sweet Duchess, 3 yrs., 8 st. 1 lb. (S. Chandley). Eight started.

15. The steamer *Falcon* arrived at St. John's, Newfoundland, bringing back the members of Lieutenant Peary's Polar expedition, with the exception of the leader, who remained in Greenland to continue his explorations.

— At a cycling competition at Herne Hill the Fifty Miles' Championship of the National Cyclists' Union won by J. Green of Newcastle, in 1 hour 56 min. 45½ sec., the fastest time on record.

— The Japanese attacked the Chinese position at Ping-Yang, defended by 20,000 men, and after a long forward engagement, in which neither side gained much advantage, the flank manœuvres of the Japanese were completely successful and the Chinese Army completely routed and scattered, losing four-fifths of its numbers.

16. A striking procession, organised by the painter M. Den Duytse paraded the streets of Brussels. It was made up of cars and emblematical groups representing "Light" and the precious stones.

— A great naval battle took place between the Chinese and Japanese fleets at the mouth of the Yalou River in the Bay of Corea. The Chinese fleet whilst covering the landing of troops was attacked; two Chinese vessels were sunk and two steel cruisers run ashore; one Japanese ship was also sunk and the remainder retreated after the action.

17. The Scotch coal strike, which for some time had been weakly supported, brought to a close in most cases unconditionally, the pickets being withdrawn from nearly all the pits in Lanarkshire.

— A timber yard on the Regent's Canal at Dalston containing a large quantity of timber totally destroyed by fire.

18. The Legislative Assembly of New South Wales by a large majority adopted a motion in favour of female suffrage.

— By an almost unanimous vote the Labour party of Brussels decided to hold aloof from both sections of the Anti-clerical party.

19. The President of the French Republic after attending the fortress manœuvres at Vaujours started on a visit to the Western Departments and was enthusiastically received at Orleans, Châteaudun, etc.

— M. Myre de Vilers left Marseilles on a special mission to Madagascar to present an ultimatum to the Malagasy Government.

— A body of brigands, near Lamia in the province of Phthiotis (Greece), carried off the Public Prosecutor, a judge, and two secretaries, who had been engaged collecting information regarding brigandage. The authorities at once despatched troops for their rescue; a fierce fight ensued and the whole band was exterminated, but not before the two chief officials had been murdered.

20. Lord Rosebery opened at Inverness an exhibition of Highland industries and was afterwards presented with the freedom of the burgh.

— The general elections in Victoria resulted in the crushing defeat of Sir James Paterson's Government, sixty-seven Oppositionists being returned against twenty-eight Ministerialists. Three members of the Cabinet failed to obtain re-election.

— At Cairo Ali Pasha Shereef surrendered to the Sirdar, Sir H. Kitchener, three slave girls who had disappeared and were unable to appear as witnesses at the recent slave-dealing trial.

21. An exhibition of British and colonial products and manufactures opened at Manchester, having for its object to make the Lancashire people better acquainted with the resources of the colonies.

— H.M.S. *Ringarooma*, which had stranded on a reef on the coast of New Caledonia, reached Noumea in safety, and was found to have received very slight injury.

— The trial took place at Dunkirk of nineteen men charged with belonging to a vast association of French and Belgian tobacco smugglers, from whom the French custom house officers had captured 42,000 kilogrammes of tobacco.

22. By a cyclone which swept through portions of Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin, upwards of fifty persons lost their lives, and an immense quantity of property was destroyed.

— The official average price of wheat calculated on the returns of 196 statutory markets in England and Wales was 19s. 8d. per quarter. In nine markets, chiefly in the Eastern counties, the average varied from 18s. 2d. at Kettering, to Ely (Cambridge) 18s. 11d. The maximum local average was 24s. 7d. at Guildford.

— At the Manchester September Meeting a new race, the Prince Edward

Handicap, one mile (2,000 sovs.), won by Col. Norton's Clwyd, 8 yrs., 7 st. 10 lb. (Finlay), defeating the favourite, Baron Hirsch's La Flèche, which finished fourth. Fourteen ran.

23. Archbishop Lord Plunket of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Clogher and Down, consecrated the Protestant Church in Madrid, and afterwards consecrated Señor Cabrera, a Spanish clergyman, first Protestant bishop of that community.

24. At Portland, Oregon, a fire originating in the Pacific Coast Elevator Company's Dock destroyed a large elevator containing half a million bushels of wheat, and spreading to the coal bunkers of the North Pacific Terminal destroyed them together with 200 freight cars, and ultimately reached the Oregon Railway Company's Docks, where 1,500 tons of merchandise were burned on the wharves.

— The fourteenth annual congress of the Sanitary Institute opened at Liverpool, Sir F. S. Powell, M.P., delivering an inaugural address on the improvement of the public health during the last thirty years.

— The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London visited Leicester in state on the invitation of the Master of the Framework Knitters' Company with a view to promoting harmony in the hosiers' trade.

— A thunderstorm accompanied by heavy rain passed over a part of the county of Essex, causing much damage by the sudden rising of the streams round Maldon.

25. Mr. Chamberlain addressed at Leeds a large meeting of the Yorkshire Liberal Unionist Federation.

— The Earl of Cavan created a Knight of St. Patrick in succession to the Marquess of Headfort, deceased.

— Serious reports appeared in different quarters with regard to the illness of the Czar.

— Several thousand Kaffirs, under the chief Mahuzale, assembled with hostile intentions round the town of Lourenzo Marquez, causing the Portuguese to call up all available troops from the surrounding district.

26. At Melbourne, Victoria, the second libel action brought by the chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners against the proprietor of the *Melbourne Age* newspaper closed after lasting eighty-eight days. The jury found for the defendant on all counts except one, and on that gave the plaintiff one farthing damages.

— An Italian named Cornelio convicted at the Paris Assizes of having forged Bank of England notes to the value of 1,600,000*l.*, none of which, however, had been put in circulation.

— At a meeting of the Hackney Vestry the motion to re-open the local Labour Bureau was rejected by a large majority, it having been found that in the preceding year employment for only seven men had been found outside the Board's work at a total cost of 108*l.* 16*s.*

27. The London Chamber of Commerce entertained at dinner Hon. W. L. Wilson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the United States House of Representatives, and author of the Tariff Bill which, as modified by the Senate, had been adopted.



27. A large steamer, the *Dorunda*, homeward bound from Brisbane to Plymouth, wrecked on the Portuguese coast off Peniche about forty miles north of Lisbon. All the passengers and crew were saved.

— Ali Pasha Shereef, charged with offences against the Slavery Law, having admitted his guilt and begged for pardon, the Sirdar decided that it was unnecessary to proceed further with the trial.

— At Newmarket the Jockey Club Stakes, value 11,800*l.*, won by the favourite, Mr. H. M'Calmont's Isinglass, 4 yrs., 10 st. 2 lbs. (T. Loates). Throstle, the winner of the St. Leger, bolted out of the course and took no part in the race. Seven ran.

28. At a conference of the British Miners' Federation held at Edinburgh resolutions were passed recognising the absolute necessity of keeping the Scottish miners on strike until the federation terms had been conceded, promising the Scottish Federation the support of the British Federation.

— The Atlantic record for the western passage again lowered by the Cunard steamship *Lucania*, which performed the voyage in five days eight hours.

— The President of the United States issued a proclamation declaring that he was satisfied that the members of the Mormon Church were living in obedience to the laws, and granting full amnesty and pardon to those convicted of polygamy and deprived of civil rights.

— Mataram, the Balinese stronghold in Lombok, taken by the Dutch with a loss of only twelve killed and forty-nine wounded.

29. At a meeting of the liverymen of the eight city guilds for the purpose of selecting two names to be submitted to the Court of Aldermen from which to elect the Lord Mayor for the ensuing year, an unusual course was adopted, and a poll demanded on behalf of two others in addition to those who had obtained the show of hands.

— Very Rev. G. W. Kitchen, Dean of Winchester, appointed to succeed Dr. Lake (resigned) as Dean of Durham.

— A wholesale arrest of 180 non-commissioned officers made at the Gunners' Technical School at Berlin, who were at once conveyed to Magdeburg to be tried for insubordination.

30. A monument, erected to the poet Shelley by his Italian admirers at Viareggio, where his body was washed ashore in 1822, unveiled by Signor Riccioni in the presence of a large assemblage.

## OCTOBER.

1. Eight Anarchists, on the sole authority of an informer, arrested at Marseilles on the charge of being concerned in a plot to blow up the Italian Consulate.

— The Czar and his family ordered to leave Spala for the Crimea for the winter months.

— The decree of the French Government prohibiting bull fights throughout France met with great opposition at Nimes, Arles, and elsewhere;

twelve departments especially affected decided to protest against its enactment.

2. The poll of the Liveries of London for two candidates to be submitted to the Court of Aldermen resulted in the selection of Sir J. Renals, 1,462, and Alderman Faudel Phillips, 1,860. The other aldermen received votes varying from 18 to 835. Sir J. Renals was subsequently chosen by the Court of Aldermen.

— At the Annual Congress of Amalgamated Railway Servants, the general secretary's report expressed a strong disapproval of any contracting-out clause being introduced into the Employers' Liability Bill.

3. The town of Little Rock, Arkansas, partially destroyed by a cyclone, which in three minutes killed eight persons, inmates of the Prison and Lunatic Asylum, fatally injured several others, wrecked many public buildings, and damaged property valued at 250,000*l*.

— The foreign officials of the Customs service in Pekin and most of the European families left the city for the coast.

4. A Cabinet Council, hastily summoned, and from which four members were absent, met to discuss, as was alleged, the possible dangers to which British subjects in China were exposed.

— The Scotch express, whilst travelling at a high rate of speed between Northallerton and Thirsk, ran into a mineral train, a thick fog prevailing at the time. Amongst the passengers were Lord Tweedmouth and Mr. Arnold Morley on their way to attend the Cabinet Council. None of the passengers were seriously hurt, but the drivers and firemen of the two engines sustained serious injuries and one of the firemen died.

— Very heavy rains followed by destructive floods occurred at various parts of Hungary, the Danube and many of its affluents overflowing their banks and causing great damage.

5. The Duke and Duchess of York visited Leeds to open the new School of Medicine in connection with the Yorkshire College, and to inaugurate its new central hall and library.

— At Kempton Park races the Imperial Stakes of 5,000 sovs. for two-year-olds (one mile) won by Lord Rosebery's Sir Visto, 9 st. (T. Loates), defeating the favourite by a short head. Thirteen ran.

6. The eighty-six officers of the Greek Army charged with the destruction of the offices of the *Akropolis* newspaper at Athens unanimously acquitted, the plea in defence being that for years the paper had used insulting language against the Army.

— At Kempton Park the Duke of York Stakes (2,000 sovs.) won by an outsider, Mr. D. Baird's St. Florian, 8 yrs., 7 st. (W. Pratt). Eighteen ran. At Longchamps the great autumn International race, the Prix du Conseil Municipal, 4,000*l*. (one and a half miles), won by Mr. W. Johnstone's Best Man, 3 yrs., 9 st. 2 lbs. (Webb), defeating the two French favourites. Thirteen ran.

7. A grand demonstration, attended by 10,000 persons, took place in Dublin in memory of Mr. Parnell. The procession walked through crowded streets to Glasnevin Cemetery, but no speeches were made.

8. The Hungarian Chamber of Magnates, by 109 votes to 103, rejected on its first reading the Government Bill providing for the official recognition by the State of the Jewish religion.

— A change for the worse suddenly took place in the condition of the Czar and prayers for his recovery were ordered in all garrison and regimental churches.

— A large meeting of the Parnellite party held in the Rotunda, Dublin, when the president, Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., declared that the hanging up of Home Rule had necessarily resulted in its disappearance from the list of eight Imperial questions.

— Señor Salmeron, a Spanish deputy, who had accepted the invitation of the Portuguese Republicans, expelled from Lisbon by order of the governor and conducted to the frontier.

— A Japanese advance column in Northern Corea drove a small Chinese force out of Wi-Ja and occupied the north bank of the Yalou.

9. The thirty-fourth Church Congress opened at Exeter, the inaugural sermon being preached by the Bishop of London.

— A luggage train during a thick fog ran into a waggon on a level crossing near Chatham, killing seven persons and injuring eight others.

— Sir John Rigby, Q.C., Attorney-General, appointed Lord Justice of Appeal in succession to Lord Davey.

— A violent gale off the south coast of Newfoundland caused the loss of fifty vessels which were driven ashore at St. Pierre. At New York the storm took the form of a cyclone and carried away several houses in its course, involving the loss of several lives.

10. At Newmarket the Czarevitch Stakes won by Sir J. Blundell Maple's Childwick, 4 yrs., 7 st. 9 lbs. (Bradford), an outsider. Twenty-three started.

— Mr. P. Henderson, H.B.M. Consul at Cadiz, committed suicide at the Foreign Office by shooting himself through the head whilst in conversation with one of the principal clerks.

— Señor Castelar, the Spanish Republican leader, received by the Pope and had a long audience of a most cordial nature.

11. Two Social Democrats, elected members of the Strasburg Municipal Council, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, it being at variance with their Republican convictions.

— During practice in Cawsand Bay a Whitehead torpedo, fourteen feet long, escaped from the control of its steering apparatus and got upon the rocks about 300 yards from Cawsand village, where it exploded, but without causing any loss of life.

— At Newmarket the Middle Park Plate won by Mr. Fairie's Speedwell, 8 st. 10 lbs. (F. Pratt). Ten ran.

— A passenger train on the Oregon Overland Railway stopped by two men who, with drawn revolvers, compelled the conductors in charge of the express car to get on the engines, which they started, and then rifled the safe, taking \$1,500, with which they made off.

12. The Manchester Waterworks, supplied from Thirlmere Lake, formally opened by Sir J. Harwood, chairman of the Corporation Committee, in the unavoidable absence of the Prince of Wales.

— The Dewan of Mysore in giving to the Representative Assembly an account of the administration of the State during the past year said since its restoration as a native State in 1881 the income had increased 61 per cent.

— The Japanese being virtually in undisputed possession of Corea the Emperor despatched the Minister of the Interior from Tokio to strengthen the hand of the Minister at Söul in reorganising the country.

— A band of seven masked robbers stopped an express train from Richmond to New York at Acquia Creek, forty-one miles south of Washington, forced open the safe by dynamite and carried off money estimated at from \$80,000 to \$100,000, they then detached the locomotive and steamed away on it.

13. A rising against the Pekin Government, under the leadership of the Kulaohwei secret society, took place about 100 miles from Hankow.

— The hostile Kaffirs attacked Lourenzo Marquez, but were beaten off by a heavy cannonade with the loss of only twelve men on the Portuguese side.

— A proposal to mediate between China and Japan made by Great Britain to other maritime powers—the United States, Russia, and Germany—having failed to obtain their support, abandoned by its authors.

14. The general elections under the new electoral law and with a widely extended franchise took place throughout Belgium, the poll opening at 8 A.M., and closing at 2 P.M., the exercise of the franchise being compulsory. The first ballots resulted in very great losses to the Moderate Liberals, a strengthened position to the Clericals, and large gains to the Socialists.

15. A considerable part of Trinity College, Glenalmond, near Perth, destroyed by a fire which originated in the prefect's common room and rapidly extended to other parts of the building.

— King Alexander of Servia on his way to Berlin cordially received at Buda-Pesth by the Emperor of Austria.

— Informal overtures for peace made by China but rejected summarily by the Japanese Government.

— Seven men whilst crossing Tralee Bay in a boat from Ferrit to Camp drowned by the upsetting of their boat.

— At Amboyn, one of the New Hebrides group, a severe earthquake followed by a volcanic eruption caused widespread destruction of native villages, crops and property.

16. The investigation of the charges of cruelty and immorality against Herr Leitz, the Acting Governor of the Cameroons, made at Berlin by a Court of Discipline. He was acquitted on most of the counts, and sentenced only to removal to another post on reduced pay.

— As a result of the Medical Congress at Buda-Pesth it was decided to attach to the Pasteur Institute an anti-diphtheritic institute at Paris to administer the Roux cure.

17. The polling at Birkenhead resulted in the return of Mr. Elliot Lees (C.) by 6,149 votes to 6,048 recorded for Mr. W. H. Lever (G.).

17. The Emperor of Japan conferred upon the Lord Mayor (Sir G. R. Tyler) the Order of the "Sacred Treasuries."

— King Alexander of Servia arrived at Potsdam, where he was cordially received by the German Emperor and treated with great distinction.

— A serious riot took place at Washington, Ohio, through the endeavours of a mob to lynch a negro who had been convicted of rape and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. The mob attacked the court-house and were not driven back until three had been killed and ten wounded by the troops.

18. The Harveian oration delivered before the Royal College of Physicians by Dr. Lauder Brunton, who discussed some of the modern developments of Harvey's discovery and their relation to the treatment of disease.

— The German Emperor at Berlin presented standards to the New Fourth Battalions of the Army, 132 in number, after their consecration at an imposing military and religious ceremony.

— An official bulletin issued at St. Petersburg announcing a serious change for the worse in the Czar's state. All the members of the Imperial family left for Livadia.

19. Sir R. T. Reid, Q.C., appointed Attorney-General, and Mr. F. Lockwood, Q.C., Solicitor-General, in consequence of the elevation of Sir J. Rigby to the Bench.

— The Archbishop of Canterbury in the presence of a large body of distinguished visitors formally opened the new buildings added to Tonbridge School by the Skinners' Company at a cost of 26,000*l*.

— The Japanese Parliament unanimously passed the War Budget of 150,000,000 yen.

20. The German Emperor received at Potsdam a deputation of the East Prussian Agrarian League to repudiate any idea on the part of the league of systematic opposition to the Crown and Royal family.

-- Two train robberies took place in the United States, one at Gordon, Texas, where the platelayers were forced to take up a portion of the line and \$20,000 were taken from the helpless train; the other at Wagoner, Indian Territory, on a branch of the Kansas and Arkansas Railway, where an empty car was laid across the track and five robbers, having riddled the carriages with shot, plundered the baggage car at leisure.

21. The result of the second ballots throughout Belgium showed that in the new Chamber the Clericals would muster 104 members, the Socialists 29, and the Liberals 19.

22. The Scotch coal strike after having lasted seventeen weeks came completely to an end; the miners in Fife and the Lothians being the last to accept the masters' terms.

— The annual congress of the German Social Democratic party attended by 250 delegates assembled at Frankfort. Simultaneously the Italian Government proclaimed the suppression of Socialist associations throughout the kingdom as the centres of dangerous propaganda.

— Martha Needle, who had poisoned her husband and three children, and afterwards a lodger, and attempted to poison another, hanged at Melbourne, Victoria.

22. At the Zoological Gardens, London, a boa constrictor, nine feet long, swallowed its companion in the same cage, only a foot shorter than itself and weighing fifty pounds.

23. Riots occurred at Pirano in Istria in consequence of a decision of the Government to have the inscriptions in the Court of Justice in both the Slavonian and Italian languages, instead of in Italian only.

— In the Portuguese Cortes the Minister of Marine submitted a bill authorising the Government to contract a loan of 2,666,000*l.*, to be raised in six years, for the construction of warships and dockyards.

— At the Commission of Sewers a recommendation of the Sanitary Committee to apply to Parliament for powers to erect a crematorium at the City of London Cemetery at Ilford was carried by two votes.

— The "Paris Fund" of the Irish Nationalist party, amounting to about 36,000*l.*, which, since Mr. Parnell's death, had been the object of incessant litigation and intrigue, finally released and handed over to Mr. Justin McCarthy, M.P.

24. A conference of Eastern Patriarchs to consider the reunion of the Eastern Churches with the Church of Rome opened at the Vatican under the presidency of the Pope. Mgr. Jussef, Catholic Patriarch of the Melchites from Damascus, and Behuam Beni, Syrian Patriarch from Mardin, attended. Of the five others the Maronite Patriarch was too advanced in age, the Chaldean patriarchate was vacant, and the Armenian Patriarch dealt in writing with the whole question.

— A severe gale from the west and south-west caused several shipping casualties, involving loss of life, in the English, Bristol and St. George's Channels.

— At Newmarket the Cambridgeshire Stakes won by a complete outsider, Mr. E. Hobson's Indian Queen, 3 yrs., 6 st. 2 lbs. (W. Croft), the lightest weight, defeating the favourite, M. Abeille's Callistrate, 4 yrs., 8 st. 11 lbs., who finished third by six lengths. Eighteen started.

25. Lord Rosebery was the principal guest at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield, and in the course of his speech on foreign policy expressed his conviction that the "little England" party was dead.

— The special British mission to Morocco, headed by the minister, arrived at Fez and was cordially received by the population.

— A boiler explosion took place on board the French cruiser *Aréthuse* by which six men were killed and twenty injured. The accident occurred whilst some old steam-pipes were being tested.

— The Russian Finance Minister appealed to the members of the St. Petersburg, Odessa, and other Bourses of the empire to abstain from speculations in gold.

— The Japanese under cover of darkness having effected a lodgment on the north bank of the Yalou crossed the river in force and routed a considerable body of Chinese, and on the following day took possession of the stronghold of Kin-Lien-Tchong, which had been precipitately evacuated by the Chinese.

26. Count von Caprivi, Chancellor of the German Empire, and Count

Eulenberg, President of the Prussian Ministry, who were known to advocate opposite policies in internal matters, tendered their resignations, which were accepted by the Emperor.

26. A special meeting of the London County Council held to consider the report of the Licensing Committee, of which the recommendations with respect to the Empire Theatre and other places of amusement were adopted.

— The French Socialist Deputies sent a congratulatory address to the Socialist Representatives in the new Belgian Parliament.

27. At Bradford the Earl of Rosebery addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting, at which he declared that the next elections would be fought on the question of the House of Lords, and that the Government would submit to the House of Commons a resolution which practically would demand a revision of the Constitution, recognising that House as the predominant partner.

— Prince Hohenlohe, Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, appointed Chancellor of the German Empire and President of the Prussian Ministry, and his secretary, Herr von Köller, Minister of the Interior in succession to Count Eulenberg.

— A violent earthquake in the province of San Juan (Argentina) destroyed the capital and did damage in several other towns, causing the death of more than 100 persons.

28. The Union steamship *Wairarapa* from Sydney to Auckland wrecked on the Great Barrier Island off the northern coast of New Zealand and seventy-six passengers and twenty-seven of the crew drowned.

29. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. J. Morley, received a deputation from the Dublin Corporation urging the amnesty of Irish political prisoners. He declined to commit the Government to any promise of releasing the dynamitards.

— The vacant riband of the Order of the Garter conferred upon the Marquess of Lansdowne.

— M. Franz Kossuth, son of Louis Kossuth, on arriving from Italy to take up his residence at Buda-Pesth met with an enthusiastic reception, which took the form of a national demonstration.

— The British mission to the Court of Fez publicly received with great honour by the new Sultan of Morocco.

30. The Marquess of Salisbury addressed a large Unionist meeting at the Empire Palace Theatre, Edinburgh, and replied to Lord Rosebery's attack on the House of Lords.

— Lord Rosebery visited Bristol to receive the freedom of the city and afterwards unveiled a statue of Edmund Burke, the gift of Sir W. H. Wills.

— The Spanish Cabinet under Señor Sagasta, unable to agree upon certain tariff questions, resigned office. After a few days' interval the Cabinet was reconstructed under his premiership.

31. The Prince and Princess of Wales suddenly left London for Livadia, where they had been summoned in all haste by the Czarina.

— A lunatic asylum at Jonköping (Sweden) caught fire whilst a gale was blowing and in a short time the building was in flames and fifteen of the patients were burned to death.

31. Disastrous floods occurred in the north-east districts of France and on the Belgian frontier, putting a stop to many factories, and throwing upwards of 100,000 hands out of employment.

— The French Cabinet announced its intention to prosecute Captain Albert Dreyfus of the 14th Regiment of Artillery, attached to the general staff, on a charge of disclosing to a foreign Government secret War Office documents.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The Czar Alexander III. died at Livadia in the Crimea after a comparatively short illness.

— The municipal elections throughout England and Wales showed that in those places where the seats were contested on political grounds the Conservatives gained sixty-nine, the Gladstonian Liberals twenty-eight, the Labour party fifteen, the Liberal Unionists eight, and the Socialists three.

— Herr von Heydr, Prussian Minister of Agriculture, tendered his resignation, which was accepted by the Emperor.

2. The accession of Nicholas II. to the throne of all the Russias publicly announced at St. Petersburg, and the new Czar issued a manifesto to his people.

— The railway from Tunis to Biserta, constructed by the French, opened with great rejoicings.

3. Prince Kung, having invited the representatives of all the foreign powers to Tsung-li-Yamin, avowed the impotence of China to withstand the Japanese attack and appealed to the powers to intervene.

— The St. Petersburg Official Gazette published a manifesto by the Czar, Nicholas II., announcing that the Princess Alix of Hesse, the bride of his choice, had accepted the orthodox faith under the name of Alexandra, and would be henceforth known as the Grand Duchess Alexandra Feodorovna.

— The Supreme Court of Appeal at Buenos Ayres unanimously confirmed the order for the extradition of Jabez Spencer Balfour made by the judge at Salta.

— A large body of Waziri tribesmen made an attack on the camp of Colonel Turner, a British Commissioner, employed on delimiting the Afghan frontier. After a sharp fight the Waziris were driven back, but the British losses included three officers killed and five wounded, besides forty-four men killed and thirty-two wounded.

4. A bomb exploded in the doorway of the house in Tilney Street, May Fair, occupied by Hon. Reginald Brett; great damage was done to the house, but no person was injured.

5. To the ultimatum presented by the French envoy, M. le Myre de Vilers, the Hova Government replied that Madagascar would only submit to force.

— A body of insurgents under Pierola landed at Pisco, 100 miles south of Callao.

— Incendiary fires occurred almost simultaneously in the cotton cargoes of seven steamships loading in different parts of the harbour of Savannah.



6. The Duke of Devonshire as president of Owens College, Manchester, formally opened the additions made to the Medical Schools.

— The State and Congressional elections throughout the United States resulted in a sweeping victory for the Republicans, who carried all before them in the Northern, and gained several important victories in the Border States, and some also in the "Solid" South.

7. Lord Salisbury addressed a crowded meeting at Queen's Hall, Langham Place, under the auspices of the metropolitan division of the National Conservative Union, and in the course of his speech expressed his strong objection to the establishment of "mammoth municipality" in London.

— The Chinese strongholds of King-Chou and Talienwan occupied by the Japanese, the Chinese troops offering scarcely any resistance.

8. At a council of Ministers held at Cairo, the Khedive presiding, a proposal for the construction of a Nile reservoir at Assouan on a level to save the Philæ temples was approved.

— By the fall of a flooring in a mill at Meltham, near Huddersfield, thirty people were precipitated to the bottom of a gasometer; one man was killed and several seriously injured.

9. Sir Joseph Renals formally installed as Lord Mayor of London, sworn in before the judges. In the evening Lord Rosebery and other Cabinet ministers attended the Guildhall banquet.

— Copenhagen declared open as a free port.

— A serious fire broke out in the warehouses of a large firm of printers and account-book makers in the Old Bailey, and it was only after some hours and great destruction of property that the fire was got under.

10. A carriage horse, while passing through Cannon Street, City, struck down and died in a few minutes, the coachman who jumped down to see what was happening receiving also an electric shock. Almost simultaneously two violent explosions occurred at junction boxes of the Electric Lighting Company, injuring the footway kerb and adjoining premises. The explosions were attributed to the ignition of escaped gas by the electric current.

— A fire which broke out early in the morning in the Minories completely gutted eight warehouses and attacked eleven others, and many hours elapsed before the fire could be subdued. Simultaneously a large printing establishment in Clerkenwell Road was almost completely destroyed by fire.

11. The body of the Czar, Alexander III., arrived in Moscow and was conveyed to the Archangel Church of the Kremlin amid solemn ceremonies and escorted by an immense procession.

12. A large bomb, which, on investigation, proved to be empty, discovered late in the evening at the Royal Courts of Justice.

— The French Government decided to establish a new military port at Port-en-Bettin about midway between Havre and Cherbourg.

— A collection of portraits, manuscripts, and relics relating to Edward Gibbon, the historian, were brought together at the British Museum in connection with the centenary of his death.

12. A violent gale from the south-west, lasting for two days, accompanied by torrents of rain, passed over the southern counties of England and Ireland, Belgium and North Germany, causing serious floods and much destruction of life and property. At Dover a portion of the promenade pier was washed away by the sea and numerous wrecks occurred round the coast.

13. Lady Wharncliffe, at Alpha Road, St. John's Wood, in presence of a large company cut the first sod of the new line in connection with the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway.

— The annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations held at Newcastle-on-Tyne under the presidency of Mr. J. Rankin, M.P.

— In the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained the attitude of the Government towards Madagascar, and subsequently obtained a credit of 2,800,000*l.* for the expense of an expedition for which 15,000 soldiers would be required.

14. The re-elections in Newfoundland, caused by the unseating of the majority of the members for bribery, resulted in the return of candidates hostile to the Ministry—which had come into office on the scandals being first discovered—the Whiteway party having twenty-one, whilst the Ministerialists numbered only thirteen adherents.

— The Conference summoned by the Pope, to promote the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, resulted in nothing beyond vague aspirations.

— Lord Rosebery at Glasgow and Mr. Balfour at Sunderland addressed crowded and enthusiastic supporters of their respective opinions—both dealing with the legislation of the coming session.

15. The silver wedding of King Charles and Queen Elizabeth of Roumania celebrated throughout the kingdom with much popular rejoicing.

— The Portuguese Foreign Ministrate announced to the Cortes that the conditions of the arbitration of the Manicaland frontier had been settled with Great Britain, and that Signor Vigliani of the Italian Senate had been chosen arbitrator.

16. Floods which had scarcely been exceeded in the century prevailed in various parts of England. The Thames at Windsor was 7 feet above its normal level; the country round Reading was submerged 6 feet; railway communication with Oxford was cut off. The Avon at Bath rose 9 feet above its level, carrying away Grosvenor Bridge, and putting the whole of the lower part of the city under water. The whole of the South-west and South Wales districts suffered especially. Windsor was left in complete darkness, the furnaces of the gas company being flooded; and the Eton boys were sent home for ten days, their playing ground being under water.

— An open split occurred between the North and South German Socialists, which was avoided at the Frankfort Congress, Herr Bebel, supported by the Berlin party, wishing to expel Herr von Grillenberger and Herr von Villonar, of Munich, from the control of the party. Simultaneously five of the French Socialist Deputies seceded from their party, denouncing its constitution in scathing terms.

16. An earthquake of unusual violence occurred in Calabria and Eastern Sicily, the towns of Reggio and Messina being seriously damaged, and upwards of 400 lives lost.

17. The election for Forfarshire, consequent on the elevation of Sir John Rigby (G.L.) to the bench, resulted in the return of Hon. C. M. Ramsay (C.), who polled 5,147 votes against 4,857 given to Mr. H. Robson (G.L.).

— A fire which broke out in the Lace Market at Nottingham destroyed warehouses and factories estimated with their contents at 150,000*l*.

— Serious fighting occurred in Lombok, where the Dutch troops attacked Tjakra Negara, the stronghold of the Balinese, and after several hours' desperate fighting, the Dutch, having 29 killed and 112 wounded, established themselves in front of the royal palace. Two days later the palace was carried by storm, and the Rajah and his son, having been wounded, surrendered, and further resistance ceased.

19. After lying in state for six days in the fortress Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, at St. Petersburg, the last funeral rites were performed, and the Czar, Alexander III., was interred in the imperial vault in the presence of representatives of all the imperial and royal families, and of the diplomatic and official representatives of Russia and foreign powers. Memorial services were held simultaneously at Windsor, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, which were attended by the rulers of the respective countries.

— The opening debates of the new Belgian Parliament, which assembled without any King's Speech being read, were marked by several unseemly quarrels between the Clerical and Socialist deputies.

20. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress waited upon Lord Rosebery to urge the Government to make provision for the payment of members and of returning officers' expenses.

— Father Rossignoli, who had been captured by the Mahdi in 1883, and had remained at Omdurman, arrived at Assouan.

— At Chicago, a steel chimney, 68 feet high, dislodged from the University Club and blown on to the roof of an adjoining building, shattering a large amount of glass and woodwork, and seriously injuring 125 persons.

21. The Anarchist, Salvador Franch, who threw the bombs in the Liceo Theatre, executed by the garrotte at Barcelona.

— Further earthquake shocks felt at Reggio, Bagnara and Palmi, on the mainland of Calabria, and at Messina, etc.

— The liquidation of the Baring estate, having lasted about four years, finally closed by the transfer of the remaining securities, valued at about 2,000,000*l*., to a syndicate by the Bank of England, and the guarantors being freed from further responsibility.

— After several attacks, in which the fighting was severe and the losses on both sides very great, Port Arthur was captured by the Japanese land forces, the fleet taking no part in the engagement.

22. The polling in the eleven School Board Divisions of London carried on with great activity, and resulted in the return of 24 Moderates and 26 Progressives, the former thus gaining seven seats, and in nearly all the divisions heading the poll.

23. The marriage contract between the Czar, Nicholas II., and the Grand Duchess Alexandra Feodorovna (Princess Alix of Hesse), signed at St. Petersburg.

— The Mayor of Athens deposed by royal decree as being incompetent, great irregularities having been discovered in the city finances.

— The Goldsmiths' Company made a grant of 1,000*l.* for prosecuting research in connection with the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria.

— The German Government invited to send an architect to advise on the measures necessary for the preservation of the Parthenon, seriously shaken by recent earthquake shocks.

24. Lord Rosebery opened the Bishopsgate Institute, mainly due to the initiative of the rector of the parish, Rev. W. Rogers, whose seventy-fifth birthday was celebrated on the same occasion, and a handsome testimonial presented to him by the Prime Minister on behalf of the other subscribers.

— The French Chamber, after three days' debate, decided by 390 to 112 to pass to the discussion of the Madagascar Expedition expenses.

— The Japanese Government intimated its consent to receive peace proposals from China through the United States ministers in Tokio and Peking.

— An agreement signed at the Foreign Office, London, with Mr. C. J. Rhodes representing the British South African Company, by which the latter undertook the administration of the territory in the British sphere north of the Zambesi, known as British Central Africa.

26. The Czar, Nicholas II., married in the private chapel of the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg to the Princess Alix of Hesse, the national mourning being suspended for the day.

— The Queen gave a banquet at Windsor in celebration of the marriage and nominated the Czar Honorary Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Scots Greys.

— A general strike of journeymen bakers took place at Amsterdam, and notwithstanding the efforts of the masters most of the shops were closed.

— The final results of the Norwegian general elections showed that the new Storting would be composed of fifty-five members of the Right (Conservatives) and fifty-nine of the Left (Liberals).

27. The north of Italy visited by a succession of severe earthquakes, which were felt at Bologna, Pavia, Brescia, Verona, Mantua and as far north as Domo-Dossola, and at Trieste in the Tyrol.

— The Czar on the occasion of his marriage issued a manifesto granting important alleviation of pains, penalties, fines, debts, and arrears of taxes to the peasantry, pardon for the Polish rebels of 1863, mitigation of punishment to Siberian exiles, and a reduction by one-third of the terms of imprisonment to all criminals.

28. By a landslide, due to the recent rains, the Corinth Canal was blocked for navigation for three weeks.

— The Secretary of the United States Navy applied to Congress for the construction of three battleships of 10,000 tons each and twelve torpedo boats at a cost of about \$14,000,000.

28. The publication in the official Gazette of new rules for the maintenance of order in the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies gave rise to violent discussion when the Chamber met, the leader of the Opposition refusing to submit to them. After many noisy scenes the sitting was adjourned and subsequently the session was temporarily deferred.

29. At Tacoma (Washington Ter.), U.S.A., a loud roaring as that of a tidal wave was followed by the sudden disappearance of 600 feet of the docks, and the subsidence of the surrounding ground to the extent of six to twelve inches. The cattle-pens and offices of the Northern Pacific Railway collapsed and some buildings caught fire.

— Telephonic communication opened between Berlin and Vienna, the distance being 410 miles.

— A political crisis arose in Queensland through the refusal of the Government to take action with regard to a proposal to increase the remuneration of members of Parliament.

30. At the anniversary of the Royal Society the Copley Medal was awarded to Dr. Edward Frankland for his services to theoretical and applied chemistry; the Romford Medal to Professor Dewar for his researches at very high and very low temperatures; the Davy Medal to Professor P. T. Clive, Professor of Chemistry at Upsala; the Darwin Medal to Professor T. H. Huxley; and Royal Medals to Professor J. J. Thomson for mathematical studies and to Professor Victor Horsley for his researches in physiology and pathology.

— The Austro-Hungarian Ministry declined to appoint to the Chair of Philosophy at the Vienna University Professor Brentano, who had been selected by the faculty, but had renounced his orders on the declaration of Papal infallibility.

## DECEMBER.

1. In the Greek Chamber, after a long and stormy debate, M. Tricoupis obtained a majority of 99 to 76 votes in support of the ministerial financial policy.

— The Viceroy of India held a grand durbar at Lahore, which was attended by nearly all the princes and chiefs of the Punjab.

3. The Armenian colony at Athens submitted a memorandum to the six Great Powers protesting against the outrages committed at Sasun, for which a body of regular troops, acting under orders from Turkish officials, were responsible.

— Congress opened at Washington with reading President Cleveland's message, which dealt chiefly with fiscal questions. The Secretary of the Treasury reported a deficit of nearly \$70,000,000 on the past year and anticipated a further deficit of \$20,000,000 for the current year.

— The German Emperor formally opened a high level bridge over the North German Canal at Levensau, near Kiel. The bridge was constructed so as to allow ships of the largest size to pass beneath it.

4. The nominations for District and Parish Councils made throughout the country, and for Vestries and Boards of Guardians in London. Elections

took place in 7,142 parishes, in 4,011 of which the councillors were elected without poll.

4. Rev. Prebendary Stephens, Rector of Woolbeding, Sussex, appointed Dean of Winchester.

— The King of Italy on his way to open the session of the Italian Parliament coldly received by the crowds and the speech from the throne listened to by the deputies with marked indifference.

5. The German Emperor formally opened the session of the Reichstag, which afterwards assembled for the first time in the new Parliament House, of which the first stone had been laid by the Emperor William in 1884. The cost of the new building was about 1,500,000*l.*, of which nearly the whole was provided out of the French war indemnity.

— The Japanese commander-in-chief, Marshal Tamagata, to whom the credit of the campaign was mainly due, was invalidated and forced to return home, his health having broken down under the strain put upon it.

— An action arising out of the Ardlamont case brought by Major Hamborough against the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York to recover the value of two policies of 10,000*l.* each on the life of his son, Cecil Hamborough.

6. At the first meeting of the new London School Board, Lord George Hamilton, M.P., put forward by the Moderates, not a member of the Board, elected chairman by 29 to 26 votes given to Rev. T. W. Sharpe, C.B., the candidate of the Progressives.

— In both the Reichsrath and the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, the Socialist members provoked disturbances by their hostile attitude towards royalty.

— The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York reached London on their return from Russia, and were warmly received by a large crowd which had assembled to greet them.

— M. Henri Houssaye, a writer upon ancient history and Greek literature, elected member of the French Academy in succession to M. le Comte de Lisle. M. Zola, who was also a candidate, obtained no votes.

7. The election for the Brigg division of Lincolnshire, caused by the retirement of Mr. W. D. Waddy, Q.C. (G.L.), resulted in the return of Mr. J. M. Richardson (C.), polling 4,377 votes against 4,300 given to Mr. H. Reckitt (G.L.).

— General Gourko, the Governor of Warsaw, resigned in consequence of having received orders from the Czar not to interfere in the affairs of the Catholic clergy.

— The Japanese President at the Court of Seoul, having discovered a plot among the Corean ministers to obstruct the Japanese plans of reform for the country, called upon the King to inform him that unless the conspirators were punished, no assistance would be given by the Japanese to suppress the Tong Kak rebellion.

8. A Japanese squadron of sixteen ships appeared off Shan-hai-Kiran, a fortified city at the termination of the Great Wall of China, and about 200 miles distant from Pekin.

8. The Naval Court of Inquiry into the stranding of H.M.S. *Ringarooma* on one of the New Hebrides group found the captain and two lieutenants guilty of negligence, and ordered one of the latter to be dismissed the ship, but praised the captain for his subsequent efforts to save it.

9. M. Vitu, French Minister of Agriculture, unveiled at Montpellier a statue of M. Planchon, "the conqueror of the phylloxera," who hit on the idea of introducing American vines into the French vineyards, which resisted the disease.

10. A financial crisis suddenly developed in Newfoundland, the Commercial Bank first suspending payment, which led to a run on the Union Bank, and finally on the Government Savings Bank, both of which were compelled to refuse payment to depositors. Several commercial firms were similarly involved in the panic, and as there was little specie in circulation, and the notes had become valueless, all business except by barter was stopped.

— Dr. Wekerle, the Hungarian Premier, announced that the three ecclesiastical bills, of which the principal recognised civil marriage, had received the assent of the Emperor.

11. A French force of 700 men arrived at Tamatave from Réunion, the necessary votes having been finally passed by the Chambers in Paris on the previous day.

— Prince Hohenlohe delivered in the Reichstag his inaugural speech as Chancellor of the Empire in support of an active colonial policy and an increased navy.

— Serious riots took place at Belize, British Honduras, in consequence of the refusal of the demand of the mahogany and logwood cutters for higher wages. The dispute arose out of the substitution of the United States dollar for the old currency.

12. The Annual Football Match (Rugby rules) between the two Universities played at Queen's Club Grounds, resulting in a tie of one goal each.

— The Greek Chamber at Athens, by 74 to 69 votes, passed a resolution in favour of the detention and destruction of the currant crop, as a means of improving the price and saving the traders from ruin, but the bill founded thereon was subsequently rejected by 63 to 45 votes.

— Prince Adolphus of Teck married at Eaton Hall to Lady Margaret Grosvenor, daughter of the Duke of Westminster, in the presence of a large company, including the Duke and Duchess of York, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, etc.

— Sir John Thompson, the Canadian Premier, died suddenly at Windsor Castle immediately after having been sworn a member of the Privy Council.

13. The Standing Orders Committee of the German Reichstag, by nine votes to four, rejected the request of the Government for permission to prosecute for *lèse-majesté* certain Socialist members who refused to join in the cheers for the Emperor at the opening sitting. This decision was afterwards rejected by 168 to 58 votes by the Reichstag itself.

— Slight shock of earthquake felt at Cape Town, and throughout the south-western districts of Cape Colony.

13. The National Agricultural Union held a meeting in St. James's Hall, London, under the presidency of the Earl of Winchilsea, and after much discussion adopted a resolution in favour of the formation of an agricultural party in the House of Commons, pledged to reforms without regard to party.

14. In the United States Court at Chicago, Eugene Debs, the leader of the railway strike in the early part of the year, sentenced to six months' imprisonment for contempt of Court.

— In the Spanish Cortes a resolution for the removal of the duty on wool having been carried against the Government, the Minister of Finance, Señor Salvador, at once announced his intention of retiring, which led to a great uproar.

— After a debate lasting five days the Danish Folkething, by 52 votes to 43, adopted a proposal, made by the Moderator and endorsed by the majority of the committee, creating twelve new constituencies. The President of the Chamber, M. Høgsbro, holding the bill to be unconstitutional, resigned.

15. The election of Vestrymen and Poor Law Guardians took place throughout the Metropolitan District, the successes being generally in favour of the Moderates.

— The funeral of M. de Lesseps took place at the cemetery of Père La Chaise, attracting but slight notice from the general population.

— The papers connected with the Banca Romana scandal handed by Signor Giolitti to the President of the Chamber published, and at once denounced by Signor Crispi as lies and forgeries. In consequence of the violent feeling displayed in the Chamber the King consented to the prorogation of Parliament.

17. The Indian Finance Minister, Mr. Westland, laid before the Legislative Council bills imposing an import duty of 5 per cent. on cotton, yarns, and fabrics, and a countervailing excise duty.

— A boiler, at the works of the Henry Rifle Barrel and Small Arms Company, Eagle Wharf Road, Islington, exploded during the workmen's dinner hour, shattering all the adjoining buildings and causing the death of two persons besides injuring twelve others.

— A quorum of members not being in attendance in the German Reichstag for the discussion of the Government anti-revolutionary measures, the House adjourned for three weeks.

18. In the French Chamber of Deputies M. Brisson, the Radical candidate, was elected President by 249 votes against 218 recorded for M. Méline, the Protectionist leader.

— An Imperial decree ordered the arrest of the Civil Commandant and four other generals, who commanded at Port Arthur, Admiral Ting having been already arrested for failing to defend the dockyard.

— General Gourko relieved of his duties as Governor-General of Warsaw.

— A strike, supported by several thousand workmen, declared by the diamond cutters of Amsterdam against the masters for permitting men to work at less rates than those fixed at the close of the previous dispute.



19. The central block of Winchester Barracks, a building originally designed by Sir C. Wren as a palace for Charles II., almost entirely destroyed by fire.

— The first-class line of battle-ship *Magnificent*, 14,900 tons displacement, the first of seven similar ships, floated out of Chatham dockyard, having been only one year in building.

— The Canadian Ministry reconstituted under the premiership of Mr. Mackenzie Bowell.

— A violent shock of earthquake felt at Oravicza, South Hungary, by which many houses were wrecked and serious damage done.

20. At Sydney the cricket match between the United Australians and Mr. Stoddart's eleven, lasting six days, ended in the defeat of the Colonials by ten runs. Scores: Australians, first innings 586, second innings 166; England, first innings 325, second innings 437 runs.

— An obstinate engagement between the Chinese and Japanese took place at Kungwasai on the road to Mukden. The Japanese although they ultimately forced the Chinese to retire lost upwards of 500 men.

21. The Dublin mail-packet *Munster*, carrying upwards of 200 passengers, run into by a collier and forced to return to Holyhead, one of her paddle-wheels having been rendered useless.

— Mr. F. York Powell, M.A., Student of Christ Church, appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford.

— One of the most violent gales that had ever occurred in England broke over the Northern and Midland counties, causing enormous destruction of shipping round the coasts and of buildings inland. Tramcars were overturned by the wind, trains stopped and large trees uprooted. Upwards of 100 lives were lost by shipwreck and falling buildings.

22. A frightful accident occurred on the London and North-Western Railway at Chelford near Crewe, an express train being thrown off the line by a goods' waggon, which had been blown on to the up-line. The carriages in the middle of the train were completely wrecked and fourteen persons were killed and upwards of sixty seriously injured.

— Captain Dreyfus, a French officer, after a protracted trial by court-martial with closed doors, found guilty of having procured for a foreign power documents connected with the national defence. He was sentenced to military degradation and perpetual imprisonment beyond the seas.

— After much negotiation the Porte agreed to the instructions given to the British, French, and Russian delegates on the commission appointed to inquire into the Armenian atrocities.

24. The Emperor of Austria accepted the resignation of the Hungarian Cabinet, of which Dr. Wekerle was President, who decided to resign, notwithstanding his majority in the Chamber, because he was conscious of not possessing the entire confidence of the sovereign.

— The first Indian Medical Congress opened at Calcutta by the Viceroy in presence of a large number of officials and natives.

— An understanding arrived at between the Berlin breweries and the

Socialists for the repeal of the boycott which had been in force for seven months, each side making important concessions.

25. Serious collisions took place in Georgia and Alabama between the whites and the negroes, and several lives were lost on both sides.

— The torpedo-destroyer *Lynx* while on her way from Birkenhead to Devonport struck on the rocks near Land's End and sustained severe damage.

26. The Indian National Congress attended by 1,850 delegates met at Madras, and Mr. Webb, M.P. for West Waterford, elected President for the year.

— Influenza, in an epidemic form, reported from various parts of Southern Russia.

— A captain of the New York police, convicted of having received bribes and levied blackmail, sentenced to three and three-quarter years' imprisonment in addition to \$1,000 fine.

27. The manager and four directors of the Commercial Bank of Newfoundland arrested on a charge of having submitted a fraudulent statement of accounts to the shareholders.

28. The Chinese Commissioners appointed to negotiate terms of peace with Japan left Tientsin.

— A strong north-westerly gale, increasing in violence through the night, broke over the Western counties of England, causing considerable damage along the coast. At Holyhead one large ship was wrecked and twenty-six lives lost, and on the West Coast of Ireland many catastrophes occurred.

— At a congress of German miners, held at Essen, resolutions in favour of an eight hours' day, and for uniform laws and regulations for all German districts, adopted after some debate.

— Severe cold reported from various parts of the United States. In Florida the temperature was lower than had been known for sixty years, and the damage to the orange groves was estimated at \$8,000,000.

29. Mr. Gladstone celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday at Hawarden, and was the recipient of numerous messages from his friends and admirers. He received also a deputation of members of the National Church of Armenia in London and Paris, and in reply to an address, spoke in very strong terms of the tyranny of the Turks.

— The French Cabinet suddenly decided to recall M. de Lanessan, Governor-General of Indo-China, in consequence of his relations with certain newspapers. M. A. Rousseau was appointed to succeed him.

30. Two persons severely injured by the explosion in the Euston Road, caused by an electric spark igniting gas which had accumulated in an electric wire-box.

31. Perth Parish Church, forming the central portion of the old historic edifice, St. John's Cathedral, seriously damaged by a fire arising from the overheating of flues.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1894.

### LITERATURE.

FICTION apart, the largest proportion of literature published during 1894 is devoted to history. Foremost among the historical achievements of the year must be ranked the first volume of Mr. S. R. Gardiner's **History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660** (Longmans). It is characterised by the same deep and comprehensive research, keenness of insight into the remotest causes of great events, sympathetic appreciation of motives and aims of the different actors in the civil struggle, the same illumination of obscure points by the aid of side-lights drawn from contemporary testimony, which distinguish the preceding volumes of English history that form the monumental life work of the author. The present volume deals with three years, 1649-51, with the foundation of the English Republic and the wars of Cromwell in Ireland and Scotland. Mr. Gardiner supplements his study of documents by an equally minute study of topography, and this combination constitutes the special excellence of his narratives of military affairs. Cromwell's work of construction commenced after the execution of Charles I., and in the examination of the events which moulded the Republican form of Government, the author gives a vivid portrait of Cromwell as a man of no considerable foresight, but dowered with a quick instinctive grasp of the immediate situation, with unflagging energy of purpose. Mr. Gardiner shows how the military despotism that was essential to the existence of the Commonwealth became the element of its destruction by reason of the breach that it brought about between the Army and the Long Parliament. The design of this history is on a broad, noble scale; the execution is methodical and scrupulous, the style pure, simple, vigorous, and precise.

In **The History of the Philosophy of History** (Blackwood) Professor Robert Flint, of Edinburgh University, traces "the course of human thought in its endeavour to explain human history, or, in other words, to give an account of the rise and progress of reflection and speculation on the development of humanity." Professor Flint, in this very erudite work, holds that the science of history and the philosophy of history are not mere science and mere philosophy, but are interdependent. "The object of science is to ascertain the facts by the use of judicious criticism and a competent

acquaintance with the laws of evidence ; that of philosophy to ascertain the causes, trace the consequences, and hence to draw inferences which may extend to the domain of thought and prove conducive to the advancement of humanity." Little attention was given to the philosophy of history until the beginning of the last century ; Bodin was the first to write upon the subject, Bossuet might have given valuable contributions had it not been for his purely theological aim ; thereafter, in the field of study, came Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire—who realised that the aim of history proper is to refer the causes of events to those general laws which govern opinions and men—and Rousseau, who defined very clearly the difference between equality and liberty. The two French writers who exercised a great influence on European thought are Chateaubriand, and Madame de Staël who, in Professor Flint's opinion, has an unusually firm grasp of the laws upon which the stability and achievement of societies depend. Thierry has "almost perfected historiography as a literary art." With regard to the future, Professor Flint predicts that because the more democratic democracy becomes the greater the danger of a possible intervention of a military despotism ; that danger, therefore, will come to pass when the strife between capital and labour reaches its climax.

The condition of the English Navy has been an absorbing interest during the year. The appearance has been very *à propos* of **The British Fleet: The Growth, Achievements, and Duties of the Navy of the Empire**, by Commander Charles N. Robinson, R.A. (Bell & Sons). This handsome volume is the result of the first effort made to write a popular history of the Navy from its first growth to the present day. The author touches upon every department of the service. While pointing out the importance to an insular State of an adequate sea force, he shows that the most important function of the Navy is to render warfare impossible, to "hold the sea" by means of a "silent, overpowering pressure." The volume contains about 150 reproductions of paintings, prints and drawings illustrative of battles, ships, persons, customs, and social life in the Navy. Three volumes of **Papers and Addresses** by Lord Brassey have been issued by Messrs. Longmans. Two volumes deal with naval and maritime affairs from 1872-1898, and include almost every important subject connected with the English fleet and mercantile marine, and questions relating to the defence of the empire ; the editor is Captain S. Eardley-Wilmot, R.N. The third volume contains papers and addresses on work and wages, 1869-1898, edited by T. Potter, with an introduction by George Howell, M.P. It includes papers on trade unions, the depression of trade, the comparative efficiency of English and foreign labour, agriculture in England and the United States, etc.

In accordance with the principle established by the modern school of historians that the study of history should consist in the careful examination and appreciation of documents, much valuable work has been accomplished. For instance, **The Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1307-1313**, and **The Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1313-1318** (Stationery Office), are the latest additions to the two valuable series of Calendars that deal with the reign of Edward II. Both volumes are furnished with an invaluable index ; they will be of special value to the topographer and genealogist. Mr. F. Darwin Smith is the first English writer who has thought it worth while to write the story of **The Life and Times of James I., the Conqueror, the King of**

**Aragon, etc.** (Clarendon Press), a man whose influence was great on Edward I. of England. In addition to the remarkable interest of James's personality, the interior history of his kingdom, of its system and laws, throws many curious side-lights on the political economy of France and England at this time. The posthumous work of Mrs. Hope, **The First Divorce of Henry VIII., as told in the State Papers**, is edited, with notes and a succinct introduction, by F. A. Gasquet, D.D. (Kegan Paul). Facts concerning this important historical event, which worked so marked an influence upon the beginning of the English Reformation, have only recently come to light in the researches carried on for the publications of the Master of the Rolls, and are for the first time gathered together and presented in popular form. The account of the treatment of Catherine before her divorce, of her isolation, her humiliations, is of peculiar interest. Relating to the same period Mr. James Gardner, assistant keeper of the public records, has, with his colleagues, brought out parts i. and ii. of volume xiii. of **Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.** that are preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere. The present instalment ends with the question of the King's fourth marriage. Valuable information is given concerning the suppression of monasteries, etc. Each section is prefaced by an able introductory survey, the index alone fills thirty pages of double columns. The second volume of the **History of England under Henry IV.**, by James Hamilton Wylie, M.A. (Longmans), appeared early in the year. It covers the years 1405 and 1406 with their leading events, including the abdication of the King during the Long Parliament. Certain chapters are devoted to the relations of England with neighbouring foreign countries, and its financial condition. The volume is furnished with an exhaustive list of books of reference. **The History of Cabinets from the Union with Scotland to the acquisition of Canada and Bengal**, by W. M. Torrens (Allen), is the history of successive Cabinets, rather than the history of Cabinets as an institution, a systematic growth and development. The book contains much sound and valuable information. It is to be regretted that the author died when volume i.—that now published—was passing through the press. Peculiarly opportune is the important and authoritative **Constitutional History of the House of Lords**, by Luke Owen Pike, M.A. (Macmillan), the editor of the Year Books. The author has drawn his materials from original sources. The chief points with which this learned, well-knit history deals are a survey of what the House of Lords has been and now is ; its growth, its mutations, its legislative and judicial functions, its rights, privileges, burdens and disabilities. It is written in a spirit as free as possible from political bias or intent. Undoubtedly the book will be recognised as a leading authority on the history of the House of Lords, which, as Mr. Pike expresses it, has lived the life of the nation, and grown with the nation's growth. Mr. T. A. Spalding writes upon **The House of Lords : a Retrospect and a Forecast** (Fisher Unwin), from a Radical point of view. It is an acceptable contribution to the frank discussion of the subject. In 1889 the Corporation of London resolved to commemorate the seven hundredth anniversary of the institution of the mayoralty by the compilation of a special history showing "the pre-eminent position occupied by the City of London and the important functions it exercised in the shaping and making of England." In fulfilment of this aim

Dr. R. R. Sharp has written the first and second volumes of **London and the Kingdom** (Longmans), wherein he endeavours to investigate "all the recorded instances in which the City of London interfered directly in the affairs of the kingdom, to give the political aspect of the City's history in the story of its relations with the Crown and kingdom." The first volume closes with the reign of Elizabeth; the second carries on the narrative from the accession of James I. to the death of Queen Anne. The authority upon which Dr. Sharp's text mainly rests is the archives in Guildhall, though he necessarily has had recourse to other sources.

Two volumes have appeared within the year of an important work, edited by Mr. H. D. Traill, which forms a new departure in popular history. **Social England: a Record of the Progress of the People by Various Authors** (Cassell) aims at giving a reliable account of the progress of the nation in religion, laws, learning, arts, industries, commerce, science, literature and manners from the earliest times to the present day. Mr. Traill, who has written an excellent explanatory introduction, has entrusted each topic to a specialist. Professor Maitland writes on mediæval law; Mr. Conan on military matters; Professor York Powell on the Danes; Mr. R. L. Poole on mediæval learning; Mr. Owen Edwards on Welsh history; Mr. F. T. Richards on Roman Britain; Dr. Heath on literature and language; Mr. R. Hughes on architecture; Mr. Hewins on economics, etc., etc. The intention of the editor is to detach the history of civilisation from that of State and polity. The work, when complete, will contain an immense mass of accurate information, and will be invaluable as a reference to the student of history. In her two volumes of **Town Life in the Fifteenth Century** (Macmillan) Mrs. J. R. Green has made a very valuable contribution to the history of the English borough. She traces with enthusiastic skill and patience the successive steps that transformed England from "a purely agricultural country, with its scattered villages of dependent tillers of the soil, . . . into a land of industrial town communities, where agricultural interests are almost forgotten in the summing up of the national wealth." The towns chosen for the elucidation of the subject are Bristol, Coventry, Exeter, Norwich, Nottingham, Southampton, and the Cinque Ports. The style is vigorous, at times eloquent, and leavened with a sense of humour; the volume is fitly furnished with footnote references.

Turning to the sister countries of Scotland and Ireland, mention must first be made of the history of Ireland, treated by three writers of various importance. Dr. P. W. Joyce offers a most important contribution on the subject in his **Short History of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to 1608** (Longmans). The most interesting and novel portion of the book is part i., which reviews the literature, art, and institutions of ancient Ireland, including a popular exposition of the Brehon laws. The chapter on the land laws explains the ancient rights of tenants. The history of Irish insurrection, confiscation, etc., is tersely and lucidly narrated. Dr. Joyce has spared no pains in his study of authorities whether written in English or Erse. This author has also written a smaller useful work, **A Concise History of Ireland down to 1837** (Gill & Sons). Pope Leo XIII. has opened the Vatican archives, so full of priceless records, to students. The Master of the Rolls has authorised Mr. W. H. Bliss, B.C.L., to draw up a calendar of all entries in the Regesta of the Middle Ages relating to the history of Britain and

Ireland. The result of Mr. Bliss's studies is published in the **Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters, vol. I, A.D. 1198-1304** (Eyre & Spottiswoode), which covers the reigns of John, Henry III., and thirty-two years of the reign of Edward I., when the Pope had all but absolute power, temporal and spiritual, over the British Isles. The latest **Calendar of State Papers: Ireland, 1596-7**, is edited by Mr. E. G. Atkinson (Eyre & Spottiswoode), who has written an important preface thereto, and appended an excellent index. This volume is concerned mainly with the position of the English on the eve of the Tyrone Rebellion.

In connection with the history of India special mention must be made of the **Bengal MS. Records**, a selected list of 14,186 letters in the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, 1782-1807, with an historical dissertation and analytic index, by Sir William Wilson Hunter (Allen). These four volumes are the continuation of the author's previously published valuable historical works upon Bengal. The **Rulers of India Series** continues to produce excellent monographs. That on **Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan** by Lewin B. Browning, C.S.I. (Clarendon Press), covers a period of thirty-eight years in the eighteenth century during which the careers of these two men were "of vital importance to the future supremacy of the British in India." This is a story of the rise and fall of the short-lived Mysore dynasty. Dr. John Bradshaw died a few weeks before the publication of his monograph on **Sir Thomas Munro** in the same series. By way of preface Sir William Hunter has supplied a brief tribute to the author. Sir Thomas Munro's experience in India dated from 1780, when a cadet he landed at Madras, until his death in 1827, after having been Governor of Madras for seven years. He was a great and good ruler, and was commonly called "the father of his people" by his native subjects. He shared in the Tippoo Campaigns, 1790-92, and in the second Maratha War. The principle he followed as governor was based upon realisation of the danger of excluding Hindoos from places of power and trust, and he believed in the wisdom of giving them "all that we can without endangering our own ascendancy." Mrs. Anne Thackeray Ritchie and Mr. Richardson Evans have contributed a joint monograph on **Lord Amherst** to the **Rulers of India Series** (Clarendon Press). Lord Amherst's rule did little for administrative progress; and the successes of the Burmese War were due mainly to the energy and advice of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Charles Metcalfe. The monograph is pleasant reading; it is full of lively, picturesque descriptions of scenes and incidents selected to "tinge the matter-of-fact summary with the emotions of the hour." **Life of Warren Hastings**, by Colonel G. B. Mangleson, C.S.I. (Chapman & Hall), is an elaborate defence of the first Governor-General of India against the misrepresentations of which—mainly for party purposes—he was made the victim. To Warren Hastings, as much as to Clive, we owe the possession of India, and although in the opinion of some it may now constitute a burden, it is unjust to speak slightly of those who gained for us what was considered a magnificent empire and the envy of the civilised world. Colonel Mangleson writes with some warmth on Junius' denunciations, Burke's declamations and Macaulay's misrepresentations of Warren Hastings' acts and motives, and it will be admitted by impartial readers that never was so great a man as Hastings so foully handled or so meanly treated. To the valuable

**Epochs of Indian History Series** (Longmans), edited by John Adam, M.A., T. D. Rees, C.I.E., I.C.S., has contributed **The Mahometans, 1001-1761**. The opening chapter reviews the condition of Hindustan and Scythia at the time of Mahomet. This is followed by the history of the spread of Mahometism in Asia, with an account of the House of Ghazni, of Tamerlane, of the House of Zimedr the Mughal; of the political history from 1001, and the internal condition of India in the sixteenth century. The Mughal succession is described from Akbar (1556) past Aurangzed down to the Battle of Panipat. The volume concludes with an account of the growth of the British power in Hindustan, and the present condition of Indian Mahometans. Mr. F. C. Danvers relates in a graphic manner the story of **The Portuguese in India** (Allen), in two volumes, covering the space of about 400 years. He describes picturesquely the brilliant episodes belonging to the heyday of Portuguese rule; traces its decline and the passing of India into Dutch and finally British power. As causes of this decline the author states that Portuguese power in the East never had in it the elements of permanent empire, and that the loss of their possessions was due to external causes over which they had no control. In his **Protected Princes of India** (Macmillan) Mr. William Lee Warner, C.S.I., has presented a scholarly, able history of British relations with the native principalities of India, that is a valuable contribution to political science. Mr. Lee Warner first reviews the preliminary obstacles that impeded the firm union and alliance desired by the East India Company; he then examines the rights and duties of the States, and discusses the theories concerning the nature of the tie which unites these States to the Crown. His examination of these intricate problems is able and statesmanlike. The duty of the British Government is "not only to protect, but to give strength and vitality to the native sovereignties, allowing them full scope to develop their own systems of administration." The duties the British Government has a right to enforce are "obligations for the common defence, obligations in regard to internal administration, the duties of loyalty to the Crown, and certain jurisdictional engagements." It is much to be regretted that Professor E. A. Freeman, the most eminent writer upon foreign history this year, died before the completion of his great work **The History of Sicily** (Clarendon Press). The fourth volume was left unfinished; Mr. Arthur J. Evans has edited it in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. Not only has he revised the MS., but he has ingeniously supplied lacunæ in the fragmentary MS. by means of passages excerpted from Professor Freeman's "Sicily," in the "Story of Nations Series." The period embraced in this volume includes the Punic Wars of Dionysius, the enterprises of Dion and Timoleon, and the African Campaigns of Agathocles.

**The Story of the Nations Series** (Fisher Unwin) continues its useful work. The volumes produced this year are **Japan**, a readable account based largely upon the transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and written by David Murray, Ph.D., late adviser to the Japanese Minister of Education; **Venice**, by Althea Wiel; and **South Africa**, by George M. Theal.

**The Cambridge Historical Series**, edited by Professor Prothero, opens with **The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789-1815**, by J. H. Rose (Cambridge Press), and forms the first volume of what is to be a connected history of Europe from the fifteenth century, each nation to be treated in a



separate volume. Mr. Rose points out the true import of the revolutionary and Cæsarian epoch in Europe; the part Napoleon played as the destroyer of feudalism and exclusive privilege, as the champion of social equality, and of the extension of just laws to all men. He shows also that the force that crushed the power of the French revolution was neither English, Austrian, nor Prussian, but the irresistible force of growing national liberalism. The subject is treated in an able and scholarly manner: valuable information is given on the neglected politics and ever-changing negotiations of 1795-1815; and Mr. Rose offers an able vindication of the foreign policy of Pitt during the time immediately preceding the commencement of hostilities between England and France.

A number of histories dealing with the development and vicissitudes of certain of the public schools of England have been published this year. Foremost among them is the story of **Stonyhurst College: its Life beyond the Seas, 1594-1794, and on English Soil, 1794-1894** (Marcus Ward), by the Rev. John Gerard, S.J. In this famous Jesuit College, founded by Father Parsons, masters and boys during 200 years were exiles in foreign lands, under the ban of English law. Early in this century a footing was gained in this country, and the college now challenges comparison with the best of English public schools. Father Gerard has taken every pains to elucidate the early adventures of the school; he describes its ideals, its methods of study, its recreations; and has produced an historical record of singular interest. Colonel H. M. Vibart, Royal Engineers, has written a spirited account of **Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note** (Constable), and to it Lord Roberts of Kandahar has added an introduction. The College of Addiscombe, the defunct military seminary of the East India Company, was founded in 1809 and closed in 1861. Thackeray, among other men of note, spent a portion of his boyhood at Addiscombe. The history of the East India Company's College for its civil servants is written in the **Memorials of Old Haileybury College** (Constable), by Frederick Charles Danvers, Sir Monier Williams, Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley and other contributors. Among the biographical sketches of old Haileyburians are Malthus, Sir James Mackintosh, James Thomason, John Colvin, Bartle Frere, etc. The very handsome volume **Winchester College, 1393-1893** (Arnold), by an Old Wykehamist, and illustrated by Herbert Marshall, is in celebration of the Winchester Quincentenary. The first half is devoted to papers, historical and descriptive; the second to a collection of appropriate hymns and odes.

Of the numerous biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, etc., that have appeared this year, the most important are those which are of historical import. Precedence, in point of date, must be given to **The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, to the Accession of Queen Anne** (Bentley), by General Viscount Wolsley, K.G. This biography is the most conspicuous success in English literature connected with the name of a military commander, who naturally is the man best fitted to appreciate the difficulties of another great military leader. Vols. i. and ii. of this undertaking are now issued, and deal not with the story of Marlborough's successes, but with the period of his desertion of James II. Lord Wolsley makes a strenuous effort to clear his hero of the charge of political disloyalty, which he attributes to a "sincere love of Protestantism, one of

the most remarkable features in his character." The historical details are carefully accurate, the writing clear, unaffected, and at times eloquent. The author gives a very spirited account of the campaign in Ireland, and of Sedgemoor; certain of his descriptions have the added interest of being unpremeditated revelations of the emotions of the writer himself during critical moments of warfare. Convenient mention may here be made of an addition to the already large Moltke literature that recently has appeared in England. **Moltke** (Ward & Downey), by William O'Connor Morris, is a succinct account of the career of the remarkable military commander. **The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth of England, 1625-72** (Clarendon Press), are edited in a most scholarly manner, with appendices of letters and illustrated documents, by Mr. C. A. Firth. Ludlow's memoirs were written to show "how the Republic had been founded, how the ambition of Cromwell and the craft of Monck had undone it." Whether relating to England or Ireland, he does not give a comprehensive view of the war, but gives rather graphic and forcible sketches of the character and common incidents of the strife. Ludlow's account of the negotiations between the officers and the Republicans at Westminster in 1648 is of considerable value, he being the only authority on the subject. Mr. Firth has restored the important passages relating to Monck's betrayal of the cause of the Reformation, that were excised from the original manuscripts. The career of the ablest champion of British interests in the far East is told with great discrimination and vigour by Messrs. S. Lane Pool and F. V. Dickens in **The Life of Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.B., sometime her Majesty's Minister to China and Japan** (Macmillan); a career that was one long struggle with that "hide-bound body of pedantic literati (the Mandarins), the grist of an irrational examination mill, who represent alike statesmanship and clerkship in China." Sir Henry's Chinese foreign experience began at the age of fourteen; he became interpreter, and acted in that capacity during the Yangtze-Kiang expedition at Amoo, Foochow, and in Siam. He was appointed consul at Canton; during the siege of Peking he was taken prisoner, but was fortunately released without having suffered any serious ill-treatment. After receiving his C.B. in England, he was appointed ambassador to Japan, where he supported the Mikado's party. Finally he was transferred to the Legation at Peking, where, however, the long strain of responsibilities and work told on his health, and in March, 1885, he died. Lord Augustus Loftus, P.C., G.C.B., considers that his forty years' **Diplomatic Reminiscences** (Cassell), of which the second series is now issued, "gives a general outline of the political history of Europe, and of the policy of the Governments of the great Powers during that period." The two new volumes tell little of importance as to the cause and effects of the wars between Austria and Prussia, Germany and France, Russia and Turkey, but they furnish valuable sidelights on these momentous events, and give characteristic sketches of notable men concerned therein, such as Prince Bismarck, Prince Gortschacoff, etc., with whom Lord Augustus came in contact during his responsible residence in Vienna, Berlin, Munich, and London. The life of "the Iconoclast," of the man whose persistent energy did so much to gain parliamentary representation for Socialists, is written in **Charles Bradlaugh: a Record of his Life and Work**, by his daughter,

Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner (Fisher Unwin). In these two volumes the main events of Bradlaugh's life are described : his dismal childhood, deficient education, early struggles for maintenance, and military service ; the turbulent days of his public life, before and during his parliamentary membership for Nottingham. Mrs. Bonner has made every effort to present Charles Bradlaugh—so misunderstood in his lifetime—in his real character. Mr. John M. Robinson has added an account of Bradlaugh's parliamentary struggles, of his politics and of his teachings, which, considered as a contribution to constitutional history, is of permanent value. **The Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville, 1810-45** (Longmans), edited by the Hon. F. Leveson-Gower, not only gives a bright, vivid picture of court and diplomatic society in England, at La Hague, and in Paris, during the terms of Lord Granville's ambassadorship, but they are the self-revelation of a noble and fine woman, of rare personality, generous, gracious, and sincerely religious. The letters are written mainly to her brother, the Duke of Devonshire, and to her sisters, and are vivacious, humorous and fascinating. Her character sketches of eminent persons are excellent : of Madame de Staël, of Lady Caroline Lamb, Talleyrand, Madame de Lieven, etc. Her remarks and comments on the various political crises of the day have an historical value of no mean order. Mrs. M. C. Bishop has related the life of **Mrs. Augustus Craven** (Bentley), the author of the "Recit d'une Soeur." The chief point of interest is the distinctively un-English point of view, from which—in Mrs. Craven's letters—is given a survey of English and French politics, and social matters, by a woman of wide experience and great ability.

The three following memoirs give picturesque glimpses into various phases of English society. First may be noticed the **Correspondence of Mr. Joseph Jekyll** (Murray), edited with a brief memoir by the Hon. Algernon Bourke. Mr. Joseph Jekyll was a prominent figure in society during the end of the Georgian period. He became Solicitor-General to George IV., and afterwards a Master in Chancery, and was a welcomed guest at all fashionable dinner parties. His letters are practically the *resumé* of the court and society gossip of the beginning of the century, and he has much that is interesting and amusing to tell of his celebrated contemporaries, such as the Regent, Duke of York, Canning, Lord Wellesley, Lady Holland, Rogers. Hook, George Colman, Mrs. Siddons, Edmund Kean, etc. **The Autobiography of Sir William Gregory, K.C.M.G.** (Murray), edited by Lady Gregory, relates the career of an Irish gentleman, who carried off prizes at Harrow, exhibitions at Oxford, yet never passed his degree ; who was Conservative member of Parliament for Dublin in 1842 ; was given the Irish Lordship of the Treasury in 1846, and who stood for Galway in 1857. During the ten years' interregnum of his political life he "abandoned society and public life for the turf only" ; he became deeply involved, and had to sell two-thirds of his estate. He was the friend of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Lincoln, Lord George Bentinck, and, above all, of Lord Beaconsfield. In 1867 he was appointed trustee to the National Gallery, to which he bequeathed valuable pictures. The memoir of **Sir Victor Brooke, Sportsman and Naturalist** (Murray), with extracts from his letters and journals, edited by Oscar Leslie Stephens, is the record of a daring sportsman, a distinguished naturalist and a loyal friend. It takes

the reader over the untrodden snowfields of Scheehålden, through the jungles of Mysore, and in among the Neilgherry Hills. The book is a series of fascinating episodes, threaded skilfully together by Mr. Stephens. Sir Victor was an accomplished letter writer, and gives delightful accounts of his experiences of tiger and elephant shooting, of killing a rare black panther, of bagging ibex, sambar, gaur, jackal, wolf and bear. The value of the biography is enhanced by an added chapter by Sir William Flower, containing a synopsis of the writings and scientific work of Sir Victor Brooke.

Several biographies deal with men and women who have risen to eminence in science, literature, painting or music. The lack of a life of Maria Edgeworth, "the second woman of her time in Europe," has hitherto been a serious hiatus in the history of eighteenth century literature. Mr. A. J. C. Hare has endeavoured to supply this want by editing two volumes, entitled **Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth** (Arnold). Full though they be of interesting matter, they do not give an adequate picture of the authoress in her varied capacities as woman, writer and thinker. This is, in part, owing to the uneventful nature of the authoress' life, which was largely devoted to the care of her successive stepmothers and numerous stepbrothers and sisters. Mr. John Ruskin has published a series of early **Letters to a College Friend during the Years 1840-45** (G. Allen), charmingly unaffected and natural in style, and forming a running commentary on the writer's life and travels at that time. The Rev. Richard Owen has published two volumes, **The Life of Richard Owen** (Murray), his grandfather, based upon a diary kept by the scientist's wife, and upon no less than 5,000 letters from his own pen. The biographer has produced an exceedingly interesting and well-balanced memoir, in which he endeavours to exhibit the man rather than the anatomist, and gives prominence to his private and social life. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by a discriminating essay on Sir Richard's position in anatomical science by Professor Huxley, which concludes thus: "Owen's claims to a high place among those who have made great and permanently valuable contributions to knowledge remain unassailable." **The Life of Frances Power Cobbe** (Bentley), by herself, is the record of one of the notable women of the nineteenth century, whose efforts and example have contributed largely to changes that have taken place in public opinion with regard to the legal and social position of women, children and animals. A woman of clear judgment, with a welcome gift of humour, essentially humane, she tells the story of her active philanthropic life, of her acquaintance with many of her notable contemporaries, in a simple, effective manner. Mrs. Gertrude Townshend Mayer, in her finely felt, admirably written **Women of Letters** (Bentley), revives several half-forgotten memoirs, such as "Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper," "Correspondence of Mrs. Delany"; also interesting anecdotic sketches of, among others, "Lamb's Duchess," "Lady Mary Woolley Montagu," "Lady Anne Barnard," "Lady Morgan," and "Lady Duff Gordon."

Several valuable biographies of painters have been published this year. Mr. Lys Baldry, himself a painter, had given an interesting account of **Albert Moore: his Life and Work** (Bell), in which his methods and aims are indicated and illustrated by ten photogravures and other reproductions of

the decorative artist's life work. Dr. George C. Williamson has made a close study of **John Russell, R.A.** (Bell), the prince of crayon portrait painters, who had a distinct place of his own in English art, but to whom hitherto inadequate justice has been done. **A Memoir of Edward Calvert, Artist** (Sampson Low)—idealist—the friend of Blake, of Samuel Palmer, Finch, Richmond, and Linnell, is written by his third son, and is the life of a man of considerable genius, well-nigh unknown to the present generation. This record gives the life of a remarkable man, of fine artistic ideal and delicate attainment. Mr. Joseph Knight, from his intimate acquaintance with the whole range of dramatic literature and of dramatic affairs, has proved the right man to act biographer to **David Garrick** (Kegan Paul & Co.). The story of the great actor's career is told skilfully, succinctly and brightly; the interest of the book is enhanced by the prefatory etched portrait by W. Boucher, from a painting by Gainsborough.

A small group of ecclesiastical biographies has appeared this year, important both in subject and matter. Priority must be accorded to the **Life and Letters of Erasmus** (Longmans), lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893-94, by J. A. Froude, Regius Professor of Modern History, and published shortly before the death of the great English historian. From no source can so graphic a picture of the early years of the pregnant sixteenth century and its leading figures be gained as from the letters of Erasmus. In Mr. Froude's book it is Erasmus who speaks through the medium of a translation (selected) of his letters, turned into brilliant, terse, witty English, and skilfully threaded together by an interpolated narrative. The picture of the great scholar is vivid, both with regard to the part he played as a leader of the great Reformation, and as a profound thinker. Mr. Froude sees into what Erasmus is the one instance of a man at the very heart of a **responderent** movement who was recognised as such in England. The air by the lectures may be found in the concluding words: "I have figure in society put before you the character and thoughts of an extraordinary-General to most exciting period of modern history. It is a period of was a welcomed is still disfigured by passion and prejudice. I believe that you will be set what it really was if you look at it through the eyes of Erasmus." **Santa Teresa** (Black), by Gabriela Cunninghame Graham, is a notable biography of a remarkable character. It is "some account of her life and times, together with some pages from the history of the last great reform in the religious orders." Santa Teresa was characterised by the union of spirituality and common-sense; "serving God among the pots and pipkins" of her convent, she gradually evolved her spiritual experience, and wrote her autobiography. More than twenty years of apprenticeship for her task elapsed before she instituted her great reform, founded her first convent—the new order of Carmelites—and directed every movement of the reform in the face of ceaseless hostility. Mrs. C. Graham presents interesting new matter, with a topographical and folklore background for her story. **William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury**, by C. H. Simpkinson (Murray), is a fervid glowing sketch of the last English Churchman who played a decisive part in the political ruling of his country, written by one who has much at heart the vindication of this prelate, "disliked because he has been made, most unjustly, the scapegoat for the miseries of the Great Rebellion." Laud was the leader in enforcing the Anglican system, and

died a martyr to its advocacy. His keen artistic sense revolted against the chilling influences of Puritanism; his effort was to establish an Anglican episcopacy, and to bring about the union of Church and Crown in one inviolable sanctity of divine right. While bias has led the author into claiming for his subject greater statesmanly qualities than are recognised in him by such writers as Greene and Gardiner, Mr. Simpkinson has written an extremely interesting and readable life of an important cleric, whose biography had hitherto been neglected. Another **Life of Archbishop Laud**, by "A Recusant" (Kegan Paul & Co.), is written from the Romanist point of view. The author states that his volume is not so much a life as material for a life of Laud. The writing is able; it shows evidences of bias and a controversial intent.

The second instalment of **The Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D.** (Longmans), by H. P. Liddon, D.D., edited and prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A., and the Rev. Robert J. Wilson, D.D., covers the period between 1845-58, the most momentous portion of Pusey's life, styled by Dr. Liddon as "The Struggle." It deals mainly with Pusey's heroic efforts, immediately upon Newman's departure, towards the reconstruction of his party and of his ideal of a Church, in spite of the misunderstanding that surrounded him; of his controversies with Bishop Wilberforce and Dean Hook about St. Saviour's at Leeds, of which Pusey was founder and patron. His public life is described, though a few glimpses are given of the private life of this man, whose health was weak, and who was tormented by an intense consciousness of sin. Dr. Liddon gives a fine description of Pusey's famous sermon in Christ Church after the removal of his suspension. The volume closes with the events following upon his important election to the new Hebdomadal Board in 1854. The chief interest in **The Life and Letters of Dean Church** (Macmillan), edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church, is the light thrown upon the dean's share in the Oxford movement; in particular, that it was he who initiated the famous veto concerning the condemnation of Tract XC. in 1845. Though his life was quiet and outwardly uneventful, Dean Church was beloved and esteemed by many eminent men in Church and State, not a few of whom habitually sought counsel from him. "There was such a moral beauty . . . about Church" is the verdict of one of his contemporaries. His letters addressed to Newman, Dr. Moberly, Dr. Asa Gray, and others, are full of keen observations on passing events at home and abroad, written with sound good sense and a delightful vein of humour. **St. Andrews and Elsewhere: Glimpses of Some Gone and Things Left**, by the Rev. A. K. H. Boyd (Longmans), may conveniently be mentioned here, because it is closely connected with the author's personality. Its chief interest is in reminiscences of eminent persons who have visited St. Andrews, either Scottish or English: Bishop Charles Wordsworth, Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, Dean Stanley, Professor Froude, Dean Church, Dr. Liddon, O. W. Holmes, Carlyle, Kingsley, Sir David Brewster, and many others.

Clerical biography leads naturally to the consideration of another branch of ecclesiastical literature, that dealing with the history of the Church; such, for instance, as **The English Church in the Nineteenth Century** (1800-88), by John H. Overton, D.D. (Longmans). This book is practically an appendix to the larger work which Canon Overton wrote in collaboration with Mr. Abbey; it carries the history of the Church down to the

commencement of the Oxford movement. The effect of the Napoleonic War upon the Church produced "a curious double phenomenon which may be observed all through this period, viz., a steadily growing improvement in every department, side by side with a steady odium against the Church, which reached its climax in the events connected with the Reform Bill." Canon Overton's endeavour is to explain this phenomenon, and to show why there was on one side this hostility towards a Church which was rapidly regaining life and vigour, and why on the other hand there should have been the sudden manifestation of attachment which rendered this hostility powerless. The fifth volume, by Bishop Mandell Creighton of Peterborough, of **A History of the Papacy during the Period of Reformation** (Longmans) is devoted to the memorable ten years between 1517-27, that is, during the period of "The German Revolt," which "fell on the Vatican like a thunderbolt when the position of the Pope as Head of the Church and as a great factor in European politics seemed more assured than ever. But the interest of the volume is mainly concentrated on the rise of Luther and the development of the Reformation movement in Germany. This is preceded by a study of German Humanism, and the manner in which the course and influences of the new learning contrasted with the corresponding movement in Italy." **Waymarks of Church History**, by William Bright, D.D. (Longmans), throws much light on the sympathies, beliefs, and antipathies of the typical Anglican theologian. The subjects touch the whole range of Church history from Irenæus to Archbishop Laud and the present-day question of secular employment for the clergy. The series of articles is treated with great skill and lucidity. In **The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments** (S.P.C.K.) Professor A. H. Sayce brings the evidence of the Monuments to bear upon many points of value. For instance, in the Books of Chronicles we see "the first beginnings of that transformation of history into Haggadah, which is so conspicuous in later Jewish literature"; he lays great stress on the Babylonish elements in the Book of Genesis, and considers that even the Book of Job may have had an Edomite origin. This volume, written with Professor Sayce's customary charm of style, is not primarily intended for students, but for the general reading public.

The theology of 1894 was ushered in by a critical study of **The Gospel according to St. Peter**. It is an examination, by the author of "Supernatural Religion" (Longmans), of the fragment discovered in the sepulchre of a monk in Akhmim, Upper Egypt; it is identified with the Gospel quoted by the patristic writers of the second century. The author has carefully estimated its relation to the canonical Gospels, and proves the fragment to be of peculiar value as a contemporary, if not earlier, record of Christian tradition. The Bampton Lectures for 1893 on **Inspiration: Eight Lectures** (Longmans) on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, delivered by W. Sanday, M.A., D.D., LL.D., are now published in volume form. These lectures deal mainly with the historic canon and the genesis of the Old and New Testaments; considerable attention is paid to the way in which the subject of inspiration is alluded to in the Scriptures themselves. **Christus Imperator**, edited by Dean Stubbs (Macmillan), is a volume which consists of "lecture-sermons," delivered at Wavertree by the Dean of Ely and a number of eminent expounders of contemporary thought, such as Dean Kitchen, Canons

Fremantle, Barnett, and Rawnsley, Mr. Llewelyn Davies, and others—typical leaders of the modern “Broad Church” school. The general object of the lectures is to assert the supremacy of Christ over all realms of thought and action—art, law, philosophy, ethics, politics, science, and poetry. This claim to the comprehensiveness of the Church of England is urged with eloquence by some, with argument by others, with force and ability by all the contributors to this readable and seasonable volume. Two interesting contributions to theological literature are **Clerical Life and Work**, a Collection of Sermons (Longmans) by H. P. Liddon, D.D., which expresses the ideal of clerical life that he held before his mind from the earliest days of his ministry. It also contains a finely written essay on “The Priest in his Inner Life,” and interesting criticisms on Wilberforce, Keble, and Pusey. The other book—also published by Messrs. Longmans—is entitled **The Repose of Faith**, by the Rev. Alex. J. Harrison, B.D., Master of the Magdalene Hospital, Newcastle-on-Tyne. The author’s aim is to encourage and cheer in spiritual conflict, particularly in reference to present-day religious difficulties. The main subject is the Repose of the Spiritual Reason and of the trust which naturally accompanies the intuitions of that reason, when the soul is face to face with God in Christ.

The Gifford Lectures for 1894, published by Messrs. Blackwood, were delivered by Otto Pfeleiderer, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. The subject is **Philosophy and Development of Religion**; his endeavour is to show what rational account can be given of a belief in God; and how the form of that belief, known as the Christian faith, took shape and developed itself in the actual history of mankind. “It is in Christianity alone that religion has historically unveiled its true nature, that it is found to correspond to the essence of man.” And he believes that “only in so far as we give heed to the sum of the religious experiences of humanity as they culminate in Christianity, shall we be in a position for understanding objectively the essence of religion.” The second volume deals with the origin and development of Christianity, and with St. Paul’s great work of emancipating Christianity from the fetters of Judaism.

In **The Claims of Christianity** (Chapman & Hall), Mr. William Samuel Lilly has endeavoured to examine the relationship between Christianity and Buddhism, Christianity and Mahometanism, to trace the nature and effects of the alliance between the Catholic and the Christian state in the Middle Ages, to discuss the effect of the Renaissance, the Reformation, on the Catholic Church. Mr. Lilly is well equipped from the point of view of literary and historical information; if his studies are neither profound nor scholarly in the exact sense of the word, he is at least enthusiastic and earnest. The author includes a few interesting letters which passed between him and Cardinal Newman and Mr. Rhys Davids, in connection with certain analogies between the life of Buddha and Evangelical history.

Other interesting contributions to the study of psychology and metaphysics are to be found in the following works: **Spiritual Law in the Natural World**, by J. W. Thomas (Longmans), a metaphysical and psychical exposition of the operation of the Holy Spirit and other agencies. In order to prove his statements, the intricate character of the molecular movements in so-called inert or inorganic matter, the remarkable instincts and functions of the lower animals, as well as the operations in the human



body uncontrolled by man, are treated *in extenso* by the author. The relation of the "miraculous" to the "occult" and supernatural endowments of to-day is defined in detail; the metaphysical nature of man is fully dealt with. The most important contribution to metaphysics is Mr. Wilfred Ward's **Witness to the Unseen** (Macmillan), an able advocacy of the evidence put forth by his father and his colleagues of the ideal school; an important contribution to the recent controversy between Romanism and Protestantism. The book consists of several essays, which lead up to the last—the keynote of the subject matter—"the wish to believe." The argument is put forward in the form of discussion between a recent convert to Romanism, and an able philosophical agnostic, rival champions in the present great struggle between intellect and spirit.

Sociology and Economics have received careful attention ~~this year~~; several competent writers have done much to stimulate the study of these important, but youthful branches of science. The most valuable contribution to the science of sociology is undoubtedly Mr. Benjamin Kidd's ably and powerfully written **Social Evolution** (Macmillan). Mr. Kidd is a new and brilliant writer, a deep thinker. In biology he belongs to the school of Professor Weismann; he carefully applies the most recent doctrines of evolution to modern society and life, and yet is able to predict that the future is hopeful for the race. Many controversial points have and will provoke severe criticism, but all readers must admit the book to be an able and honest attempt to grapple, from the standpoint of the evolutionist who is not afraid to push his conclusions to their logical issues, with the complicated problems which are bound up with modern society. The main point of the book is the "necessary dependence of social evolution, through all its phases, on religious belief, and the tendency of evolution in its turn to favour the religious in preference to the intellectual type of character." Mr. Kidd believes that the future belongs to the competitive rather than to the socialistic *régime*. Professor Drummond considers the book to be the most important contribution to social evolution the last decade has seen. **The History of Trades Unionism** (Longmans), by Beatrice and Sidney Webb, is practically the political history of the English working-class, from the socialistic standpoint, during the last one hundred and fifty years. The book is clearly written, and provided with valuable references and quotations.

A series of lectures, by the late J. E. T. Rogers, on the Commercial History of England has been recently published by Mr. Fisher Unwin under the title of **England's Industrial and Commercial Supremacy**. It is a valuable contribution to the economic history of England, and contains a large amount of statistical information on prices, currency, companies, and other allied topics. In **Labour and Popular Welfare** (Black) Mr. W. H. Mallock gives a careful logical exposition of a difficult economic question, which has an important bearing on some of the most pressing political problems of the day—the share of labour in the national income. Mr. Mallock gives a new turn to the discussion by his subdivision of the term labour into labour and ability. The difference lies in the following fact: "That labour is a kind of exertion on the part of the individual, which begins and ends with each separate task it is employed upon, whilst ability is a kind of exertion on the part of the individual which is capable of affecting simul-

taneously the labour of an indefinite number of individuals, and thus hastening or perfecting the accomplishment of an indefinite number of tasks." **Co-Operative Production** (Clarendon Press) has found a well-qualified exponent in Mr. Benjamin Jones, who dates modern co-operation from the closing years of the eighteenth century. Mr. Jones traces the history of its development, speculates upon its influences in the immediate future, and considers that its logical consequence is a system of State and municipal socialism. Of **The History of the English Landed Interest: its Customs, Laws, and Agriculture**, by Russell M. Garnier (Sonnenschein), the second volume dealing with the **Modern Period** has been published. In it the author holds a brief for the landlord. "Where," he asks, "shall we look for a substitute of that aristocracy of the soil, which it is part and parcel of the Englishman's idiosyncrasy to venerate?" The book contains instructive chapters on "Amateur Farming" and "Minerals and Mines."

In the domain of science proper there is little of first-class importance to record. Valuable and suggestive, however, is a volume by Mr. William Bateson entitled **Materials for the Study of Variation, Treated with Especial Regard to Discontinuity in the Origin of Species** (Macmillan). The author points out that continuity in variation has been too hastily taken for granted by zoologists; by means of variations, usually termed as "sports," "abnormalities," and here classed as discontinuous, Mr. Bateson proposes to attach the origin of species. He states his attitude thus: "All the different theories (of evolution) start from the hypothesis that the different forms of life are related to each other, and that their diversity is due to variation. On this hypothesis, therefore, variation, whatever may be its cause, and however it may be limited, is the essential phenomenon of evolution. Variation, in fact, is evolution." The bulk of the book contains records of specimens studied by the author. This laborious, painstaking work is an effort to reduce to a system a nearly virgin branch of biological science. In the opening pages of **The Lewell Lectures on the Ascent of Man** (Hodder & Stoughton) Professor Henry Drummond describes his book as "an attempt to tell in a plain way a few of the things which science is now seeing with regard to the ascent of man, . . . the object is the important one of pointing out how its (evolution's) nature has been misconceived, indeed how its greatest factor has been overlooked in almost all contemporary scientific thinking." This great or second factor, "which one might venture to call *the struggle of life for others*," assumes a sovereignty before which the earlier struggle (for life) sinks into insignificance. This second factor Professor Drummond also calls "the struggle for love," which sustains man, while the struggle for life disciplines and braces him. The professor's arguments lead up to one aim: the endeavour to demonstrate the reconciliation of Christianity with evolution. An important work on **Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory: a Treatise on the Phenomena, Laws, and Development of Human Mental Life**, by George Trumball Ladd (Longmans), designs to give a clear, accurate, and comprehensive picture of the mental life of the individual man. The author has also written an excellent **Primer of Psychology** that "simply aims to narrate some of the more obvious facts and principles known to modern scientific psychology in plain and familiar English, and in an orderly but wholly untechnical manner." A new volume has been added to the excellent **Out-**

of **Doors Series**, dealing with **Butterflies and Moths** (British) (Longmans), and written expressly for those who desire to extend their knowledge of British lepidoptera, giving as fully as possible a description of the general characteristic of this order of insects. Extreme care has been taken to render the work thoroughly practical. It is illustrated by numerous woodcuts and twelve coloured plates, which the student will find of the greatest assistance to him.

We have to record three important additions to astronomical literature : **The Mean Density of the Earth**, as compared with that of water, is by Professor J. H. Poynting (Griffin). In **the High Heavens** is popularly written by Sir R. S. Ball, F.R.S. (Isbister) ; and **The Worlds of Space : a Series of Popular Articles on Astronomical Subjects**, by T. Ellard Gore, F.R.A.S. In characteristic vigorous English Professor Frederick Lockyer, in his **The Dawn of Astronomy : a Study of the Temple-Worship and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians** (Cassell), offers valuable contribution to Egyptian archæology, by his study of the astronomical functions of Egyptian temples. He states his conclusion derived from personal observation of the temples, and has endeavoured to calculate the dates of their foundation. This very handsomely bound, well-illustrated book ends with chapters on the pyramid builders, the schools of Egyptian astronomy, and a comparison of Egyptian symbols with their Babylonian counterparts. An English edition of M. Camille Flammarion's **Popular Astronomy** has recently been translated by T. Ellard Gore, F.R.A.S. (Chatto & Windus). The French original was awarded the Montyon prize of the French Academy, and has been selected for use in the public libraries. Not only is the English version excellent, but Mr. Gore has added information in order to bring the work up to date, and has fitly increased the number of the important illustrations, thus rendering the book of still greater appeal to an English public.

A small group of delightful volumes of travels has been published this year. For the most part they are of manifold interest, for the travels have usually been undertaken for the purposes of scientific research. **Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas**, by W. M. Conway (Fisher Unwin), is the narrative of the best organised and most successful mountaineering expedition as yet made. The leader is a man of science and a man of letters, a dual qualification which permits him to relate in skilful literary style his impressions and observations of that wonderful mountainous region beyond Northern India. It contains a vast mass of new and valuable information, and is excellently illustrated. The explorers reached an altitude of 23,000 feet without suffering, "during rest, from any marked heart failure." Professor Roy's comments on the records of the sphygmograph will be of much interest to all climbers. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by Colonel Durand's chapter on the Eastern Hindoo Kush, by Professor Bonney's scientific notes as to the geological history of Karakoram, based on his examinations of over 500 specimens brought back by Mr. Conway. Dr. Lansdell has made a third journey into Central Asia, and the record, **Chinese Central Asia** (Sampson Low), forms a complement to the author's former "Russian Central Asia." He entered Chinese territory by way of Kuldja and Muzart Pass. He visited Khotan, an old, remote city between Yarkland and Kashmir. Dr. Lansdell failed to reach Lassa,

but he succeeded in penetrating into Khalthandu, the capital of Nepal. The book is furnished with a good bibliography and index. **Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan**, by Lofcadio Hearn (Osgood), is revelatory of much that the ordinary traveller fails to see. The glimpses are of the old life and thought that underlie the modernised surface of Japanese life. We are made to feel a little of the charm and mystery of Eastern ways, life, and modes of thought. This book, full of curious and varied learning, is the result of prolonged loving study, it gives the impressions of one who has penetrative insight, sympathetic appreciations and the mind and eye of an artist. **Letters from the Western Pacific and Maahonaland, 1878-1891**, by Hugh H. Romilly, C.M.G., edited with a memoir by his brother Samuel H. Romilly (Nutt). These letters and memoir form an amusing record of South Sea Island life and manners. According to Lord Stanmore, who has written the introduction to the volume, the chief interest of the book lies in the fact that it presents a typical portrait of "the great army of young Englishmen who are engaged in building up the fabric of our colonial empire, and who so often perish obscurely and unknown." A new edition of **The Playground of Europe**, by Leslie Stephen (Longmans), brought out this year, merits notice on account of the three new papers added to the original series bearing on the Alps and Alpine climbing. The fresh matter is headed "Col des Hirondelles," "Sunset on Mont Blanc," and "Alps in Winter." **Man-Hunting in the Desert**, by Alfred E. Haynes (Cox), is the narrative of the Palmer Search Expedition of 1882-3, in connection with the murder of Palmer at Wadi-Sadr, in August, 1882, during his expedition to the Sinai Desert, where he was engaged on a secret service. The volume is prefaced by an interesting introduction by Mr. Walter Besant. When the ship *Balena* started for the Antarctic in search of new fishing-grounds, it had an artist on board. Mr. W. S. Murdoch has not only recounted the incidents of the voyage in **From Edinburgh to the Antarctic** (Longmans), that was a failure as far as whale catching was concerned, but he has given many extremely interesting sketches of the hills and cliffs, of the pack ice, and general scenery of the Antarctic. Hence the value of the book as distinct from its undeniable interest. **Travels amongst American Indians, their Ancient Earthworks and Temples**, by Vice-Admiral Lindsay Brine (Sampson Low), includes the account of a journey in Guatemala, Mexico, and Yucatan, and a visit to the ruins of Patinamit, Utatlan, Palenque and Uxmal. Admiral Brine first visited the valley of the Ohio with the intention of comparing the mould and earthworks there with the ruins known to exist in Central America. He considers that several peculiarities of the Pawnees of the river Platte indicate affinities with the Toltecs, or later Aztecs, who, according to tradition, form two waves of migration from some unknown country into Mexico. Admiral Brine visited the important ruins at Uxmal with their fine sculptural ornamentation, also the so-called Temple of the Cross at Palenque, which the Admiral conjectures was built in the ninth century by the Toltecs.

Books on favourite sports are numerous ; from among them the following may be selected as being well written and of general appeal. This year's contribution to the valuable Badminton Library is two volumes on **Big Game Shooting**, by Clive Phillipps-Wolley (Longmans). They are profusely illustrated by Mr. Charles Whympere, Mr. Joseph Wolf, and Mr. H.

Willink. In addition to the general introduction by the author, there are contributions by Sir Samuel Baker, F. C. Selous, Lieut.-Col. R. Heber Percy, Sir Henry Pottinger, the Earl of Kilmorey, St. George Littledale and others. These volumes were followed by two others on **Yachting**, fully illustrated by Messrs. G. L. Watson, J. M. Soper, R. T. Pritchett, etc., and from photographs. The contributors to vol. i. upon Cruising, Construction, Racing Rules, etc., are Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart., Lord Brassey, C. E. Seth Smith, the Earl of Pembroke, etc., etc. The contributors to vol. ii. on Yacht Clubs, Yachting in America and the Colonies, Yacht Racing, etc., are Messrs. R. T. Pritchett, James McFerran, Lewis Herreshoff, Rev. G. L. Blake, Sir George Leach, the Earl of Onslow, the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, etc., etc. These volumes were followed later in the year by **Archery**, by C. J. Longman and Col. H. Walrond, with contributions by Miss Legh, Viscount Dillon, Major C. Hawkins Fisher, the Rev. Eyre Hussey, Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, and Messrs. T. Balfour Paul and L. W. Maxson. The book contains a very interesting historical account of this ancient pastime, in addition to the rules and much general information. **Walks about London**, by Augustus J. Hare (Geo. Allen & Son). A debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Hare for removing the reproach that we owe to Bædeker, the only guide to London streets and buildings at once portable and readable. Cunningham is too superficial, Loftie too learned, and Besant too discursive: for companionship and instruction combined. Mr. Hare's two volumes contain nearly everything one cares to know about the metropolis and its treasures, which are more hidden from its inhabitants than from occasional visitors. The book, moreover, is issued both in library and pocket form, and it will be found worthy of a place in either receptacle.

A series of monographs entitled **The Fur and Feather Series** (Longmans), fully illustrated, is edited by Alfred E. T. Watson. The first is concerned with **The Partridge**, and is divided into three parts: i. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; ii. Shooting, by A. J. Stuart-Wortley, and iii. Cooking, by George Saintsbury. The second volume is on the **Grouse**; Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; Shooting, by A. J. Stuart-Wortley; Cooking, by George Saintsbury. In connection with Alpine exploits may be mentioned **Climbing in the British Isles**, by W. P. Haskett Smith, M.A. (Longmans), with twenty-three illustrations by Ellis Carr. Part i., now published, deals with England, in particular Cumberland and the English lake district, a district where the art of climbing has been highly elaborated, and the standard of difficulty and dexterity is considered dangerously high to any but experienced climbers. Mr. Robert Clark has made an excellent collection of historic and other tales concerning **Golf: a Royal and Ancient Game** (Macmillan), which even in 1457 was considered "dangerously popular."

Under the classification of Folklore may be mentioned **The Hero of Esthonia and other Studies in the Romantic Literature of that Country** (Nimmo). Mr. W. F. Kirby has compiled from Esthonian and German sources a most interesting summary of "Kalevipoeg," the national Epic of the Esthonian Finns, and has added thereto a collection of folk-tales, with copious notes, and a good map of the country. **The Legends of the Micmacs** (Longmans) are eighty-seven stories collected in Nova

Scotia by the missionary, the Rev. Silas Tertius Rand, D.D. Many of these legends throw light upon the development in the minds of the Indians of the ideas associated with totemism; also legends of the Algonquins are supposed to show traces of the Norse myths, owing to an early Norse invasion. Mr. W. Crooke's **An Introduction to Popular Religion and the Folklore of Northern India** (Allahabad) is a picture of what has been termed the last living paganism of the world, of the popular beliefs as distinct from the worship of the great Brahmin Trinity. The volume is crowded with curious information, and would serve as an excellent textbook on the subject in missionary colleges.

In reviewing the *Belles Lettres*, the general literature, of 1894, the place of honour must be given to a volume of verse by the greatest living English poet, Algernon Charles Swinburne, entitled **Astrophel and other Poems** (Chatto). The volume is characterised by the poet's exuberant vitality of language and wealth of rhymes and of assonances. The titular poem was written after reading Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" in the garden of an old English manor house. "A Nympholipt" is a passionate expression of nature worship, and with "On the South Coast" is considered to be the most original and artistic poem in the volume. A considerable number of pages are devoted to memorial verse. The finest are those addressed to the poet Philip Bourke Marston. Mr. Alfred Austin's dainty, delightful garland of poems, entitled **The Garden that I Love** (Macmillan), breathes the poet's tender passionate love of the country. The beauties of each season are extolled; each flower in turn is chronicled in song; but the flower of flowers to Mr. Austin is the rose, that "typical flower all the world over, and the mind cannot get away from its representative personality." In **Russet and Silver** (Heinemann) is the title of Mr. Edmund Gosse's latest book of song, a title that is symbolical of the author's entrance into the autumn groves of life from the "scarlet and gold" of youth. The dedication to R. L. Stevenson, "To Tusitala in Vailima," is written in the difficult double-rhymed trochaics. Mr. Gosse shows his mastery of the mechanism of verse in such poems as "The Poet's Corner," "Revelation," and "The Prodigal." The volume, moreover, contains the "Masque of Painters," performed by the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-colours in 1885. Mr. William Watson stands secure at the head of the younger poets of the day. His new volume, **Odes and other Poems** (Lane), fully enhances the opinion, held by the majority of his readers, concerning his very genuine poetic endowments. The volume is small, but contains much that is fine. "Vita Nuova" is stately, dignified. In the lines to "Arthur Christopher Benson" he handles a difficult stanza form with success. Perhaps the most beautiful utterance is the lyric, "The First Skylark of Spring." In the verse of the year a foremost place must be given to Mr. John Davidson, whose "Odes and other Poems" and **Ballads and Songs** (Lane), for their fervour and poetic glamour, place him high in the ranks of the minor poets. His strongest expression is in his volume of **Plays: Being an Historical Pastoral; A Romantic Farce; Bruce, a Chronicle Play; Smith, a Tragic Farce; and Scaramouch in Naxos, a Pantomime** (Matthews & Lane). This volume of very remarkable realistic phantasies contains much of Mr. Davidson's most distinctive writing; in these plays, whether written in fifteenth century ten-syllable rhyme or in blank verse, he

may rightly be considered—for his vigour, directness, quaintness, and inventiveness—a genuine descendant of the dramatists of the Elizabethan era. Mr. Eugene Lee Hamilton is one of the most remarkable sonneteers among living poets. His **Sonnets of the Wingless Hours** (Stock) are as powerful as any he has written; these "Sonnets of Necessity" are fine in form, and full of sombre pathos, particularly the autobiographic series of twenty-three headed "A Wheeled Bed." **Ban and Arrière Ban: a Rally of Fugitive Rhymes**, by Andrew Lang (Longmans), is a collection of charming verse, threaded through with the author's peculiar vein of humour; they appeared originally in magazine form, and were written, according to Mr. Lang, because it amuses him to run into rhyme occasionally.

**Poems Old and New** (Nutt), by George Cotterell, is the rhythmic expression of the inner life of a writer of quiet distinction. They are graceful in imagery, delicate and fine in sentiment, and have the poetic atmosphere. Mr. Lewis Morris has gained his laurels through his proficiency in narrative verse. In his **Songs without Notes** (Kegan Paul & Co.) he comes forward with, as the title denotes, a sheaf of lyrics. The songs run smoothly, but their music is mute; they are graceful, thoughtful, and ethical in purpose; their appeal is strong to the better side of popular taste. **Songs, Poems, and Verses**, by Helen, Lady Dufferin (Murray), is the reprint of the author's beautiful popular Irish songs, such as "Katey's Letter," "The Irish Emigrant," "The Bay of Dublin," with the addition of many very characteristic pieces addressed to her son the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. Lord Dufferin has added a memoir, and some account of the Dufferin family, to "these slight and inadequate tokens of the existence of an adorable woman."

At the head of the list of critical essays of the year must be placed Mr. Swinburne's brilliant **Studies in Prose and Poetry** (Chatto), eighteen papers of various interest and value. They contain valuable contributions to criticism in the very brilliant essays on "The Posthumous Works of Victor Hugo," and on "Beaumont and Fletcher," while the "Recollections of Professor Jowett," not only give a vivid picture of that remarkable man, but contain some interesting autobiographical touches. "The Journal of Sir Walter Scott," "Wilkie Collins," "Social Verse," "Tennyson or Darwin," "Herrick," and "Webster," form the subjects of others of these essays, that are characterised by this critic's rare insight into persons and things, and are written with all the merits, and, it must be added, the demerits of Mr. Swinburne's prose style. Mr. Stopford Brooke's study of **Tennyson, his Art and Relation to Modern Life** (Isbister), is probably the most valuable critical commentary that has been written on the works of the late Laureate. Mr. Stopford Brooke centres his attention on the calm and speculative side of Tennyson's muse, and lays little stress on the dramatic work which so closely occupied the last fifteen years of Tennyson's life. The author shows a deep sympathy with the philosophy of the poet, with the perfection of his artistic workmanship, with his keen love and observation of nature. In the introduction the author deals with Tennyson's relation to beauty, to the Christian faith, to the movement of humanity, and in this last particular he finds Tennyson narrow and insular in his sympathies. Mr. Stopford Brooke ably points

out wherein Tennyson is the true and great poet working upon the broad, simple, universal lines of thought. In the **Art of Thomas Hardy** (Matthews & Lane) Mr. Lionel Johnson proves himself to be the worthy disciple of his master Walter Pater, in style, and, moreover, well equipped for the difficult art of criticism. Of Hardy's style he considers that it has "a manner of presentation which has something Elizabethan, something Shakespearian, or something of later date, Jacobean or Caroline"; he points out how much Mr. Hardy has done for the part of South English country that he calls Wessex; and of Mr. Hardy's novels, he places first "The Return of the Native," which he describes as "that masterpiece of almost Roman grandeur." **Junius Revealed**, by his surviving grandson, H. R. Francis, M.A. (Longmans), contains a facsimile of a document that forms a hitherto missing link in the chain of evidence proving Sir Philip Francis to be the author of "Junius." The late Mr. Parkes did not live to finish his Life of Sir P. Francis, in which he purposed to give this document a conspicuous place. Mr. Merivale, in completing the Life, unaccountably overlooked this valuable paper, which is now given to the public. **The Growth and Influence of Classical Poetry** (Macmillan), by R. C. Jebb, Litt. D., M.P., is a series of lectures delivered in 1892, on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University. It is a survey of Greek poetry from Homer to Euripides, to the close of the fourth century B.C., when Hellenic literature became cosmopolitan. Professor Jebb, the best English interpreter of Greek classical literature, considers each writer as the exponent of a certain side of the Greek genius, he explains the supreme qualities of Greek literature, and restates its claim to be the fountain head of European poetry.

There are two books to be chronicled that exemplify that difficult classification "poetic prose." In **An Imaged World: Poems in Prose** (Dent), Mr. Edward Garnett uses sonorous prose, vigorous and rhetorical, to chant his impressions—intensely subjective—of "Lawless Old Night," of "Day," of "The Thorn Blossom," of "The Storm Wind," in short, of nature and man, town and country. These poems in prose, these effective word-pictures, are illustrated with peculiar suitability and artistic distinction by five remarkable drawings, by Mr. William Hyde. **Vistas**, by William Sharp (F. Murray), depict certain remote psychic episodes, impressions of spiritual emotion, conceived in dramatic form, and expressed in rarefied, rhythmical prose. Both volumes have an essentially individual note; both belong to the "vague borderland, between the realms of poetry and prose." Mr. Austin Dobson has written a Second Series of his dainty **Eighteenth Century Vignettes** (Chatto), characterised by artistic simplicity, fine discrimination, and accuracy of knowledge. The present volume is devoted to Swift, Richardson, Smollett, Johnson; to the Paynes and Dodsley; to Roubillac, Lady Mary Coke; to Silas Told, the "Prisoners' Chaplain," and to Chodowiecki, the "Berlin Hogarth." Failing the delayed fifth volume of "Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition," with an added memoir of that Nestor of Celtic research, Mr. Campbell of Islay, the most important Scottish work of general interest is **Life and Letters of James Macpherson** (Sonnenschein), by Bailey Saunders. Here the old and as yet unsettled controversy concerning the authenticity of the Ossianic originals, upon which he based, or it may be translated, his famous version, is demonstrated in full detail.



A large number of books on miscellaneous subjects have yet to be chronicled. To select somewhat at random, in **Problems in the Far East** (Longmans) the Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., deals with Japan, Corea, and China from the point of view of the observant student, and not of the mere traveller. With regard to Japan, Mr. Curzon shows that the recent parliamentary Government has so far proved a failure; that Japan has wilfully picked a quarrel with China in Corea; he discusses the condition of the Chinese Army, and concludes with an attempted estimate of the position of China in the world, and particularly in connection with British interests. "Everything that is ancient is modern, everything that is modern is ancient," is the teaching of **Society in China** (Innes), by Robert K. Douglas, keeper of the Oriental books and MSS. in the British Museum. Mr. Douglas was for many years in China under Sir Harry Parkes; he has a profound acquaintance with Chinese history and literature, and has taken endless pains to accumulate valuable native evidence for his subject matter. The result is an authoritative criticism, from an English point of view, of social and political China. A portion of the volume treats of British relations and foreign trade with China. He says that the Chinese "as a nation are self-contained, and ask nothing from foreign countries except to be left alone. Foreigners have, therefore, always stood at a distinct disadvantage with regard to them. . . . It will soon become necessary for us to take a far stronger line than we have lately adopted in our relations with the Celestial Empire." He considers that before long "that Empire will be involved in a war with one or more of those powers which it is now fast driving to the 'sticking point.'" Mr. E. Harrison Baker has written another of his delightful books on rural France. This time **Two Summers in Guyenne: a Chronicle of the Wayside and the Waterside** (Bentley), is the district described, with Périgord for centre point. It is the record of sojourn and travel in a little-known region of France, written in excellent literary form. Scattered throughout his picturesque descriptions are interesting notes on the social and economic life of the people of those districts. Miss M. Betham-Edwards has completed her suggestive and interesting **France of To-Day: a Survey, Comparative and Retrospective** (Rivington). She has practically visited the whole of France, and gives the results of her observations, impressions, and investigations in two goodly volumes. She draws beautiful pictures of the natural scenery, and does full justice to the delightful climate and rich productiveness of the country. Her attention is chiefly directed to the condition of the peasants, who, in addition to their thrift and common-sense, add the charm of hospitality, though not the humane quality of kindness to animals. Miss Betham-Edwards' criticisms upon the Catholic Church in France are very severe. She notes the important desire of the French Government to conciliate the peasants, and she assures her readers that she considers the English to be popular rather than the reverse with the country folk. **The Meaning of History and other Historical Pieces**, by Frederic Harrison (Macmillan), is an extremely suggestive volume of collected essays and lectures, which illustrate or supplement the view broadly stated in the first, entitled "The Use of History." Mr. Harrison has the historical gift of recognising the continuous power of habits and institutions as well as the significance of individual actions. He believes that "no real progress can be made which is not based on a sound

knowledge of the living institutions and the active wants of mankind." He would have us treat history as "the biography of the race." Among other valuable papers may be mentioned "The Connection of History"; "The City: Ancient, Mediæval, Modern, Ideal"; the "Notes on Athens, Rome, Paris"; and for its delightful humour, the "Oxford Dialogue on the History Schools." The volume has throughout the charm of being written in eloquent, vigorous English. In **A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown** (Clarendon Press) Mr. Edward William Hall has to some extent broken new ground. His aim is "to define the powers and jurisdiction which the British Crown exercises, or has a right to exercise, in places not within the dominions of Great Britain, whatever the source may be, from which such powers and jurisdiction are derived." The book is a valuable contribution to the better understanding generally of international questions. Mr. Edward Dicey, C.B., has written an interesting monograph on **The Peasant State: an Account of Bulgaria in 1894** (Murray), in which is presented a very accurate view of the present, and a fair estimate of the future of Bulgaria. Mr. Dicey informs his readers that in that State the educational grant amounts to one-seventh of the public expenditure, that an equitable distribution of taxation is prevented by the capitulations. The **Memorials of St. James' Palace** (Longmans), by Edgar Sheppard, M.A., Sub-Dean of H.M. Chapels Royal, traces the development of a leper house into a royal palace. It reviews the residence therein of successive Kings and Queens from the second of the House of Tudor, the Stuarts, House of Hanover, to H.M. the Queen, to whom the book is dedicated by permission. The author has had access to all necessary documents. The book is full of historical records, curious and valuable, and is fully and carefully illustrated. For his monograph on **The Great Pestilence (A.D. 1348-9)**, now commonly known as **The Black Death** (Simpkin), by Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B., the author has not only availed himself of the recent works of French and German writers, but he has made an exhaustive study of the Bishops' Registers; for, as is usually admitted, the extensive mortality of the clergy during the plague was one of the factors in the bringing about of the decay of English monasticism. In this able, scholarly volume, Dr. Gasquet has traced the course of the plague through Europe, and has endeavoured to fix its chronology, and to ascertain the results of its visitations. **English Whist and English Whistplayers** (Bentley), by W. P. Courtney, in addition to being a very complete history of the game, is full of charming anecdotes of the most interesting men and women, who have been devotees, from the time of Dean Swift till the present day of whist. The light thrown on the characters of such men as Napoleon, Marlborough, Lord Clive, Blücher, Moltke, of archbishops, clerics, of professional men, and of ladies of societies, is so searching, that whist has aptly been termed "an epitome of society."

A few choice and very welcome volumes have been issued this year, which treat of certain aspects of the plastic arts, music, and the drama. To consider them in this order of arrangement, **The Life of Christ as Represented in Art** (Black), by Frederick W. Farrar, D.D., is a handsomely bound, well printed, and profusely illustrated volume, compiled from well-known sources, from Didron, Crowe & Cavalcaselle, Viollet le Duc, Agincourt,

etc. In the popular sense the book is not only an excellent compendium of religious art, but it contains an interesting account of the attitude of the early and mediæval Church to pictorial representation. The text is distinguished by grace of style, and catholicity of judgment. Mr. Sidney Colvin has selected and published **Ninety-three Drawings by Albert Dürer, in Facsimile from the Originals in the British Museum** (Autotype Co.), prefaced by a perspicuous essay upon the drawings that is excellently to the point, written by the keeper of the prints. The volume forms the third part of a work, issued at Berlin under Dr. Lippmann, that will ultimately comprise all Dürer's existing drawings and sketches preserved in public or private collections. Though of inferior value from the point of view of scholarly criticism, **Raphael's Madonnas and other Great Pictures Reproduced from the Original Paintings, with a Life of Raphael**, (Bell & Sons), by K. Károly, is of importance to all students of art. This very handsome volume may be said to form a handy note-book of Raphael criticism, illustrated by excellent process engravings from the original pictures. The letterpress contains little new matter, and is mainly a well-arranged and adequate selection from the best opinions of well-known authorities. The majority of the plates leave nothing to be desired. A delightful book to look at and to handle is **Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen** (Macmillan), by Joseph Pennell. It is, as the sub-title explains, "A Study of the Art of To-day, with Technical Suggestions." It is a very complete history of the modern art of pen-drawing for reproduction, recorded mainly in illustration of draughtsmen of all modern countries. Mr. Pennell also gives examples of work which he thinks is based on a wrong ideal. His book should do much to raise the standard of appreciation by its simple exposition of what good workmanship means, but chiefly because of its excellent examples of honest and capable technique. Another valuable work upon technique is **A Text-book of the History of Painting** (Longmans), by Professor John C. Van Dyke, the editor of the series to which this well-illustrated and generally well-got-up book belongs—the "College Histories of Art."

In **The Modes of Ancient Greek Music** (Clarendon Press), by D. B. Monro, the Provost of Oriel grapples with the mysteries of the art that in Greece fell far short of painting, sculpture, and architecture in perfection. The leading theory of the book is that the main difference between Greek scales was one of pitch. The author denies that the Greeks had any systematic harmony, and asserts that even the tonality of their music was very vague, which strove in its theory to include an analysis of spoken utterance. The subject is handled with skill and learning, though it is to be regretted that Mr. Monro is not a musician. Dr. Hubert H. Parry, the eminent composer, in his **The Art of Music** (Kegan Paul), has written a luminous, sagacious treatise on the origin and development of the youngest of the arts. In his preliminary chapter he dwells on the physical and physiological necessity for the law of contrast which constitutes the basis of all the important forms of art. "Greek Music" follows; then a masterly chapter on "Folk Music"; music from the ninth to the sixteenth century is reviewed in its archaeological interest; "the middle stage of the modern opera"; the great masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to Wagner and the modern developments are finally considered. In instrumental music Mr. Parry hails Bach

as the greatest master, and declares that "everything that has been written since is but the pale shadow of his splendid conceptions." Mr. Maitland Fuller's **Masters of German Music** (Osgood) divides itself into two parts. The great masters treated by him are Brahms, Max Bruch, Goldmark, Remberger, Joachim, and Mme. Schumann; the little masters are Herzogenberg, Hoffmann, and other contemporary musicians.

Three books on the drama remain to be chronicled. **Theatricals: Two Comedies, Tenants, Disengaged** (Osgood), constitutes the first series of Mr. Henry James's printed plays, while the second series comprises **An Album** and **The Reprobate**. The preface to the second series is not only the clever presentation of the sufferings of a play-writer writhing under the managerial "cut," but contains also very subtle and suggestive criticism of the dramatic art. From the delicacy of the handling these comedies are charming contributions to dramatic literature rather than good acting plays. Mr. James exclaims humorously: "There is no room in a play for the play itself until everything (including the play, the distracted neophyte pantingly ascertains) has been completely eliminated. Then the fun, as the vulgar phrase is, begins." According to Mr. William Archer, in his Introduction to **Dramatic Essays by Leigh Hunt** (Scott), that distinguished man of letters "may be reckoned the first English dramatic critic . . . the first writer who made it his business to report upon all the principal theatrical events of the day."

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE annual record of the progress of science cannot fail to give prominent place to the practical development of principles long known and applied, especially when they are at once novel and full of interest. For ages man has been endeavouring to perfect flying machines, but no previous experimenter has achieved the success which Mr. Hiram S. Maxim has obtained. Mr. Maxim has constructed a machine, weighing altogether some 8,000 lbs., with two high speed engines of 300 horse power, driving screws 18 feet in diameter. Fixed to the deck of the machine are huge metallic sheets called aeroplanes, by which the lifting effect of the air is obtained. These planes can be moved from the deck so as to enable the machine to rise or fall at will. On trial the machine lifted itself off the ground with an additional weight of 2,000 lbs. In marine engineering several new vessels have been built which have eclipsed all previously known speed. A new torpedo boat destroyer, built by Messrs. Thornycroft, covered the measured mile at a speed of thirty-three miles per hour, and the *Hornet*, built by Messrs. Yarrow, traversed ninety-four miles in three hours. The outward record to New York has been lowered by the *Lucania* to 5 d. 7 h. 23 m. The railway mileage of Great Britain has been increased by the opening of the West Highland Railway, which runs for 100 miles through the wild mountainous district between the Clyde and Fort William. An overhead electric railway—the only one in Europe—has been opened in Liverpool, and is working with great regularity and success. The Manchester ship canal has been formally opened for traffic, and good progress has been made with the Blackwall tunnel, which is the largest work ever attempted, the diameter of the tunnel being 27 feet. Owing to the small distance between the head of the tunnel and the bed of the river, which at one point is only 7 feet, the work is unusually difficult, and the air pressure used in its construction has to be very carefully maintained and adjusted. Captain Sir Andrew Noble has completed his report on the methods adopted for measuring pressure on the bores of guns. He finds that for registering pressure of great suddenness and short duration the crusher gauge is the best, but for determining the total energy communicated by the explosive to the projectile the chronoscope is to be preferred. The chronoscope used is so arranged as to show the millionth part of a second, with a possible error of three-millionths, due chiefly to the deflection of the electric spark used as a recorder. It is of interest to learn from these experiments that the service cordite ammunition develops more uniform energy and wears away the barrel with less irregularity than any other explosive. Sir Andrew Noble considers that the employment of crusher gauges in the chamber of the gun is of far more value than when these gauges are placed in the chase of the gun.

## ASTRONOMY.

The maximum of sun-spot activity appears to have definitely passed for the present period. During the past year the size and magnetic effect of these spots have obviously declined. One spot, early in February, which was visible to the naked eye at sunset, caused a considerable magnetic disturbance at Greenwich, but both spots and effects were uniformly less than in 1892. On the other hand, there has been a more than usual display of aurora, an especially fine one having been observed at Stonyhurst. An attempt has been made by Messrs. Wilson and Grey to calculate the effective temperature of the sun. As a result, they find a minimum temperature of 6,400° C. to a maximum of 8,700° C., according as the effect of absorption in the terrestrial and solar atmospheres is or is not taken into account. For the purpose of this calculation, the value of zenith absorption found by Angstrom's experiments has been used. M. Deslandres has extended his method of solar photography by monochromatic light to obtaining photographs of the dark lines in the solar spectrum, due to the reversing layer in the sun's atmosphere; and M. Janssen has made further experiments to settle the existence or non-existence of oxygen in the sun by obtaining spectra of that gas under considerable pressure. The examination of the photographs taken during the total eclipse of 1898 shows an extension of the corona equal to one or one and a half times the diameter of the moon, and on those taken in Chili, M. Schaeberle has detected a comet actually within the corona. The return of Tempel's comet of 1878 was observed by Mr. Finlay near the calculated position on May 8 at the Cape Observatory, and that of Encke's comet on November 1, by Cerulli. An interesting comet, with very rapid motion, was discovered by Mr. Gale at Sydney on April 3. A comet was also discovered by Mr. Denning, which appears to be a periodic one, and has been variously identified with those observed in 1819 and 1743. M. Fabry, of the Observatory of Marseilles, has come to the conclusion that the origin of comets must be looked for within the solar system, and not from outside space, mainly on the ground that the number of paths of strongly marked hyperbolic character should be numerous instead of comparatively rare, as is actually the case. He also finds that if comets were visitors from outside the solar system, they should show more than they do of the effect of solar motion. The variability of the well-known star  $\beta$  Lyrae has generally been referred to the presence of a less brilliant companion, revolving round a brighter and larger star, and this has been supported by the spectrum of the star, which shows both bright and dark lines due to hydrogen. If, however, the alteration in brightness was due to the duller companion alternately passing in front and behind the brighter luminary, then these bright and dark lines should be nearest together when this occultation takes place; but observations made by Mr. Keeler seem to show that the lines are then widest apart. Another explanation has been offered, that the variation in brilliancy is due to an immense tidal wave in the photosphere of the star, caused by the motion of a companion. Professor Barnard has found, on examining photographic plates of the Pleiades, taken after very long exposure, that there is an extended nebular region of a singularly curved and streaky appearance distributed throughout the constellation, and apparently connected with it. Some of these photographs

of nebulae have received ten hours' exposure. Mr. Sidney Waters has endeavoured to show from the study of Dr. Dreyer's new general catalogue of nebulae that there is a certain definite arrangement of nebulae and star clusters in space, the clusters ceasing where the nebulae begin. During the year a few new asteroids have been discovered, raising the total known to nearly 400; but of far more interest is the determination of the diameters of a few of the better known, by Professor Barnard, with the great refractor of the Lick Observatory. He calculates the diameter of Ceres as 599 miles, that of Pallas as 273, and that of Vesta as 237. The extended series of observations of the planet Mars have greatly increased our knowledge of the member of the solar system which bears the greatest resemblance to the earth. By comparing the spectrum of Mars with that of the moon, when at a similar or lower altitude on the same night, so as to neutralise as far as possible the disturbing effects of the earth's atmosphere, Professor Campbell concludes that the atmosphere of Mars must be less than one-fourth that of the earth; while Mr. Lowell, by other methods, considers that the Martian atmosphere is probably more than that of the moon, which has practically none, and less than that of Venus. Dr. Huggins also concludes that the atmosphere of Mars is decidedly more than that of the moon, while a singular and at present unexplained clouding over of part of the Mare Cimmerium has been noticed by Mr. Stanley Williams and other observers. The gradual melting of the polar snow-caps was well observed, the water produced by the melting apparently feeding the so-called "canals" discovered by Schiaparelli. In these canals certain unexplained temporary changes have been noticed. The bright protuberances noticed are probably mountain-tops with snow-caps, illuminated by the sun. The first satellite of Jupiter has been proved by Mr. Barnard to possess a bright equatorial belt and darker polar regions, so that when seen against the bright belt of Jupiter only the two polar regions are visible; thus the double character of the satellite is caused. Mr. Stanley Williams has shown that the rate of rotation of spots in the equatorial region of Saturn is faster than that of those farther north, though the difference is not so marked as is the case in Jupiter. A re-determination of the dimension of Saturn has been made by Dr. Struve, who finds that the polar diameter is  $15.775''$ , and that of the equatorial  $17.500''$ —somewhat larger than those usually adopted. Several important additions to the facilities for astronomical research have been made during the past year. Mr. M'Clean has presented to the Cape of Good Hope Observatory a large equatorially mounted refracting telescope of 18 inches diameter, and Sir Henry Thompson has given to the Greenwich Observatory a 26 inch refractor, specially intended for photographic work. A new triple object-glass has been invented by Mr. Dennis Taylor, with the view of obtaining a more perfectly achromatic image than is possible with the usual form of refractor. In the United States an observatory has been erected at Flagstaff, Arizona, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, expressly with the object of observing the planet Mars during its favourable opposition; and it is gratifying to know, as stated above, that important additions to our knowledge of the planet were thereby obtained. Professor W. Förster, of the Royal Observatory of Berlin, has mapped out the path described by the movement of the pole of the axis of rotation of the earth in its course

round the principal axis of inertia. This was obtained from a large number of observations of latitude made at the Observatories of Kasan, Strassburg, and Bethlehem, Pa.

#### GEOGRAPHY.

The increasing interest in polar research has led to two new expeditions being fitted out during the past year by private enterprise. One of these, led by an American journalist, Mr. Wellman, started from Spitzbergen in an attempt to penetrate as far northward as possible by means of sledges. Misfortunes, however, rendered the enterprise unsuccessful. His ship, the *Rognvald*, was crushed by the ice, the sledge journey turned out to be much more toilsome than expected, and progress was so slow that the attempt had to be abandoned when within a few miles of the 81st parallel. A second expedition, made possible by the liberality of Mr. A. C. Harmsworth, and commanded by Mr. F. G. Jackson, started on July 10 with the intention of wintering in Franz Josef Land. Lieutenant Peary, after wintering at Bowdoin Bay, started on March 9 for Independence Bay with the object of completing his survey of Northern Greenland, but he only succeeded in getting one quarter of the way and had to return, having lost most of his dogs. He reached his headquarters again on April 18, and was visited in August by Captain Bryant, commanding the *Falcon*, who took back some of the party, and also called at the Carey Islands in hope of meeting with some traces of the adventurous Swedish naturalists, Messrs. Bjorling and Kalstenius, who were wrecked there in 1892. Lieutenant Peary is spending another winter in Baffin's Bay in order to resume his exploration during the present year. Another American ship, under Dr. Cook, which was destined for Melville Sound, was wrecked on the Greenland coast. Mr. Trevor Battye spent some time on Kolguef Island for the purpose of studying the fauna and flora. The island itself appears to be a mere fluviatile deposit, no older rocks being apparent. Mr. Battye found some difficulty in returning, and met with considerable hardships. Captain Wiggins, a brother of the well-known trader to the Siberian rivers, was also rescued with difficulty. Pressure is being brought to bear on our own Government to assist in fitting out a properly-equipped expedition for exploratory work in the Antarctic Ocean, of which comparatively little is known. That little has, however, been slightly increased by the observations made by Captain Larsen, who was cruising off the coast of Graham's Land from November, 1893, to January, 1894. In lat. 68° 10' an active volcano was discovered, and during the voyage numbers of facts as to the temperature and life of this region were recorded.

In America the various Government surveys have brought to light some interesting and unexpected results. In the north the Alaskan Boundary Commission has determined the height of Mount Logan as 19,500 feet, or 1,500 higher than Mount St. Elias, which was considered the highest point in Alaska. In South America the watershed between the east and west is found to lie, not along a line joining the highest peaks of the Cordilleras, but considerably to the east of that line, and mutual disagreement is resulting thereby between Chili and the Argentine Republic. The explorations up the numerous big rivers of South America have been continued in Bolivia



by Colonel J. M. Pando, in Brazil by Dr. H. J. Fladt, and in Ecuador by Mr. C. D. Tyler.

In Asia, the region where the three great empires of Russia, Britain, and China approach each other still attracts the attention of explorers. In Tibet two Russian travellers, Messrs. Menkhujin and Ulonof, have succeeded in reaching the sacred city of Lhasa, and even in interviewing the Dalai Lama himself. It is needless to add that they were disguised as Tartars, a character which they were thoroughly capable of sustaining. Their journey lasted two years and a half, beginning in Astrakhan and ending at Peking. Another Russian explorer, Captain Roborovsky, has made several expeditions from Lukchun in the mountain ranges separating Turkestan and Tibet. The danger of travelling in Tibet has been emphasised by the murder of M. Dutreuil de Rhins at Sinin in the early part of last summer. A map of Tibet, published by the Royal Geographical Society, gives the results of all explorations in this country made by the Indian Government and by French, Russian, and British travellers up to the end of 1893. In the Pamirs Dr. Sven Hedin has attempted the ascent of the Mustaghata, a mountain 25,000 feet high, and Mr. Curzon has explored the head waters of the Oxus, which he places in the Penjde glacier.

Mr. G. S. Robertson has given an account of his wanderings in Kafiristan. This region consists of deep narrow valleys separated from each other by lofty mountain passes, so that winter communication from valley to valley is *nil*. Three different languages are spoken by the various tribes, of which the Presun is probably that of the original inhabitants. The passes from Kafiristan into Badakhshan are none of them less than 15,000 feet. Mr. Robertson has carefully described the habits and customs of the Kafirs. One of the most curious of these customs is that the birth of children takes place in a special hut kept for this purpose on the outskirts of each village. Further west Colonel H. A. Sawyer has described a journey in the Bakhtiari hills, in the course of which he has added to our knowledge of the sources of the Karun and Dizful. In fact the river system of this part of Persia is full of anomalies. The head waters of the Zaindema, for example, are situated in a valley plentifully supplied with springs of fresh water, yet in the very centre of this valley is a salt spring at the foot of low salt hills.

Still further west, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Bent have successfully penetrated into the Hadramaut, which had only once before been visited by a European traveller. The expedition started from the coast of the Red Sea, mounted on to the high plateau or Akaba, and then descended into the Hadramaut and its collateral valleys. The plateau is almost absolutely waterless, and without any sign of habitation. The Hadramaut resembles an old sea fjord. It is ruled by the powerful family or clan of Seyyids or Sherifs, who have built big palaces in the valley. The rest of the inhabitants are Arabs, Bedouins and slaves. The resources of the Hadramaut are almost *nil*—the frankincense bushes, which once formed an important source of wealth, being now rapidly destroyed. Several interesting Himyaritic inscriptions were recorded. Among minor explorations may be mentioned that by Mr. H. Louis, in the Telubin Valley of the north-east portion of the Malay Peninsula; the ascent of the upper waters of the Mekong by Lieutenant Le Vey; and the visit to the aboriginal tribes of Suchwan by M. D'Estrey. The Dutch Government has completed a geological map of

Java, from surveys conducted under the superintendence of Mr. R. M. Verbeck, and Mr. M. K. Weber, a Russian consul in China, has completed a map of that country, for which he has been accumulating material for nearly thirty years.

In Africa attention has been directed rather to the more careful survey of regions already visited than in the attempt to discover parts still unexplored. Thus, Mr. T. J. Alldridge has opened up Mendiland, the district lying at the back of the south-east part of Sierra Leone. He has made treaties with the native chiefs, secured the opening out of roads, and penetrated 180 miles inland to an isolated mountain peak called Mamba. Similarly M. Dybowski and M. Barrat have made expeditions from the Loango coast stations for some sixty miles into the interior, and gone overland from Libreville to Franceville. In German East Africa, Mr. Neumann, starting from Tanga, ascended the extinct volcano Surin, which is 14,000 feet high, and after passing through the Masailand and Kavirondo, reached Uganda by an entirely new route. Count Götzen, having crossed Ruanda into the territory of the Congo Free State, discovered a new lake, and ascended an active volcano known as Virungo ya Gongo, situated south of Lake Albert Edward. It appears from Dr. Baumann's observations that the level of Lake Victoria Nyanza, after falling for some years, is again rising. Several expeditions have made Lake Rudolf their object, notably those headed by Mr. Donaldson Smith and by Baron Nolde. African exploration for the past year may be looked upon as largely undertaken by various nations with the object of extending their "Hinterland" influence, and of preventing the ambitious designs of their neighbours. Few have been so purely scientific as that of Ruwenzori, by Mr. Scott Elliot, and of Damara-land, by Dr. Karl Dove, who has collected some valuable statistics as to the temperature, rainfall and physical geography of this portion of Germany's colonial empire. The present distribution of Alpine flora in Central Africa, the extent of former glaciation, and the former arrangement of the river systems of the great lakes, have been described with great ability by Dr. J. W. Gregory. New discoveries have been made in Matabeleland and Mashonaland of ruined cities, similar to those mentioned in previous years.

Even Europe still leaves something for the geographer to do. A very interesting journey has been made in Montenegro by Mr. Cozens Hardy, who has travelled over much of the frontier land between that country and Albania. Captain Mockler Ferryman has studied the Rembesdal lake in Norway, which is due to a glacier blocking up the end of a valley at right angles to its own, and which thereby causes periodical floods of a very destructive kind. Dr. H. R. Mill has completed his soundings of the English lakes. These he divides into two groups—the one shallow, having an average depth of not more than 18 feet, and the other deep, to which most of the lakes belong, and in which the sides are steep and the bottom comparatively flat. Bassenthwaite may be taken as a type of the one, and Wastwater as a type of the other kind.

## GEOLOGY.

The distribution and arrangement of the deep-seated palæozoic rocks, underlying the newer strata in the East and South of England, are becoming year by year better known by the various trial borings which are from time to time undertaken, generally for the purpose of obtaining a copious water supply. One such boring at Culford, near Bury St. Edmunds, has shown the existence of a slaty rock of probable Silurian age at a depth of 687 feet. Professor Boyd Dawkins considers that this is most likely the northern anticlinal of the great mass of rocks constituting the South Wales coalfield, and that from this and other borings it is possible to predict the eastern extension of coal-bearing strata in the counties of Berkshire, Oxford, and Buckinghamshire. It must be remembered that coal measures have already been proved lowest at Dover at a depth of 1,113 feet, and at Burford in Oxfordshire at a depth of 1,184 feet, in both cases at a less depth than many of the seams now profitably worked in other coalfields. Another boring of great interest has been completed at the Point of Ayre in the Isle of Man, where salt-bearing Triassic strata have been found at a depth of 482 feet, proving the extension of these Triassic beds across the Irish Sea, as they are already known both at Barrow on the Lancashire coast and at Carrickfergus in Ireland. The conditions under which the chalk strata were deposited have been studied by Mr. W. Fraser Hume. After tracing the probable extent of the cretaceous ocean and its probable depth, he concludes that while part of the chalk may have been deposited in shallow water, yet that part was undoubtedly a deep sea deposit, and that the nodular bands which are sometimes considered as definite breaks in the history of cretaceous deposition are merely due to changes in the physical conditions or current relations under which this deposition took place. Even if the cretaceous ocean were no bigger than the Mediterranean it might not improbably contain areas as large and as deep as that sea, and this would allow of considerable tracts having a depth of over 1,000 or even 2,000 fathoms. A remarkable chalk deposit, occurring at Catworth in Huntingdonshire, has been studied by Mr. A. G. Cameron. This deposit is more than twenty-five miles from the nearest point where the chalk appears at the surface, and yet cannot be considered an outlier of the main mass, but would appear to have been forced into its present position from a distance. The visit of the United States expedition to Greenland has given Professor T. C. Chamberlin the opportunity of studying the glaciers of Disco Bay. These are, he finds, of the same general type as those in the Alps and elsewhere, and he points out that these glaciers are just as far south of the northern extension of the Greenland icefield as the former southern limit of glaciation in the United States is south of Disco Bay. From a careful study of the glacial conditions formerly prevailing in Norway, Mr. A. M. Hansen is led to ascribe a limit of 7,000 to 9,000 years since the last glacial epoch. Before that there was a glacial period of from 15,000 to 25,000 years, then an interglacial age of similar duration, and before that the principal ice age, which lasted from 100,000 to 150,000 years. In this connection Professor Bonney has calculated that it would require only a fall of mean temperature of 20° F. to bring glaciers on the Welsh hills down to the sea coast, and cover the Highlands with a sheet of ice. The existence of man before this glacial period still

remains in doubt, but Mr. W. J. L. Abbott appears to have shown that there is evidence of several distinct races of prehistoric man in Britain. From the various implements discovered at Ightham in Kent and its neighbourhood, he is led to classify these races into (1) the neolithic man, who left his implements strewn all over the face of the country, (2) the late palæolithic of the rock shelters and caves, (3) the valley men, who left their traces in gravels deposited by the rivers whose valleys still exist, (4) the hill men, who can be detected in river drift deposited before the existing distribution of river and valley, and (5) the old plateau men, whose implements take us back into an unknown antiquity. In physical geology attention has been drawn by Mr. Clement Read to the schistose structure occurring in the contorted drift beds near Runton in Norfolk, due to movement of the overlying mass and not to sedimentation, and Mr. G. Barron has developed this theory to an explanation of the crystalline schists in the older strata, the coarsely crystalline being produced at a greater depth below the surface than those of a finer texture. The effect of wind denudation has been studied by Mr. J. A. Udden in his careful investigation of the loess of the Mississippi Valley. An excellent example of the effect of water occurred in the landslide at Gohna in British Garwhal, Northern India, where a mass of steeply dipping dolomite rock fell bodily across the valley, forming a barrier nearly 900 feet high and blocking a tributary of the Ganges. This tributary gradually formed a lake above the dam, which increased till it finally burst on August 26, causing a destructive flood which swept down the valley in such volume that the water rose 50 feet above the usual level 70 miles from the seat of the catastrophe.

A report of a committee of the British Association has led to the disappearance of one of the high level beds of shelly clay containing existing marine species, such as the Arctic *Tellina calcarea*. This bed was said to be found at Chapelhall, in Lanarkshire, at a height of over 500 feet above the sea, but the members of the committee failed to find any evidence of its existence. Mr. C. Davison has continued his observations on earth tremors, and has estimated the velocity of the wave of transmission of the great earthquake which occurred in Greece on April 27 as about 3.2 kilometres per second. This earthquake was also registered at Nicolaiev by the horizontal pendulum recorder, invented by Dr. Paschwitz.

#### PHYSICS.

Some reports of more than usual interest were presented to the British Association at the Oxford meeting of 1894. Among them special mention must be made of the researches in the infra-red spectrum by Professor S. P. Langley. The instrument by which these researches have been carried out has been perfected until observations which formerly required the presence of two persons have now been automatically recorded by a clever combination of clockwork and photography. The photographic plate shows at the same time the exact relative position of the portion of the infra-red spectrum under observation, and also the oscillations of the mirror of the galvanometer, due to the varying heat in this portion. When these variations occur suddenly, it shows that there is at that point in the spectrum a line or band similar to those seen in the visible spectrum. As the infra-red spectrum is at least ten times the length of the visible spectrum, and as many of the

bands or lines it contains are due to absorptive action in the earth's atmosphere, it is clear that an accurate map of this invisible spectrum will be of the greatest importance, especially in regard to meteorology. Professor Langley claims that alterations in the bolometer have rendered it sensitive to as little as one-millionth of a degree centigrade. In one day, Professor Langley has obtained three curves, showing the variations in the sun's heat in this part of the spectrum, which would formerly have taken two years of labour to obtain, and that with less accuracy. By an ingenious arrangement of lenses, a line spectrum has been obtained from these curves, showing the lines and bands in the infra-red in their true relative positions. Professor Henrici has investigated the theory of planimeters, classifying these instruments for measuring areas under three types, and describing the construction and properties of instruments belonging to each of these classes. The close analogy between the electric discharge and light which was established by Hertz's classical discoveries has been extended by Mr. P. Lenard. Hertz found that the invisible rays emitted from the negative pole of an electric current in a vacuum were capable of passing through a metallic film. Mr. Lenard uses for this purpose a thin film of aluminium, of sufficient strength to resist the pressure of the atmosphere, and then investigates the rays from the cathode or negative pole after passing through this film. Though invisible to the eye, these rays can be recognised by their photographic and chemical activity, and by their power of producing the phenomena of phosphorescence. Unlike luminous rays, they cannot pass through a plate of quartz, although they pass through these metallic plates, which are impervious to light. When passing through a gas, these cathode rays appear to be scattered by the gaseous molecules almost in the same way that light is scattered by solid particles floating in the air. This scattering or turbidity of a gas appears to be independent of its chemical composition, but dependent on its density. With decrease of pressure the turbidity becomes less, and oxygen, when sufficiently rarefied, becomes as transparent to these rays as hydrogen; while hydrogen, under sufficient pressure, becomes as turbid as oxygen. In a perfect vacuum the rays cannot be produced, since an electric discharge is not possible; but if produced in an imperfect vacuum, they will then pass through a perfect one; and rays which can only be detected in air a couple of centimetres from the metallic film can be traced 130 centimetres in vacuo. Though the path of these rays is a straight line, yet they can be deflected by the action of a magnet. Mr. Lenard concludes that these rays are not all of the same wave length, which, if correct, would be a further analogy with luminous rays. Professor J. J. Thomson finds that the velocity with which these rays travel is notably inferior to that of light, although a hundred times as great as the proper motion of a hydrogen molecule. Both Professor Thomson and Mr. H. B. Baker have shown that moisture in a gas facilitates the passage of an electric discharge. If a gas is dried till a current of definite strength fails to pass, and then the resistance of the gas is overcome by a more powerful current, the weaker current which was formerly stopped is now found to pass. An attempt to use the cathode rays for illuminating purposes has been made by Mr. Ebert. The solution of the problem of how to obtain a source of light without heat still remains to be successfully undertaken. Mr. Arthur Schuster has suggested an ingenious explanation to account for the secular variation

of terrestrial magnetism. He suggests that the earth as a rotating magnet induces currents in the surrounding medium which would in their turn react on the earth. These currents would tend to retard the earth's rotation if the conductivity of space were within a certain amount, but this amount would be so small as not to appreciably lengthen the day within historical times. Professor S. P. Thompson has found that a sheet of boiler plate, one half-inch in thickness and three feet square, can be made to act as a mirror when placed in front of a magnetic pole. A virtual image of this pole is formed, which can be discovered and traced out by a coil connected with a galvanometer. Between two parallel plates a succession of images can be obtained, alternately negative and positive. The effect of curved plates was also studied. Among practical applications of electricity may be mentioned the teleautograph of Mr. Elisha Gray, by which handwriting is reproduced by an electric current in a more satisfactory manner than any former instrument has done, and an automatic electrical steering gear has been made by Lieutenant Bersier of the French Navy, in which the variations of the magnetic needle from its true position are utilised to start an electric motor actuating the steering gear. A new form of battery has been brought out in Germany, consisting of chloride of copper, air, and carbonic oxide, and similar in action to the gas battery invented by Grove.

In photography Mr. Burchett has recommended the use of two screens of coloured glass, one yellow, the other green, between the two parts of a doublet in order to subdue the actinic effect of the blue and violet rays, and thereby produce a result more closely corresponding to that observed by the eye, which takes in the luminous and not the actinic value of the various rays in the spectrum. Mr. G. H. Bryan has made a careful summary of the present position of the theory of thermodynamics, and has shown how far the laws laid down by Maxwell, as regards the kinetic theory of gases, require modification in view of the researches of Boltzmann and others.

The value of the phonograph as an instrument for determining the character of sound waves has been increasingly evident. The marks made on the wax cylinder of the phonograph by various sounds have been studied photographically by Professor McKendrick of Glasgow, by Dr. Boeke of Alkmaar, and others. Thus it has been shown that the vowels are true musical tones, each having its own proper pitch. As, however, the grooves on the cylinder are extremely minute, and as the curve corresponding by the sound lies at the bottom of this groove, the determination of its form is extremely difficult. Dr. Boeke has endeavoured to find this curve from measurements of the transverse diameters of the grooves at various points, and to calculate the depths from these results. Dr. McKendrick has obtained enlarged photographs from which he has shown that any sound, whether a pure tone or the complexities of the human voice, gives a marking on the cylinder of definite form. He has also succeeded in considerably increasing the volume of tone obtainable from the phonograph, and at the same time to improve its quality.

## BIOLOGY.

No scientific result for many years promises to be so full of material benefit to the human race as the discovery by Dr. Roux of the cure for diphtheria. In certain diseases, of which tetanus is a good example, the effects are not directly due to the spread of the specific bacillus over the body, but to the formation by the bacillus of certain poisonous or toxic products, to which the symptoms of the disease are largely due. Bacteriologists have for some time known that blood serum possesses the power of reducing or destroying bacterial action in certain circumstances, and this fact has served as a basis for Dr. Roux's experiments. A minute dose of the toxin produced by the bacillus of diphtheria or a modified culture of the bacillus is injected into the veins of a horse. As the animal becomes resistant to this minute injection, the amount is increased till further injections cease to produce the characteristic symptoms of the disease. If now a certain quantity of blood from such a horse is drawn off, and the red corpuscles separated, the serum is found to have the property of arresting or reducing the action of the disease when injected into the veins of a patient. So successful has this treatment been, that the mortality in such cases has been reduced from 60 per cent. to 20 per cent., and the period during which the disease lasts has also been materially shortened. A somewhat similar line of research has produced a remedy for the almost uniformly fatal disease of tetanus or lockjaw, which is now frequently curable by injections of the necessary antitoxic material. The protective value of inflammation in bacterial attacks, which was first pointed out by Metchnikoff, has been demonstrated by the experiments of Dr. Cobbet on erysipelas in rabbits. If a rabbit be inoculated in the right ear with a modified culture of the erysipelas bacillus, it is found after the animal has recovered that a further inoculation in the right ear merely causes inflammation, whereas injection in the left ear frequently gives rise to another erysipelatous attack. Dr. Lorrain Smith has found the same protective power of inflammation is observable in the pleural cavity, but that the protection is limited to the inflamed tissue. Two apparently contradictory results have been obtained with regard to the bacillus of typhoid fever. Dr. Alessi finds that if rabbits inoculated with typhoid are exposed to sewer air the rate of mortality is enormously increased, and that the same holds true of rats and guinea-pigs. On the other hand, the sewage of London has been found to be remarkably free from the typhoid bacillus, and cultures of this bacterium soon perish in the sewage. The action of light on bacteria has been further investigated by Professor Buehne, who finds that light sterilises certain bacterial cultures in river water in from one to four days. This effect of light, however, only takes place through a limited depth of water, and below 8 metres no destruction of the bacilli by light could be observed. Among new bacteria may be mentioned one discovered in Black Sea ooze, which has the property of evolving sulphuretted hydrogen from organic and even certain inorganic substances containing sulphur. A more useful bacterium is that described under the title of bacterium peptofaciens, by Dr. A. Bernstein. This bacterium has the power of dissolving the casein of milk, producing a clear fluid of a yellowish-red colour, an aromatic smell and a

taste somewhat resembling that of almonds. During the process traces of lactic, acetic and butyric acids are formed, but no gaseous products, and the sulphur in the casein remains in the soluble proteids which are formed. Dr. Bernstein points out that the ripening of cheese is due to bacilli whose action is in some respects similar to that of bacterium peptofaciens. Some highly interesting observations have been made by Dr. Dünschmann and others on the action of various bacteria in presence of each other, and how far the specific action of each bacterium is retarded or accelerated by the presence of another organism. Thus bacillus prodigiosus retards the action of bacillus anthracis in the guinea-pig, but increases this action in the rabbit. The serious functional disturbance which may be set up in an animal by minute bacteria is, however, closely related to other physiological facts, which have gradually won their way into acceptance. Thus, as Professor Schäfer has pointed out, the observation of the existence of minute particles or nuclei in certain specialised cells has been extended till now every cell in either animal or plant possesses some point or "attraction particle" or "centrosome" which exerts a special influence on the rest of the cell substance. To this attraction particle the more important phenomena of the cell are primarily due, and Heirdenhain concludes that this centrosome is not merely a separate portion of the cell protoplasm, but an organ of the cell to which definite functions are assigned. Yet this special organ is so minute that in a cell magnified 1,000 diameters it appears merely as a pin point. Another illustration of the physiological effect of minute organs has been afforded by the explanation of certain contradictory results obtained by extirpation of the thyroid gland. The general effect of this operation was recorded last year, but it was found that in certain cases the expected result did not occur, and no serious alterations in the nutritive functions of the body were noticed. Similarly, Abelous and Langlois have shown that removal of the suprarenal capsules causes an alteration of the blood, which renders that fluid poisonous to other animals. Other experimenters, however, failed to get similar results. It has now been demonstrated, both in the case of the suprarenal capsules and of the thyroid gland, that if only minute particles of the organ are left yet these fragments have the power of maintaining that proper condition of the blood which prevents the occurrence of the symptoms of each of the special diseases. Similarly, Von Mering and Minkowski have shown that complete removal of the pancreas produces diabetes, while if only a small portion of the organ is left diabetes does not occur. It may be here mentioned that it has been recently shown that certain proteid substances can be made to yield a sugar by an action which might easily occur in the living organism. Thus Hammarsten has obtained a glucose similar to that secreted in diabetes from various organs of the body by hydrolysing an extract at a suitable temperature. It has been shown by the work of numerous observers that the functions of the various organs of the body are much more varied and complex than is usually supposed. The liver, for example, not only forms glycogen and secretes bile, but it also builds up fats (probably at the expense of the general fatty tissues of the body), and also exerts a counteracting effect on certain poisonous substances formed in or by the intestines. Two important researches in nervous action have to be recorded. Dr. Gustav Mann has shown that stimulation of the nerve cells in the spinal cord, brain or



sympathetic ganglia produces actual demonstrable changes in the cells themselves. Under stimulation the cells become clearer, owing to the chromatin they contain being used up, and at the same time they appear to increase in size. In the same way prolonged stimulus of the retina by light has been found to produce cell changes which can be photographically recorded. Dr. C. Bohr of Copenhagen has shown by experiments on the air bladder of fishes that the production of the contained gas is controlled by the vagus nerve, as section of this nerve led to the stoppage of the supply while stimulation of the nerve increased it. This air supply is, however, not similar in composition to the atmosphere, but is much richer in oxygen, often containing from 50 to 80 per cent. of this element, derived, in all probability, from the blood in the capillaries surrounding the air bladder. Puncture of the air bladder caused increased secretion of oxygen, as did also immersion of the fish to a greater depth in water. Professor Bohr is led to conclude that in air-breathing animals the exchange of oxygen for carbonic acid in the lungs is not merely a physical phenomenon, but is dependent in some degree on the action of the nerves supplying the lungs. Kronecker and Jordi have shown that asphyxia is due to the presence of carbonic acid and not merely to the absence of oxygen. Thus fishes will live much longer in water freed from oxygen if the carbonic acid they form is continuously removed, and a frog's heart will beat when supplied with oxygenated blood or with blood freed from its contained gases, but not when the blood contains carbonic acid. It was found that a mixture of 50 per cent. of carbonic acid was irrespirable, 30 per cent. could be breathed for a minute, but with marked symptoms of dyspnoea, while 8 per cent. merely caused the respiratory efforts to be more vigorous than usual. Schöndorff has noticed that the increase of urea in the blood after the taking of proteid material as food is not due to the diffusion of an extra quantity of that body from the tissues into the blood, but to a new formation of urea in the liver from the decomposition of the product of the activity of its cells. The products are probably ammonium salts of complex acids derived from the proteids of the food. Dr. W. B. Benham has pointed out that while the blood of mammals consists of a colourless plasma in which float the red corpuscles, and that of the Chætopoda is a clean-coloured liquid, the blood of the Chætopod *Magelona* consists of spherical globules of a pink colour floating in a very small quantity of colourless plasma, and therefore more resembles that of mammals. It was supposed by Liebreich that living bacteria could be distinguished from those killed by heat by their power of decomposing hydroxyl, but Goltstein finds that this power does not depend upon the life of the cells, since certain compounds, such as nuclein, obtained from liver or from yeast cells, are equally effective. This property is therefore more likely to be purely chemical, and not a physiological one. In the department of embryology the most notable work is that done by Professor A. W. Hubrecht on the origin and development of the two layers of the mammalian blastocyst. His observations were made on *Tupaia javanica*, a small insectivorous mammal from the Malay Archipelago, of which a complete series of the early stages of development were obtained. Dr. F. A. Dixey has shown that the general thickening of the skin of the sole of the foot can be traced in a very early embryonic condition. The special thickening of the skin of the ball of the toe is also present, but that of the heel was not noticed in any of the embryos

examined. This thickening therefore probably represents an ancestral gait similar to that of many monkeys, in which the heel did not touch the ground. The significance of ticklishness has been studied by Dr. L. Robinson, who finds that in puppies or in young apes the most ticklish spots of the body are those in which a bite is most likely to cause serious or fatal injury, so that in mankind ticklishness would be a vestige of a condition in which canine teeth were used in a war for mates or food. Mr. Haycraft has pointed out that the rôle of sex in evolution is to introduce an element of permanence in contra-distinction to the variability of photoplasm, so that since the offspring tends to be a mean between its parents the division into sexes enables an organism which has become adapted to its environment to maintain its position unaltered for numberless generations as seen in insects such as the fly, cockroach, etc.

During the year a new Marine Biological Laboratory has been opened at Bergen, and new buildings have been provided for that at St. Andrews, through the liberality of Dr. C. H. Gatty. At the Dunbar establishment of the Scottish Fishery Board some very successful experiments have been made in the artificial hatching of plaice.

Considerable interest has been shown on the question of forest maintenance and production, and the pitiable state of forestry in this country has been fully exposed by Professor Bayley Balfour in his address to the Biological Section of the British Association.

#### CHEMISTRY.

No discovery in the region of chemistry during recent years has created such general interest as that announced by Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay at the meeting of the British Association. While working by two different methods both discoverers were led to believe that there was present in air a previously unrecognised constituent. This constituent, to which the name "argon" has been given, forms about 75 per cent. of pure air, from which it has been obtained by taking advantage of the affinity of oxygen and nitrogen for certain substances. The residual gas is heavier than either of its well-known companions, being twenty times the weight of hydrogen. It appears to possess no affinity for any other element, its inertness being expressed in its name. It should be mentioned that Cavendish, nearly 100 years ago, found that it was impossible to convert all the "nitrogen" of the air into nitrous acid by the addition of oxygen by passing electric sparks through the mixture, as he always obtained a small residual quantity of gas unattacked by the electric discharge. Lord Rayleigh was led to suspect the presence of the new body by noticing a certain constant difference in the weight of nitrogen prepared chemically and that obtained from air, the latter being always a trifle heavier. The new gas appears not to be a mixture, as when liquefied it boils at a constant temperature. Argon boils at a temperature of  $-187^{\circ}\text{C}.$ , and freezes some three or four degrees lower. It remains gaseous, in spite of increase of pressure, at  $-121^{\circ}\text{C}.$ , that being its critical temperature. Argon is somewhat more soluble in water than nitrogen, 100 volumes of water dissolving four volumes of the gas. Its chemical inactivity is most remarkable. Sodium

and potassium may be distilled in it unchanged. Phosphorus, tellurium, sulphur, chlorine, all appear to have no action on it; nor do such powerful re-agents as permanganate of potash, bromine water, peroxide of sodium and platinum black produce any effect. The question whether argon is an element or a compound, or even a mixture, must, however, still be considered an open one; and some chemists still profess to consider that even the existence of any new atmospheric constituent is open to doubt, an apparently unnecessary display of scepticism. Mr. H. B. Baker has shown that if a mixture of dry ammonia and hydrochloric acid gases be placed in a long tube, the ends of which are connected with the terminals of a Wainwright machine, the hydrochloric acid tends to collect at one end, and the ammonia at the other. He also noticed that if mercury be shaken with dry oxygen, and then with dry nitrogen, the electrification of the mercury is greater with the oxygen than with the nitrogen. The vexed question as to the existence of calomel in the state of gas has been studied by V. Meyer and W. Harris, who conclude that calomel when vaporised does not exist as such, since the same vapour density is obtained by a mixture of mercury and corrosive sublimate. A thermometer in rapidly vaporising calomel remains constant in temperature at the boiling point of mercury, and the mercury can be detected in the vapour, either by its power of diffusing through a porous plate, or by its power of amalgamating gold-leaf momentarily dipped into the calomel vapour. These experiments would finally explain the anomalous density of the vapour of calomel. Messrs. Heycock and Neville have continued their researches on the freezing point of alloys in presence of a third metal as a solvent. They find in the case of a mixture of gold and cadmium that the solidifying point is the highest when the metals are present in atomic proportions, and this is irrespective of the solvent. When aluminium is added a fall of only half that normally produced by other metals is noticed, which would be explicable if that metal was never present in molecules containing less than two atoms. In inorganic chemistry, considerable attention has been paid to simple binary compounds of the metals, such as the oxides, carbides and nitrides. Dr. S. H. Bailey has pointed out that the properties of the metallic oxides of the odd and even series of elements in Mendeleef's classification are of very opposite character, both as regards the number of atoms of oxygen with which each element combines, and also the intensity with which this oxygen is retained. In the alkali metals Messrs. Holt and Sims find that the oxide with four atoms of oxygen is the most definite in the case of potassium, that with two atoms in the case of sodium, while lithium combines with only one atom of oxygen. A very interesting investigation into the carbide of iron in steel has been carried out by Messrs. Arnold and Read. They find that the percentage of carbide is greater in a hard than in a mild steel, and that if manganese is added to the steel part of the iron the carbide is replaced by that metal. Carbides of the alkaline earths have been obtained by Moissan in his electric furnace, and also a carbide of silicon, which is so hard that it almost rivals the diamond. Professor B. Brauner has pointed out that free fluorine can be obtained by heating potassium fluor-plumbate, as well as by the electric decomposition of hydrofluoric acid, as practised by Moissan. An ingenious explanation of the reducing action of ozone has been given by Wolkowicz.

If ozone is the anhydride of an unknown acid analogous to sulphurous acid, the sulphur being replaced by oxygen, then the salts of this acid should show reducing action, and this he finds is true of potassium tetroxide, which reduces potassium permanganate with evolution of oxygen. A new commercial process of preparatory oxygen has been worked out by Kassner, as a modification of Chatelier's method of obtaining the gas from calcium plumbate. In organic chemistry the usual crowd of new compounds have been prepared, many of which are but of purely technical interest. Professor Curtius has obtained two new bodies, carbazide and semi-carbazide, bearing a striking relation to urea, and Pellizzari has prepared a new base named guanazole, which is of great theoretical interest. Dr. W. H. Perkin, jun., has continued his researches on closed carbon chains. From one of these bodies containing seven carbon atoms an acid has been obtained identical with the sebacic acid naturally existing in castor oil. The explanation of the phenomena of stereo-isomerism becomes yearly more definite. Thus Miller, Plöchl, and others have found that all simple molecular compounds, containing a specified nitrite group, which combine with hydrocyanic acid, contain an asymmetric nitrogen atom, and Dr. P. Frankland has shown that the optical activity of many compounds depends on the molecular weight of certain of the attached groups of atoms as well as on the presence of an asymmetric carbon atom. Baeyer and Perkin find that certain isomeric bodies are readily convertible one into the other. These are distinguished as "cis" and "trans" modifications, or as maleinoid and fumaroid from their analogy to maleic and fumaric acids respectively, and their varying properties are possibly due to the different angles at which the affinities of the carboxyl groups of atoms are exercised in the two isomeric bodies. In the case of camphoric acid, of which thirteen varieties have been described, O. Aschan finds that only six are definite compounds. Three of these are "cis" and three "trans" modifications, and the former three can be distinguished from the latter by the readiness with which they form anhydrides. Probably in this case we have to deal with at least two asymmetric atoms of carbon. Among other labourers in the field of stereo-chemistry mention should be made of A. Hantzsch Fabinyi, Einhorn, and Willstätter, all of whom have published some valuable work in this direction. Professor Wanklyn has brought forward the hypothesis that the atomic weight of carbon is only one half that usually adopted, but he has not yet stated on what experimental evidence this revolutionary idea is based. In the regions of applied chemistry Messrs. A. G. Perkin and J. J. Hummel have continued their researches on dye stuffs. The use of sodium silicate in bleaching has been advocated by Geisenheimer, as he finds that it prevents the occurrence of the yellow patches due to the presence of calcium or magnesium mordants, and also allows of the proportion of caustic alkali to be decreased and replaced by carbonate of soda. Finally, in the domain of mineralogy attention should be directed to the address delivered at the British Association by Mr. L. Fletcher, in which the present position of our knowledge in this subject was admirably stated, while among the mineralogical novelties of the year may be mentioned the discovery of two minerals containing the rare element germanium, and the occurrence of true diamonds in the Cañon Diablo meteorite.

## ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

## I. THE FINE ARTS.

**The National Gallery.**—The total expenditure of public money on the maintenance of the National Gallery varied but fractionally from that of previous years. The amount fixed for the purchase of pictures, *viz.*, 5,000*l.*, under the new regulations, by which the unexpended balance of each year has not to be surrendered, has hitherto been found to meet the requirements of the trustees. In the course of the year, however, it was found advisable to place a further sum of 5,000*l.* at the disposal of the trustees, which thus put the amount allotted for the purchase of pictures on a level with the cost of administering the gallery. The relations between art and police are probably definite, but in no other country in Europe does the budget of the Minister of Fine Arts include expenditure which is wholly under the control of the Home Office. The claim of the Government, to have provided upwards of 22,000*l.* for the immediate purposes of adding to our national collection of pictures, must therefore be considerably reduced.

The principal event of the year in connection with the National Gallery was the retirement of the director, Sir Fred. W. Burton, after twenty years' service. Under his management several new rooms had been added, many important pictures purchased, and the whole collection re-arranged and catalogued in a style which has made the gallery the object of hearty admiration on the part of competent critics—foreigners as well as English.

The new director, Mr. Edward J. Poynter, R.A., was selected from a number of eligible candidates, chiefly on the ground of his technical knowledge of canvas and painting—the duties of a director including that of the preservation of old pictures and the acquisition of new ones. Mr. Poynter's appointment was favourably received by the public, to whom he was well known by a number of successful and popular productions.

The following were the pictures purchased during the year: (1) Dutch—"Portrait of a Gentleman" (G. Terboch); "Christ before Pilate" (Rembrandt von Ryn); "A Study of Still Life" (Pieter Snyers); supposed portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman (G. Dow); "A View in Haarlem" (Gerit A. Berck-Heyd); "A Terrace Scene" (Jan Steen); and "Legend of St. Giles" (Flemish School). (2) Italian—"The Annunciation" (Fra Angelico); "The Marriage of St. Catherine" (Andrea Cordelle Agri); "Virgin and Child" (Ambrogio Borgognone); "Adoration of the Shepherds" and "The Dead Christ" (Ercole de Roberti); "Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John" (Filippino Lippi); "The Agony in the Garden" (Andrea Mantegna); "St. Jerome in his Study" (Antonello da Messina); "The Rotunda at Ranelagh" (Antonio Canale); and "Virgin and Child"

and "Two Saints" (Filippo Mazzola), out of the Lewis Fund. (3) English—"Two Portraits of Laundrymaids" (Henry Morland); "A View of Southampton" (R. Lancaster), out of the Lewis Fund; and "Edfan, Upper Egypt" (J. F. Lewis, R.A.), out of the Clarke Bequest.

The bequests to the gallery included, from Lady Eastlake, "Ippolita Torelli" (Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A.); from Miss Ellen Stanton, "Portrait of Mr. Philip Stanton" (Sir T. Lawrence); "The Same as a Child" (Richard Westall); from Mr. Samuel Sandars, "Tobias and the Angel" (A. Elsheimer).

The donations to the gallery during the same period were from Mr. H. Pfungst, "An Old Woman Sewing" (Dutch School); from the Earl of Carlisle, "Portrait of James Northcote" (J. Jackson, R.A.); from Mr. Edward Opir, "Portrait of a Boy" (John Opie, R.A.); from Mr. Francis T. Palgrave, "Holy Family" (Eustache le Sueur); from Mr. A. Fowell Buxton, "Portrait of a Lady" (Jan Ravesteyn); from Mr. Lesser, "A Portrait Group" (Le Nain); from Mr. George Salting, "An Architectural Subject" (D. Beccafico); and from an anonymous donor, "St. John Leading Mary from the Tomb" (William Dyce, R.A.).

**The British Museum.**—The cost of maintaining this storehouse of archæological, literary, and artistic treasures was slightly reduced, but without any lessening of the sums devoted to the acquisition of works of art, to the maintenance of the library, or to the reproduction of works of art for local museums. The total expenditure of the year was set down at 182,000*l.*, but under this were included various charges which were purely administrative, whilst the salaries of the officials accounted for upwards of 55,000*l.* The actual sum set apart for purchases was 21,000*l.*, and of this the following were amongst the most important items: Collection of Babylonian tablets from Bagdad and elsewhere (1,780*l.*); enamelled glass purchased at the Adrian Hope Sale (540*l.*); a cartoon drawing attributed to Raphael (900*l.*); an Etruscan gold balla (185*l.*); and a gold baro from Cronstadt, Transylvania (220*l.*); a number of mediæval bronze pendants purchased from Baron Julius Von Horel (130*l.*); a collection of fossils from Baron Stürtz (120*l.*); a number of Greek and Roman antiquities (140*l.*); a collection of Indian curios from Colonel Cunningham (370*l.*); and of Asia Minor from Señor Lambros (285*l.*); an ancient gold vase, probably Roman (185*l.*); a bronze statuette (Rowan) (105*l.*); a marble from Athens (160*l.*). The library was also enriched by 120 volumes of Japanese and Chinese works, purchased from Mr. W. Anderson (250*l.*); books from the Manzoni Sale (192*l.*); a second and third edition of Boccaccio's "Decameron" (Mantua, 1472 (84*l.*); the papers of Professor Napier from his widow (315*l.*); and the print room by a collection of portraits, engravings of foreign historical persons (107*l.*); a number of drawings from W. Gilchrist (150*l.*); a parcel of MSS. (230*l.*); a number of books from the Miller Library, sold at Christie's (1,160*l.*); a copy of the "Poor Man's Bible," 1470 (120*l.*); and a Roman Breviary, 1535 (130*l.*). The trustees decided to expend a considerable sum of money in making casts of Egyptian antiquities in their possession for presentation to the Boulak Museum or other Egyptian collection selected by H.H. the Khedive. The most important step taken by the trustees during the year was their acceptance of a generous offer made by the Duke of Bedford, by which, for a moderate sum to be paid in instalments, they were enabled to acquire for

200,000*l.* a large additional site actually occupied by the houses in Montagu Place, Bedford Square, etc.

**National Portrait Gallery.**—The promise made by the Government to contribute 5,000*l.* towards the expenses incurred in the erection of the new gallery, raised the annual grant for this gallery to 7,775*l.* The whole of the new buildings, for which the public was indebted to Mr. W. H. Alexander, were so far completed that on June 4 the trustees were able to meet for the first time in the new council chamber. The meeting was attended by the keeper, Mr. George Scharf, C.B., and the architect, Mr. Ewan Christian, who explained the architectural construction and proposed arrangement of the pictures. It was not, however, found possible to commence the removal of the pictures from Bethnal Green before the close of the year, as the internal fittings of the galleries were still incomplete. Meanwhile the annual grant for the purchase of portraits (750*l.*) had been more than exhausted in consequence of the unwillingness of the trustees to allow the opportunity of purchasing Carlyle's portrait by Sir J. E. Millais to be lost.

The purchases of the year included the following portraits—G. Romney, by himself (441*l.*); Thomas Carlyle, by Sir J. E. Millais (850*l.*); Lord Erskine, by Sir W. Ross (63*l.*); Wilkie Collins, by Sir J. E. Millais (52*l.* 10*s.*); William, Lord Paget, unknown (40*l.*); Lord Mulgrave, by J. Downman, R.A. (25*l.*); Sir H. Spelman, by Van Somer (12*l.* 12*s.*); John Martin, by Henry Warren (5*l.* 5*s.*); and Mrs. Claypole, by J. M. Wright (52*l.* 10*s.*).

**National Gallery, Ireland.**—The total sum expended upon this institution was under 8,000*l.*, of which one third was devoted to the purchase of pictures, and a similar amount to the salaries, etc., of the staff of officials. The director, Mr. Walter Armstrong, was able to show that the moderate sum placed at his disposal had been used to good purpose. The purchases of the year included—British: "A Portrait of Lady Coventry," by F. Cotes (250*l.*); "A Portrait," not identified, by G. Romney (215*l.*); "William, Second Earl of Charlemont," by Sir Thos. Lawrence (50*l.*); "Greenwich Pensioners," by John Burnet (24*l.*); "A Snowstorm," by Thomas Collier (12*l.* 8*s.*); and portraits of W. Conolly, Lady A. Conolly, and George Barret, as well as two drawings by Gainsborough. The foreign pictures purchased included—"Vertumnus and Pomona," by N. Maas (120*l.*); "Portrait of Old Lady" (Dutch School) (100*l.*); "Copy of Giorgione," by Teniers (20*l.*); pictures by Brouwer (49*l.* 7*s.*), Romeijn (86*l.* 15*s.*), Lengelbach (50*l.*), Lansbrüch (85*l.*), and Wyck (80*l.*).

**South Kensington Museum.**—Of the large sums provided for the Science and Art Department—about 700,000*l.*—only a small portion, *viz.*, 10,000*l.*, is available for purchases—the largest amount on Schools of Science and Art, the grants to which during the year were over 400,000*l.* It was reported that in return for this expenditure the number of persons receiving art instruction of some kind, but chiefly of a very elementary character, was over 2,025,000. The Art Schools, where more specific teaching was given, had increased to 285, scattered over the country, and affording art instruction to nearly 150,000 students. Of these, about two-thirds had made sufficient progress to be allowed to present themselves for examination, of which about 50 per cent. were able to satisfy the examiners in their respective grades. A new arrangement, by which sixty local scholarships of 20*l.* per annum were tenable at local Schools of Art, was found to work well, and it was further found advisable to increase by thirty the number of national scholarships.

No steps were taken during the year to carry out the designs for the completion of the building at South Kensington. The Chief Commissioner of Works, however, gave a definite promise that a beginning should be made early in the ensuing year, and a sum included in the estimates with that object. The new arrangements, under which the work of the art director at South Kensington was to be lightened, and certain advantages conferred thereby on the public, were not exposed to the test of experience, the new appointee, Mr. Middleton, having been absent on account of ill-health during the greater part of the year. The chief alteration which marked his tenure of office was the application of the gallery, specifically intended for a museum of casts, to the exhibition of textile and other objects.

The acquisitions of the year included two Chinese cloisonné enamel incense-burners, formerly the property of General Gordon, for 184*l.* 10*s.*; jewellery and silversmiths' work from the Zschille collection for 675*l.* 15*s.*; a Sicilian stole of the twelfth century for 50*l.*; a Gothic iron key and purse-mount for 150*l.*; a "rerdura" tapestry for about 100*l.*; the fireplace and oak panelling from the old palace at Bromley by Bow for 225*l.*; a Della Robbia relief for 216*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*; two Venetian salvers, damascened with silver, for 160*l.*; a marble relief attributed to Pietro Lombardi for about 840*l.*; an Etruscan gold cup for 175*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; a Siamese collection for 365*l.* 12*s.*; a silk-velvet cope, probably made by Persian workmen for the Armenian Church, for 420*l.*; an English gun, with silver inlay, for 120*l.*; a Persian goat-hair carpet for 800*l.*; a collection of medals and plaquettes by M. Oscar Roty for about 160*l.*; an old Italian banner for 89*l.* 5*s.*; a collection of illuminations from old MSS., including an illuminated letter "M" by Girolamo dai Libri, for 100*l.*

Amongst the water-colour paintings acquired were "Bab-el-Khataneen, Jerusalem," by Carl Haag (250*l.*); "Pygmalion," by Sir John Tenniel (110*l.*); "Newark Castle," by Peter de Wint (125*l.*); "Arundel Castle," by Thomas Collier (95*l.*); "Tithe Barn, Bradford-on-Avon," by G. P. Boyce (42*l.*); "Ponte Vecchio, Florence," by Holman Hunt (44*l.* 2*s.*); "A Landscape," by A. V. Copley Fielding (75*l.* 12*s.*); six cartoons representing the life of St. Oswald, by Ford Madox Brown (45*l.* 4*s.*).

The reproductions included an electrotype of the shrine of St. Simeon at Zara, Dalmatia (201*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*), and electrotypes of ancient Greek and Roman coins (135*l.*).

**The Royal Academy.**—The winter exhibition of pictures by old masters and deceased academicians was this year marked by a collection of the works of John Pettie, R.A., whose death at a comparatively early age in the previous year deprived the Royal Academy of one of its most vigorous members. Thirty-three characteristic pictures were obtained from various sources, illustrating the various phases of Mr. Pettie's art. A selection of Thomas Stothard's oil sketches, fifty in number, and William Blake's illustrations to the "Book of Job"—very mild and inferior productions of his brush—were among the distinguishing features of the exhibition. Reynolds was represented by eleven pictures, Gainsborough by nine, Romney by six, and J. M. W. Turner by nine, including the wreck of the *Minotaur*, lent by the Earl of Yarborough. The pictures by foreign masters included important works by Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Frank Hals, and others.

The summer exhibition showed a small reduction of exhibited works



(1,849) as compared with previous years, but the general level of excellence was admitted to be above the average. No purchases having been made during the preceding year on account of the Chantrey Bequest, the council had two years' income at their disposal. This was expended in the purchase of the following pictures: "August Blue," by H. S. Tuke (525*l.*); "Beyond Man's Footsteps," by B. Riviere, R.A. (1,200*l.*); "Sunset at Sea," by E. Hayes (175*l.*); "Morning Glory," by M. Ridley Corbet (630*l.*); "Industry" (water-colour), by H. S. Hopwood (150*l.*); and "Perseus Rescuing Andromeda"—a large bronze group—by Henry C. Fehr (1,200*l.*). Amongst the more noteworthy pictures of the year were Mr. Walter Langley's "Some Heart did Break"; Mr. H. J. Draper's "Sea Maiden"; Mr. C. W. Furse's portraits of R. Bridge and Lord Roberts; Mr. T. C. Gotch's "Child Enthroned"; Mr. Luke Fildes' portrait of the Princess of Wales; Mr. Sargent's lunette and portion of the ceiling of the Public Library at Boston, U.S.A.; Miss Henrietta Rae's "Psyche before the Throne of Venus"; and Sir F. Leighton's "Summer Slumber."

On Mr. Faed's retirement, his place among the academicians was filled by the election of Mr. Val. C. Prinsep, A.R.A. Messrs. Sargent, Bramley, Frampton, Swan and Harper were elected associates.

At the New Gallery an interesting loan exhibition of works relating to old Italian art was open during the first three months of the year. The schools of North Italy, excepting that of Venice, were chiefly represented, and the pictures, which came from various unexpected quarters, were supplemented by other works of art—jewellery, metal work, bronzes, lace, and book-bindings. At the Grafton Galleries the "Fair Women" exhibition proved a great success, and was intended to include specimens of female portraiture from the earliest period to the present time. The usual exhibitions, spring and summer, were held by the Water-colour Society, the Institute, the Society of British Artists, the new English Art Society, and the Society of Portrait Painters. The Corporation of the City of London for the third time organised a loan exhibition at the Guildhall, at which a number of interesting pictures, chiefly by living artists, were brought together, and attracted upwards of 300,000 visitors. The picture gallery was open on alternate Sunday afternoons with very satisfactory results.

The art sales of the year bore witness to the depression in rents, dividends, and most professional incomes; nevertheless, it was marked by the largest price ever reached at a public auction—11,550*l.* for Reynolds' portrait of Lady Betty Delmé. Other pictures by the same artist fetched the following prices—Hon. Miss Monckton, 7,875*l.*; Mrs. Mathew, 4,620*l.*; and Miss Whitehead, 1,575*l.* Gainsborough's works sold were—"The Market Cart," 4,725*l.*; "View near King's Bromley," 3,780*l.*; and "Madame le Brun," 3,250*l.* Constable's "White Horse" realised 6,570*l.*; Landseer's "Chevy," 3,937*l.*, and Crowe's "Yarmouth Water Frolic," 2,780*l.* Of the foreign pictures disposed of by public auction, the highest prices were obtained for Rembrandt's portrait of "Nicholas Ruts," 4,985*l.*; Gerard Dow's "Flute Player," 3,675*l.*; "A Landscape," by Hobbema, 8,150*l.*; "A Head of a Girl," by Greuze, 3,045*l.*; "A Girl at the Pump," by Nicolas Maas, 3,000*l.*; "An Interior," by Pietre de Hooghe, 2,257*l.*; "A Departure for the Chase," by Cuyp, 2,100*l.*; and "A Waterfall," by Ruysdall, 1,680*l.*

The most important picture sales of the year were those of Mr. Adrian

Hope, 49,844*l.*; of Mrs. Heinway, 17,288*l.*; of Mr. A. Dennistown, 11,061*l.*; of Miss Romney, 9,745*l.*; of Lady Eastlake, 9,040*l.*; of the Dowager Duchess of Montrose, 8,249*l.*; of Mr. A. Fontaine, 6,956*l.*; and of Mr. James Brand, 6,563*l.*

The objects of art collected by Mr. E. Joseph fetched 12,166*l.*; by Sir H. H. Campbell, 8,106*l.*; by Mr. A. Fontaine, 7,391*l.*; the porcelain of Mr. W. Arkwright, 6,065*l.*; and the Wedgwood of Dr. Horton, 1,054*l.* The principal libraries disposed of during the year were those of Mr. Howell Wills, which realised 8,024*l.*; of Mr. J. Toovey, 8,220*l.*; of Mr. W. E. Buckley (part ii.), 4,750*l.*; of Mr. H. G. Reid, 3,466*l.*; of Sir Joseph Hawley, 2,882*l.* A cabinet of Greek curios belonging to Mr. R. Carfrae obtained 4,070*l.*; and that of Mr. Henry Webb, 3,085*l.*; and a portion of Lord Grantley's collection, 1,165*l.* As a rule the depression of prices which was found to exist in the picture market extended to all sorts of sales, the American book buyers showing little of their accustomed eagerness to secure books and art objects at any prices.

## II. DRAMA.

The year has witnessed the production of a considerable amount of new work, serious, not to say didactic, in intention. It would almost seem, indeed, that Ibsen has exercised an influence over some English dramatists out of proportion to the comparatively shallow hold obtained by his work over the playgoing public. For, so far as can be gathered from the experience of 1893 and 1894, the hope of popularising the cult of the Scandinavian ethical drama has vanished, at any rate for the time.

On January 6 Mr. Sydney Grundy's five-act play, "An Old Jew," appeared at the Garrick with Mr. Hare in the leading part, admirably supported by Miss Kate Rorke and Mrs. Wright in the leading ladies' parts, and by Messrs. Gilbert, Farquhar, Gilbert Hare, Anson, and others. No cast could have brought out better the many strong situations of the play or rendered with more point the telling dialogue.

Mr. Buchanan's four-act play, "The Charlatan" (Haymarket, Jan. 18), turned on hypnotism, a subject abounding in opportunities of stage treatment, either serious or farcical. In this case it was taken seriously, and afforded Mr. and Mrs. Tree excellent opportunities of which they took full advantage. The introduction of some humorous character sketches in the subsidiary parts gave a welcome relief to the piece, and contributed largely to its favourable reception. Neither this play nor Mr. Buchanan's second string, "Dick Sheridan" (Comedy, Feb. 3), can, however, be ranked among his most successful achievements.

Mr. A. W. Gattie's four-act play, "The Transgressor" (Court, Jan. 27), crude and unconvincing as a whole, was redeemed by the truly womanly character of the heroine, interpreted in a remarkable manner by Miss Nethersole, and secured a fair run.

Dr. J. Todhunter's psychological play, "A Comedy of Sighs," proved to be over the heads of the audience at the Avenue, where it met with an unfavourable reception on March 29, though the leading character was drawn with some force. Mr. Bernard Shaw succeeded in puzzling a good many people as to the real intention of his so-called "Romantic Comedy," "Arms and the Man," which appeared at the Avenue, April 21. At any rate it was clever and amusing, and aided by Miss Alma Murray's charming impersonation of the heroine quite captivated the audience. "Mrs. Lessingham," by

"George Fleming" (Garrick, April 7), was chiefly remarkable for the powerful acting of Miss Kate Rorke and Miss E. Robins in the rôles of two impossibly magnanimous women. The weak points of the play was that it was not life-like, and so failed in the appeal to general sympathy, while gaining commendation as a stage play for its many powerful situations.

No more admirable example of genuine comedy has appeared of recent years than Mr. J. M. Barrie's "The Professor's Love Story," which first came out in America, but made its entry into London, at the Comedy, on June 25. The leading part, that of a *savant*, unconsciously falling under the spell of his female secretary, was invested by Mr. Willard, with exquisite humour, and was played up to with much ability by Miss Bessie Hatton as the heroine.

Mr. Henry Arthur Jones was represented by two new plays, *viz.*, "The Masqueraders," at the St. James's, April 28, and "The Case of Rebellious Susan," at the Criterion, on October 8. Both pieces were characteristic of the author as regards bold and unconventional treatment, as well as powerful and brilliant workmanship; and both carried the audience with them. The interpretation was, moreover, highly satisfactory in both cases; Mr. Alexander, as the hero in the first named, rose to the point of excellence, while Mr. Waring and Mrs. Patrick Campbell, who had a very difficult part to play, contributed their share to the successful result. The Criterion company were not less happy in dealing with the second. Misses Mary Moore, Gertrude Kingston, and Boucicault were fitted with sympathetic rôles; while Mr. Wyndham himself found the material for one of his most telling impersonations. Mr. Sydney Grundy's sparkling satire, "The New Woman" (Comedy, Sept. 1), proved extremely diverting; although, dramatically, its texture was too slight to afford altogether satisfactory scope for the talented cast, which comprised Miss Rose Leclercq, Miss Alma Murray, and Miss Emery; Messrs. F. Terry and Cyril Maude. "John-a-Dreams," by Mr. Haddon Chambers, which appeared at the Haymarket on November 8, led to protests in the press against the immorality of the society drama, although it by no means stood alone in the presentment of a heroine with a squalid past. It is worthy of note by the way that the subject of debased womanhood, which has been for many years past freely dealt with in the French drama, has latterly invaded the English stage to a very large extent. Mr. Chambers' play contained many strong scenes; it was finely mounted, and met with a good interpretation at the hands of Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Miss Steer, Mr. Tree, Mr. Cartwright, and others.

At the Adelphi, the traditional home of melodrama, Mr. Sutton Vane's four-act play, "The Cotton King," was the first to take the stage, on March 10. It was well played by Misses Alma Stanley, M. Terry and Hall Caine, and in the male parts by Messrs. Warner, Cartwright and A. Williams; and, on the whole, satisfied the audience. Mr. Frank Harvey's "Shall We Forgive Her?" (June 12) was somewhat of a departure from the conventional lines at this theatre, in that it introduced the "woman with a past." In the hands of Misses Julia and Ada Neilson, Mrs. Leigh, and Messrs. F. Terry, Macklin and others, it secured on the whole a favourable verdict. Messrs. Haddon Chambers and B. C. Stephenson's five-act melodrama, "The Fatal Card" (Sept. 6), contained all the elements which appeal to an Adelphi audience, and with the support of Messrs. Terriss, Nicholls, Murray Carson and Abingdon, achieved complete success. A spectacular melodrama, en-

titled "The Derby Winner," the joint work of Sir A. Harris, Mr. Cecil Raleigh and Mr. Henry Hamilton, was eminently successful at Drury Lane in the autumn, owing to the acting of Mrs. John Wood, Misses Beatrice Lamb and Alma Stanley, and Messrs. Rignold, Cartwright, Bouchier and Giddens, aided by the attraction of a highly effective *mise-en-scène*.

Of the light work, Mr. Law's farcical comedy, "The New Boy," was by far the most successful in keeping the stage well, first at Terry's, where it was produced on February 21, and afterwards at the Vaudeville. The make-up and acting of Mr. Weedon Grossmith in the titular part had, no doubt, a great share in producing this happy result.

It will be seen from the above-mentioned new plays that the tendency, among the leading English dramatists at any rate, is more and more in the direction of original work, and that although the influence of what may be called the northerly current colours some of the productions of the year, an increased independence of foreign models, notably French, is distinctly apparent. Still the hand of the adaptor has not been entirely idle. "Le Gendre de M. Poirier," by MM. Augier and Sandeau, one of the most brilliant, and in England, best known plays of the *Comédie Française*, was adapted by Lady Violet Greville, at the Criterion, under the name of "An Aristocratic Alliance," with Miss Moore and Messrs. Wyndham and Groves in the principal parts. Mr. Burnand tried his hand with indifferent success at an adaptation of Sardou and Deslandes's "Belle-Maman," at the Court in October, under the name, "A Gay Widow." An English translation of Messrs. Meilhac and Halévy's "Frou-Frou," placed on the bill at the Comedy at the end of March, was the means of bringing into prominence the gifts of Miss Emery. At the Haymarket two plays of very dissimilar character, viz., Octave Feuillet's "Montjoye," adapted by Mr. Sydney Grundy (April 28), with the title, "A Bunch of Violets," and "Once upon a Time," from the German "Der Talisman," by Messrs. Tree and Parker, served to illustrate the versatile gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Tree.

Comic opera and musical plays of a farcical character have been fairly in vogue. The collaboration of Mr. W. S. Gilbert with Dr. Osmond Carr, which resulted in the production of "His Excellency" at the Lyric, on October 27, was far less happy than that which led to the famous series of Gilbert-Sullivan operas at the Savoy, the humorous spirit which used to pervade Sir A. Sullivan's music, no less than Mr. Gilbert's dialogue, being absent. Still, much of Dr. Carr's music was excellently written, the orchestra and chorus were efficient, and the cast, which included Miss Jessie Bond, Miss Alice Barnett, and Messrs. Grossmith and Rutland Barrington, did all that could be done to recall the old glories of the Savoy. At the Savoy an English version of Michel Carré and Andre Messager's "Mirette" was put on the stage, with English lyrics by Mr. Weatherley, and dialogue by Mr. Harry Greenbank.

On a lower plane "The Shop Girl," a musical farce, by H. J. Dane, with music by Ivan Caryll, which came out at the Gaiety on November 24, seems to have a chance of rivalling the success of "A Gaiety Girl," a piece of somewhat similar character, which has kept the stage in a remarkable manner. "Go-Bang," another piece of this class by Adrian Ross and Dr. Osmond Carr, achieved some success at the Trafalgar on March 10, and a musical play of the variety entertainment type by Messrs. George Dance

and J. Crook, called the "Lady Slavey," secured a good run at the Avenue, due in great part to the attractions of Miss May Yohé.

In the course of the year a good deal of old work has been revived. To lovers of Shakespeare, the rendering of "Twelfth Night" at Daly's Theatre was a source of genuine delight, the Viola of Miss Ada Rehan proving one of her most charming impersonations. The entire cast, including Miss Vanbrugh as Olivia, Mr. Clarke as Malvolio, and Mr. Lewis as Sir Toby Belch, was highly satisfactory, and the general effect, musical as well as dramatic, such as to evoke warm approval, during a run which exceeded 100 performances. The revivals at the Garrick of "Caste" and "Money" afforded strong evidence of the enduring quality of their respective authors' work. The leading parts in Robertson's play were allotted to Miss Kate Rorke as Esther Eccles, Miss Rose Leclercq as Madame de St. Maur, and Miss May Harvey as Polly Eccles, Mr. Forbes Robertson as George D'Alroy, Mr. Anson as Eccles, Mr. Gilbert Hare as Sam Gerridge, and Mr. Abingdon as Captain Hawtree. Mr. Forbes Robertson and Miss Kate Rorke were excellent representatives of the hero and heroine in "Money," as were also Mr. Hare and Miss Maude Millett of Sir John and Georgina Vesey; and with Mrs. Bancroft as Lady Franklin, well supported by Mr. Arthur Cecil, a favourable reception was naturally secured. The play was given in the costume of the present day. Mr. J. H. M'Carthy's amusing adaptation of "Le député de Bombignac," "The Candidate," which first appeared at the Criterion in 1884, was this year revived at the same theatre in May, and "Hot Water," a version of Meilhac and Halévy's "La Boule," originally produced at that house in 1876, reappeared there in August this year. Melodrama secured a revival at the Princess's in the five-act play, by Messrs. Pettit and Meritt and Sir Augustus Harris, "The World," which was produced at Drury Lane in 1880; and a favourable specimen of burlesque, which has been for the last few years somewhat out of vogue, was again offered to the public in the shape of "Little Jack Sheppard," by Messrs. Stephens and Yardley, at the Gaiety in August. The amusing farcical comedy by Mrs. Musgrave, "Our Flat," which dates as far back as 1889, was revived at the Strand in July, with Mr. Edouin in his original character.

The Italian actress, Signora Duse, with an efficient company, which included Signori Rossi and Rosaspina, appeared at Daly's Theatre early in the summer in a well-chosen but limited *repertoire*. Her rendering of Santuzza in "Cavalleria Rusticana," and of Mirandolina in "La Locandiera," served to confirm the high opinion already formed of her gifts, both as tragic and comic actress. Regret was expressed that the beauty and purity of her art could not be seen in some of the French comedies, in which she is known by repute to excel. Probably the scope of the programme was thus restricted, in view of the fact that a familiar knowledge of the Italian language is confined in London to a limited public. At any rate, it was understood that the enthusiastic reception accorded to these performances on their artistic merits was not altogether reflected in the financial results.

In the middle of June Daly's Theatre fell for a short time into the occupation of Madame Sarah Bernhardt and a French company, when the great actress played in "La Tosca," "Phèdre," and "La Dame aux Camélias," with all the old pathos and power which have won for her the acknowledged

position of the greatest of living artists. Short as it was, the season comprised three plays new to London audiences. The first (June 18), a four-act drama by MM. Silvestre and Miraud, entitled "Izeÿl," produced at the Renaissance Theatre in Paris, in the beginning of the year, trod on debatable ground in placing on the stage as one of the centre figures, Buddha, the subject of the religious adoration of a vast section of the human race. If this be granted as admissible at all, no fault could be found with the treatment on the score of irreverence. Dramatically, the play was unequal, and it is doubtful whether in other hands than Madame Bernhardt's it would have fared so well. M. Jules Lemaitre's novel, "Les Rois," is admittedly a brilliant achievement, but the stage version produced as Madame Bernhardt's second novelty on July 2, showed that it was ill adapted to dramatic treatment. On the whole the piece was not worthy of the actress, but such opportunities as it gave were utilised with unrivalled art by Madame Bernhardt. The judgment pronounced upon the play in London was in accord with the verdict of the audience at the Renaissance in Paris, in 1890, which was far from favourable. The last of the new pieces brought forward in London was "La femme de Claude," by the younger Dumas, a play which, with Desclée as the heroine, met with little success in Paris. The general opinion on the season as a whole, was that if Madame Bernhardt had not made the best selection of material, she had at least shown what genius can make of trifling opportunities.

Mlle. Réjane and the Paris Vaudeville company took possession of the Gaiety stage on June 28, for a series of performances of the historical piece "Madame Sans-Gêne," by MM. Sardou and Moreau, produced in Paris in 1893. The pictures of court life under the first Napoleon were admirably represented, and the acting of Mlle. Réjane in the leading parts charmed the audience, who welcomed the play with acclamation.

In the autumn a series of German performances, extending over two months, took place at the Opera Comique, under the direction of Herr C. F. Maurice. The repertory ranged over a wide enough field, comprising the rustic plays "Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld," and "Der Meineidbauer," of Anzengruber, Schiller's "Die Räuber," and "Wilhelm Tell," as representatives of German classical drama, and a number of lighter pieces, some of which were already well known in an adapted form in this country. In the last-named category may be mentioned "Krieg im Frieden" (Our Regiment) Von Schöntan's "Der Raub der Sabinerinnen," and Von Moser's "De. Bibliothekar," the originals of "A Night Off" and "The Private Secretary" respectively. The company comprised several competent artists, notably, Frau Thomann, Fräulein von Driller, and Herr Cæsar Beck, and had it been aided by a little more experience of the taste of the London public, to guide in the selection of plays, and less poverty in the scenic adjuncts, would no doubt have obtained wider recognition than was actually the case.

The honours of a prolonged run belong especially to "A Gaiety Girl," "The New Boy," and "Charley's Aunt," especially the last, which, besides holding the English stage in a remarkable manner, has met with an enthusiastic reception abroad.

Mr. Irving has been singularly inactive at his own theatre, the Lyceum; but in the provinces he added to his repertory, a very powerful delineation, in "A Story of Waterloo," a short dramatic sketch by Mr. Conan Doyle.

Although not strictly belonging to the theatrical history of the year, mention must be made of a very remarkable performance of "Iphigenia in Tauris," at Cambridge, when Mr. Geikie played the heroine with consummate ability.

### III. MUSIC.

Grand opera flourished under the management of Sir Augustus Harris, from the middle of May to the end of July. Notwithstanding the late commencement in comparison with former times, the season was one of the busiest on record, comprising sixty-seven performances at Covent Garden, in addition to thirteen at Drury Lane under the same management. It was, unlike most of Sir A. Harris's earlier enterprises, remarkable for the number of novelties introduced to London audiences, no less than seven new works being produced. The first of them, a four-act version of "Manon Lescant," by Giacomo Puccini, was chosen for the opening night, a somewhat unusual proceeding, due, no doubt, to the long run the opera had already had in its native country. At any rate, the reception of the work justified the choice, as it secured three performances in a very busy season, and was recognised by the critics as a good specimen of the Italian school, the *renaissance* of which has been the cardinal feature of the last few years. The cast, which was mainly new, comprised Mlle. Olga Olghina as the heroine, Signor Beduschi as Des Grieux, Signor Arimondi as Geronte, and Signor Pini-Corsi as Lescant, all commendable. The chorus was unusually efficient, and the orchestra under Signor Seppilli contributed its share to a successful opening.

Of greater interest still, from the venerable personality and world-wide reputation of the composer, was Signor Verdi's comic masterpiece, "Falstaff," produced at Milan in February, 1893, and heard for the first time in England on May 19, 1894, at Covent Garden. The freshness and vivacity of the music, coming from the pen of a composer over eighty years old, whose labours had been hitherto devoted to libretti of a totally different order, created a great impression; while the beauty of the vocal writing showed that time had not impaired the Italian master's wonderful gift of melody. The performance was on the whole very satisfactory, Mlle. Ginlia Ravogli being an excellent Dame Quickly, while the titular part found a more than competent exponent in Signor Pessina, a new-comer; Signor Pini-Corsi and Signor Beduschi playing Ford and Fenton respectively. "Werther," the third in order of Sir A. Harris's novelties, is the work of the French composer, Massenet, and although the libretto, founded on Goethe, is somewhat deficient in dramatic interest, the music is an admirable example of the modern French school. This opera, which first saw the light at Vienna two years back, and had already been received with great favour abroad, was introduced at Covent Garden on June 11, being selected for the *rentrée* of M. Jean de Reszké, who returned to London this year with vocal powers fully restored. Madame Eames and Mlle. Sigrid Arnoldsén in the female parts contributed to the success attending the production.

It seldom falls to the lot of a composer to figure in the prospectus of any one season as the author of two new works, still less of two differing so widely in aim, as the last named and M. Massenet's one-act opera "La Navarraise" which was produced on June 20. The libretto of the latter

by MM. J. Claretie and H. Cain is, unlike "Werther," intensely dramatic, and is thus the means of exhibiting the French master in another mood. Its success was complete. Madame Calvé, whose playing of Santuzza in "Cavalleria Rusticana" marked her out as a tragic actress of the first rank, now added fresh laurels to her crown, and was well supported by Signor Alvarez and M. Plançon. MM. Dufriche, Gillebert, and Bonnard sustained the minor parts with credit. Mr. F. H. Cowen's "Signa," which was produced at Milan, in 1893, under unfavourable circumstances, was presented this year at Covent Garden with certain alterations and compressions. As might be expected the score revealed much skilful and beautiful writing, though its excellence was perhaps rather lyrical than dramatic. The cast, comprising Madame Nuovina, Mr. Ben Davies, and Signori Ancona and Castelmarty, was efficient, and the welcome accorded to the work of the English composer was sympathetic, if not very enthusiastic. M. Bruneau's four-act opera, "L'Attaque du Moulin," produced on July 4, marks an epoch in operatic history. The libretto by M. Louis Gallet, founded on a story by M. Emile Zola, of the Franco-German War of 1870, is designed to bring into prominence the tragedy rather than the glory of war, and abounds in opportunities for effective operatic treatment. In dealing with this material, the composer has shown originality, power and, above all, melodic gift, which could not be discerned in his previous effort, "Le Rêve." The work received an interpretation which left nothing to be desired, at the hands of Madame Delna, a new mezzo of more than ordinary talent, M. Bouvet, and MM. Bonnard, Cossira, and Albers; and unless the anticipations of the critics are completely falsified, it has every prospect of a permanent tenure of the stage. With Herr Emil Bach's short opera, "The Lady of Longford," libretto by Sir A. Harris and Mr. Weatherly, produced near the end of the season, the long list of novelties came to a close.

In reviewing the year generally, it may be noted that the most popular performances were those of "Faust," "Romeo et Juliette," "Lohengrin," "Carmen," and "Cavalleria Rusticana," in which Madame Calvé, Madame Melba and M. Jean de Reszké took part. Among the older operas, sometimes supposed to be worn out, "Lucia" and "Rigoletto" were accorded hearings. At Drury Lane, where thirteen performances were given in German, the principal attraction was the presentment of Wagner's music dramas, although the revival of Beethoven's "Fidelio," with Frau Klafsky as the heroine, and of "Der Freischütz," must be chronicled as events of interest. At the close of the year, Humperdinck's successful new opera, "Hänsel und Gretel," was produced at Daly's Theatre by the Carl Rosa Company.

An event deserving mention in connection with the operatic history of the year, was the production of Berlioz's "Damnation de Faust" on the stage, which took place early in the year at the Court Theatre, Liverpool. Mlle. Zélie de Lussan as Marguerite, Mr. Barton McGuckin as Faust, and Mr. Alec Marsh as Mephistopheles, were effective, dramatically as well as vocally, and the mounting was on the whole careful and artistic. Sir Charles Hallé conducted on behalf of the Carl Rosa Company, to whose enterprise this production was due, as well as that of Mr. Hamish McCann's four-act opera, "Jeanie Deans," at Edinburgh in November.

The Saturday concerts at the Crystal Palace were resumed on February 17, and wound up with Mr. Manns' benefit concert on April 28. Among the



novelties introduced during this period, the most interesting were three concert overtures by Dvorak, entitled "In der Natur" (Op. 91), given on April 28, and "Carnival" (Op. 92), and "Otello" (Op. 98), on March 24. A symphonic fantasy by R. Burmeister, "The Chase after Fortune," designed to illustrate a picture by Henneberg (Fel. 17), a ballad for orchestra, "The Legend of Excalibur," by Walter Wesche (March 8), and F. Dunkley's choral ballad, "The Wreck of the Hesperus" (April 7), were also given for the first time in England on the dates specified. In addition to absolute novelties, Dr. Mackenzie's "Highland Ballad," for violin and orchestra, Professor Villiers Stanford's incidental music to Tennyson's "Becket," Hoffmann's "Concert-stück" for flute and orchestra, and a "Concerto for Violoncello, in D," by Haydn, found places for the first time in the Sydenham repertoire. The great improvement in the chorus was particularly manifest in a performance of Gounod's "Redemption," given as a tribute to the memory of the great French master on March 17.

On October 18 these concerts entered on the thirty-ninth annual series, and although the actual novelties given were not of first-rate importance, the repertoire was enriched by a large number of works, not hitherto heard at Sydenham, the most conspicuous being Dvorak's "Symphony No. 5," Tchaikowsky's latest "Symphony No. 6, in B minor" (both produced at the Philharmonic, see below), Dr. Mackenzie's overture "Britannia," and Berlioz's remarkable dramatic symphony for orchestra, solo voices, and chorus, "Romeo and Juliet." The last named, very rarely heard in its entirety, was given on December 15 complete, save for the omission of a choral dialogue, which could not be adequately rendered without the aid of ante-rooms. Mr. Godfrey Pringle's rhapsody for baritone and orchestra, "Lo Zingaro"; a concert overture by Mr. W. Wallace, entitled "In praise of Scottish Poesie," and an "Idyll" for orchestra, by Mr. Stewart Macpherson, were accorded first performances during the series.

The season of the Philharmonic Society, which shifted its operations to the Queen's Hall, was one of the most brilliant on record. The orchestra was superb, and the material it had to work on was in the main worthy of it. Tchaikowsky's last great work, completed shortly before his death, *viz.*, a symphony in B minor, with the appropriate title "Pathétique" (No. 6), secured a reverential hearing at the first concert, and was wisely repeated. Dr. Mackenzie was the conductor, and during the series Madame Menter, M. Sapellnikoff, and M. Paderewski appeared, a further interesting feature of the season being the reappearance of Messrs. Grieg and Saints-Sanès, the gifted composers. At the last concert of this eventful series, Dvorak's "New Symphony in E Minor, No. 5," was produced. It is labelled, "From the New World," and shows the influence on the composer of negro plantation melodies, much in the same way as Mendelssohn's work was coloured by Scotch themes after his visit to the north.

Herr Richter gave in all seven concerts, four in the summer and three in the autumn; all save the last, when the Queen's Hall was successfully tried, in St. James's Hall. The programmes, though attractive, did not comprise much that was other than familiar, but the quality of the orchestra was far finer than heretofore, evoking warm and general eulogy. The London Symphony Concerts under Mr. Henschel, improved their position by a more judicious arrangement of the programmes, and in great measure

also by the introduction of a Scottish Orchestra, trained by the director for his concerts in the north.

The concerts of the Stock Exchange Orchestral Society, under the leadership of Mr. George Kitchin; of the Strolling Players, and of the Rev. F. H. Moberly's and the Countess of Radnor's Orchestras, composed of ladies, testify to the hold which the highest class of concert-room music has obtained over amateurs irrespective of sex. Large and enthusiastic audiences were drawn to the Queen's Hall to welcome the first appearance in London of the celebrated Bayreuth conductor, Herr Felix Mottl, who in the course of a short series of concerts gave some original interpretations of the work of Beethoven and Berlioz, in addition to numerous Wagnerian items. Considerable curiosity was also naturally shown on the occasion of the appearance as a conductor of Herr Siegfried Wagner, the son of the illustrious German master. Among choral societies Sir Joseph Barnby's fine choir at the Albert Hall fully maintained its reputation for excellent performances, chiefly of well-known standard works. The one novelty of the year, Sir A. C. Mackenzie's "Bethlehem," produced under the composer's direction, on April 12, was welcomed as worthy of its author, and was very finely performed.

Of the three concerts of the Bach Choir, under Professor V. Stanford, the most noteworthy was the second, when Bach's "Passion, According to St. Matthew," was given almost entire and with the original German text, the music of the Evangelist being sung by Herr Robert Kaufmann, a tenor, specially engaged for the occasion, whose high reputation in Germany rests to a great extent on his interpretation of the part. A "Mass in G" by the conductor, written for the Brompton Oratory, and first sung there last year, was introduced at the first concert, while the programme of the third was chiefly composed of very old part music, mostly unaccompanied.

Turning to chamber music, it is satisfactory to note that Mr. Chappell's thirty-sixth series of popular concerts at St. James's Hall was at least as successful as most of its predecessors. Herr Joachim, Lady Hallé, Herr Becker, and other leading solo artists appeared during the season, and a fair amount of new material found its way into the programmes. Mlle. Eibenschütz introduced a selection of five pieces from two new pianoforte sets by Brahms (Op. 118 and 119), adding a sixth number on repetition at a subsequent concert; and, later on, played for the first time three pieces from a new piano "Suite in G" by Moskowski (Op. 50). A new set of Irish pieces arranged for the violin by Professor Villiers Stanford was brought forward by Lady Hallé, and Herr Joachim gave for the first time two movements from a piano and violin suite (Op. 5), written by him many years back.

The last concert of the season was rendered remarkable by the coincidence that Herr Joachim and Signor Piatti, who figured in the programme, both celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their first appearance in London, and naturally received a very enthusiastic greeting from an immense concourse of admirers.

On recommencing in the autumn, several novelties found their way into the programmes, the most conspicuous being Chopin's "Fantaisie Polonaise, in A flat" (Op. 61); a promising quintette by a young composer, Mr. Moir Clark; and six old German "Volkslieder" from a collection by Brahms, introduced by Mlle. Fillunger.

Interesting concerts of this class were also given by Mr. Gompertz and by Mr. E. Fowles, the latter being especially designed to advance the knowledge of English chamber music.

The already brilliant array of pianists was this year swollen by the advent of M. Emil Sauer, who in a series of recitals fairly took the London public by storm. The recital is now a generally accepted form of appeal to public favour on the part of distinguished artists, and was adopted this year by Madame Sophie Menter, Messrs. Sapellnikoff, Slivinski, and Josef Hoffmann, and Mlle. Kleeberg, among others. Vocal recitals by Mrs. Henschel and by the Sisters Salter, the latter new-comers of more than average gifts, deserve to be chronicled.

The general scheme of the triennial Handel Festival, which took place at the Crystal Palace, was practically the same as heretofore. It opened on Friday, June 22, as usual, with a public rehearsal, followed on the 25th by "The Messiah," with Mme. Albani, Miss M. Mackenzie, Mr. Ben Davies, and Mr. Santley, as the chief soloists.

The "Selection" on June 27 contained some new items, and Madame Melba and Miss Ella Russell made successful *débuts* as Handel Festival artists. The choir, composed, as on former occasions, of about three thousand voices, was remarkably efficient, and the orchestra, strengthened considerably in the lower strings, not less so. The skill and judgment with which Mr. Manns handled his huge forces met with general commendation.

Festivals were also held at Chester, Hereford, and Birmingham. The first-named, which was well attended, served to bring out a "Symphony in F," by Dr. J. C. Bridge, and a small cantata by Dr. Sawyer, entitled "The Soul's Forgiveness." The 171st Festival of the Three Choirs, held this year at Hereford, was conducted in a satisfactory manner by Mr. G. R. Sinclair, and the choir, with the assistance of some voices from Leeds, was very effective. The novelties consisted of a ballad for orchestra, chorus, and solo for mezzo-soprano and baritone, by Dr. Harford Lloyd, with the title "Sir Ogie and the Lady Elsie," founded on an old Danish legend, and Professor Bridge's "Stabat Mater Speciosa," or "The Cradle of Christ," both of which were well received. The Birmingham Festival, where Herr Richter was the conductor, was even more than usually brilliant. The most important novelty was Dr. Hubert Parry's oratorio, "King Saul," but a posthumous cantata by Goring Thomas, "The Swan and the Skylark," and a "Stabat Mater," by Mr. Henschel, were also accorded a first hearing.

The *débutants* of the year comprised, in addition to those named above under the head of opera, a richly-gifted contralto in Miss Rowe, and a tenor of considerable attainments in M. Clément, besides a young violinist, M. Achille Rivarde, whose first appearance at one of the Bach concerts was warmly welcomed. On the other hand the retirement of Miss Liza Lehmann leaves a gap which will not readily be filled.

The obituary of the year contains some illustrious names. Madame Albani had so long retired from the stage that her matchless gifts had become a matter of history, even to old opera frequenters; but Madame Patey, and the dramatic soprano Madame Fursch-Madi, are fresh in the recollection of every one. The death of Mr. Eugene Oudin in the prime of his powers left a great void. Pianoforte music lost two of its greatest exponents in Hans von Bulow and Rubinstein, and violin-playing was the poorer by the death of Sivori, the pupil and successor of Paganini.

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1894.

## JANUARY.

**M. Waddington.**—William Henry Waddington was born at St. Rémy in 1826, of English parents who had adopted French nationality. His early years were spent in France, and he began his school life at the Lycée St. Louis in Paris. At the age of fifteen he was transferred to Rugby, where he remained four years, and in 1845 proceeded with a school scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated, 1849, as second classic (Dr. Elwyn being senior classic), and gained the Chancellor's medal. At Rugby he distinguished himself at football, and at Cambridge as an oarsman—rowing No. 6 in the University Boat in 1848, when Cambridge won. Soon after taking his degree, he returned to France to claim French nationality. At about twenty-five years of age he married a French lady, Mlle. Lutteroth, daughter of a diplomatist of Alsatian extraction, who, under Louis Philippe, had been French Minister at Naples. M. Lutteroth became intimate with the Prince de Joinville, one of Louis Philippe's sons, and in the war of 1870 the Prince de Joinville, being refused admission to the French Army, remembered the name of his friend Lutteroth, and assuming that name he joined the Army. M. Waddington, in the early years of his married life, devoted himself to study—archæology and numismatics being his favourite pursuits. He travelled in Asia Minor in 1850 and again in 1862, publishing on his return *Mémoires* on these and historical questions, which in 1865 caused him to be elected a member of the Academy of Inscription and Belles Lettres. In the same year he offered himself as a candidate for the Corps Legislatif in

his department, but was not elected, and it was not until 1871, after the fall of the empire, that he was elected to the National Assembly. M. Thiers from the first urged him to enter upon a political life, but it was not till the last moment of Thiers's Presidency, when Dufaure, on May 17, 1873, formed a Cabinet, that M. Waddington entered it as Minister of Education. He was overthrown with Thiers seven days afterwards. Till then he had professed a kind of diluted Republicanism, a Left Centre policy, but, revolted by the ingratitude of Conservatives towards Thiers, he joined the militant and ardent opposition offered by the Moderate Republicans, headed by Thiers and Dufaure, to the successive Cabinets of the MacMahon Presidency. For a time he withdrew from active political life. In the interval he married his second wife—an American lady, Miss Mary Alsop King. On the reaction being defeated at the elections of 1876 he resumed the post of Minister of Education, which he held till December of that year. Dufaure was then overthrown and succeeded by M. Jules Simon, under whom M. Waddington continued in office until May 16, 1877, when Marshal MacMahon made his famous Parliamentary *coup d'état* by demanding M. Jules Simon's resignation.

On November 14, 1877, Dufaure was commissioned by the marshal to form a Cabinet. The elections had gone against the *coup* of May 16, the 363 Republicans being nearly all triumphantly elected. The new Chamber, containing an overwhelming Republican majority, refused to recognise the Rochebouet Cabinet, and M. Lepelletier, Minister of Justice, had to descend

from the tribune without uttering a word. The next day Dufaure became Premier. M. Waddington, who was at first to resume the portfolio of Education, gave way at the last moment to M. Bardoux, taking the Foreign Office, which had first been offered to the Comte de St. Vallier, who was appointed Ambassador to Berlin. The overthrow of May 16 involved the fall of the Duke Decazes, and M. Waddington, Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the consent of the marshal and Dufaure, appointed himself the chief French plenipotentiary at the Berlin Congress. For the first time since the terrible defeats of 1870, France was seated among the representatives of monarchical Europe—a vanquished nation which had overturned first royalty and then the empire. Thanks to the persistency and energy of M. Waddington, backed by Dufaure, and both seconded by the patriotic feeling of Marshal MacMahon, the project of one party to hold aloof from the Congress was defeated, and M. Waddington, the Comte de St. Vallier, and M. Després repaired to Berlin to represent France.

Placed in a position of unusual delicacy and difficulty, M. Waddington displayed the utmost tact. He was simple and natural and straightforward, so that Prince Bismarck speedily showed him such a deference that he held a distinct place and was respected by all. After a few days he won the esteem and confidence of everybody, and outside the sittings of the Congress most of the members made him a confidant and listened to his counsels. Without ostentation he claimed for France disinterested advantages which had a considerable moral effect. He claimed the maintenance of the French protectorate in religious matters in the East. He advocated and obtained the enfranchisement of the Jews in Roumania. He upheld the prerogatives of France in Palestine, and he ensured for Greece concessions which nearly all the other Powers were inclined to refuse.

On the treaty respecting Cyprus becoming known, M. Waddington promptly and resolutely took advantage of it, and he held that now well-known conversation with Lord Salisbury by which England gave France a free hand in Tunis. He thus returned from Berlin, having maintained throughout the dignity of his attitude, and bringing to his country the possibility of undertaking that Tunis expedition which endowed France with the least costly and most profitable of her colonies.

Shortly after his return, Dufaure was overthrown, and M. Waddington succeeded to the Premiership. In this post, it must be confessed, he showed a weakness which lasted as long as his Cabinet itself. He had a terror of Gambetta. He did not venture to refuse anything to that imperious will exerted behind the scenes.

After M. Waddington's short tenure of the Premiership, his only public employment was to represent France at the Czar's coronation in 1881, and for some time he remained simply a senator. In 1883 he became Ambassador in London, where he speedily gained the esteem and consideration which he enjoyed for ten years. He pursued on the Egyptian question the policy which M. de Freycinet abandoned, but which Gambetta had supported. But for that abandonment the Egyptian misunderstanding would not have arisen, and the relations of France and England would have been different. Party spirit in France ran high, and the feeling towards England became bitter and rancorous. M. Waddington was reproached most unjustly for neglecting the interests of his country, and giving way to English pretensions. At length he decided to resign a post which he could no longer hold without forfeiting his self-respect. Almost simultaneously he was defeated at the senatorial elections for his department, and this blow, added to the calumnies to which he was exposed, hastened the progress of the diseases—Bright's disease and diabetes—from which he had long suffered. A chill brought about a crisis, and on January 10 he died at his house in Paris, in the Rue Dumont d'Urville.

The Waddington family celebrated in September, 1892, the centenary of their cotton factory at St. Rémy, a village near Dreux; but on the maternal side their settlement in France dates fifteen years or so further back. Sykes, an Englishman, who was born in Holland and who died there, took up his residence at Paris shortly before the Revolution. He was an optician and jeweller, and sold a variety of English goods, including blankets and Wedgwood ware. He had one of the shops in the recently rebuilt Palais Royal, where the Duke of Orleans, reducing the garden to its present dimensions, had let out the ground floor as shops. Sykes claimed descent from a sister of the Pendrell who sheltered Charles II. His premises must have been in the front of the palace, for Dr. Rigby, of

Norwich, witnessed from his windows the procession returning along the Rue St. Honoré from the capture of the Bastille with the heads of two victims carried on pikes. The Revolution drove away from Paris the customers of fancy shops like that of Sykes; but the prospect of war with England gave an opening of which he promptly availed himself. Settling at St. Rémy, he had married his only child to William Waddington, a London merchant claiming descent from the Richard Pendrell who sheltered Charles II. Waddington, who was born at Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire, in 1751, died at Paris in 1818. He had settled at St. Rémy after Waterloo, and in 1820 was awarded 302,000*l.* as compensation for losses undergone by his father-in-law during the Revolution. He had four sons, Thomas, William Pendrell, Frederick and Alfred, all born in England between 1791 and 1800, but naturalised in France. Thomas married Janet Mackintosh Chrisholm, who, after being for many years a widow, died in 1891. They had two sons—William, the diplomat and statesman, and Richard, a manufacturer at Rouen and a senator for the Seine Inférieure.

**General Sir Charles Pyndar Beauchamp Walker, K.C.B.**, some time Director-General of Military Education, who was son of Charles Ludlow Walker, of Redland, was born on October 7, 1817, was educated at Winchester, and entered the Army as an ensign in the 33rd Foot in February, 1836. In December, 1846, he received his captain's commission. Three years later he was transferred to the 7th Dragoon Guards, and from March to December, 1854, served in the campaign in the Crimea as aide-de-camp to the Earl of Lucan, taking part in the battles of the Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, in the cavalry affair the day previous to the Alma, at the surprise of the Russian rearguard at M'Kenzie's Farm, and during the siege of Sebastopol. He served as a volunteer on board the *Bellerophon* at the bombardment of the fortress on October 17. He reached the rank of major in December, 1854, and after the conclusion of the campaign, during which he was favourably mentioned in despatches, received the medal with four clasps, the fifth class of the Medjidie, and the Turkish medal. He next saw service in Ireland, where from July, 1855 (in the November of which year he became lieutenant-colonel), till

December, 1858, he was Assistant Quartermaster-General for the Dublin and Curragh district, and in the following year served in the field in India, first in command of a field force at Secrora, in Oudh, near which place he defeated the rebels at the attack on the fort and jungle of Bungoon, and afterwards in command of the column which accompanied Sir Hope Grant to the Nepaul frontier, including the action of the Jerwah Pass, being again mentioned in despatches, and receiving his second medal for the Indian Mutiny campaign. From May till November, 1860, he was on active service in China throughout the campaign as Assistant Quartermaster-General of Cavalry, and was present at the actions of Sinho, Chankinwan and Pali Kao, and in the advance on Peking. In this campaign he was again favourably mentioned, and received his third medal, with two clasps and the Companionship of the Bath. Promoted to the rank of colonel in November, 1860, he was Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Shorncliffe and Dover district from July, 1861, to March, 1865, being appointed in the following month Military Attaché at Berlin. Upon the breaking out of the Prusso-Austrian War in the following year Colonel Walker served in the campaign in Bohemia and Moravia as British Military Commissioner at the head-quarters of the Army of the Crown Prince, and in such capacity was present at the battles of Nachod and Koniggratz. The King of Prussia offered him the second class of the Red Eagle with Swords, but the regulations preventing its acceptance, the King awarded him the Prussian medal, and Colonel Walker having received permission to accept and wear it, the King forwarded it to him direct, accompanied by an autograph letter. He was advanced to the rank of major-general in March, 1868, and remaining in the Prussian capital as Military Attaché until the end of March, 1876, it thus fell to his lot to serve throughout the Franco-German War of 1870-1 as Military Commissioner for his country at the head-quarters of the Crown Prince's Army. In this capacity he was present at the battles of Weissemburg, Wörth and Sedan, and throughout the investment of Paris, and he received the permission of the Queen to accept and wear the German War Medal and the coveted distinction of the Iron Cross. In October, 1877, he became lieutenant-general, and in January, 1878, he was appointed Director-General of Military

Education, which post he filled till 1884, when he was gazetted full general. He had been Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards since December, 1881, in which year he was created a K.C.B., and had been on the retired list since October, 1884. General Walker married, in 1845, Georgina, daughter of Captain Richard Armstrong, of the 100th Foot, and died on January 19, at Onslow Square, Brompton, in his seventy-seventh year.

**Sir Gerald Herbert Portal, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, born in 1858, was the younger son of Melville Portal of Laverstock, Hants. He was educated at Eton, and in 1879 was appointed unpaid Attaché at Rome, where he remained until June, 1882, when he was temporarily attached to the Agency and Consulate General in Egypt. In the following month he was present at the bombardment of Alexandria, and in 1884 was formally transferred to Cairo as third secretary, where he had on two occasions to be employed as Acting Consul General in the absence of Sir Evelyn Baring. On October 17, 1887, he was entrusted with a mission to the Negus of Abyssinia, with the view of bringing about an understanding between King John and the Italians. Although unsuccessful in achieving the object of his mission, Mr. Portal succeeded in obtaining considerable knowledge of

the country, and on his return to Cairo was made a C.B. Here, acting as *Chargé de Affaires* during his chief's absence, he remained until March, 1891, when he was appointed Agent and Consul General at Zanzibar, where he had previously been for six months in 1889 in a temporary charge, and had acquired a fluent knowledge of Arabic and several local dialects. In the spring of 1892 he was further appointed Commissioner and Consul General to British sphere in East Africa, and in December, 1892, was ordered to proceed to Uganda to report on the best means of dealing with that country. His elder brother, who accompanied him as military officer, succumbed during the expedition, while Sir Gerald Portal, notwithstanding many difficulties, obtained very good results, but was himself stricken down with malarial fever. On his return to the coast, however, he rapidly recovered, and soon afterwards returned to England in apparently good health. A remittent attack of the same fever, however, occurred at Christmas, and after running its course developed typhoid fever, to which he succumbed at Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, on January 25. He married in 1890 Lady Alice J. Bertie, daughter of seventh Earl of Abingdon.

On the 1st, at Heatherlands, Farnham, aged 73, **Henry Vizetelly**, a journalist, war correspondent, publisher, and author. Towards the close of his life he underwent imprisonment for publishing translations of Zola's works in English. On the 1st, at Bonn, aged 36, **Professor Heinrich Hertz**, born at Hamburg; studied physical science at Munich and afterwards at Berlin under Helmholtz. Appointed lecturer at Kiel, 1885; Professor of the Technical College at Karlsruhe, 1887, and Professor of Physical Science at Bonn, 1889; famous for his discoveries of the motion of light and electricity. On the 2nd, at New York, aged 70, **Orlando B. Potter**, educated at Harvard University, where he graduated in law, 1848, and practised in Boston, 1850-70, when he went to New York and made a large fortune by investment in real estate. Returned to Congress as a Democrat, 1878-81, and 1886-9. On the 2nd, at Grosvenor Gardens, aged 76, **Baron Henri Solvyns**, Belgian Minister to the Court of St. James's since 1871, having been previously accredited to the Courts of Lisbon, Stockholm, Constantinople and Rome, and the *doyen* of the Belgian Diplomatic Service. He was the son of an officer in the Netherlands East India Company, and married an American lady when Secretary of Legation at Washington. On the 3rd, at Fulham, aged 80, **Sir Walter Clifton**, claiming to be the twelfth baronet, second son of Marshall Walton Clifton, F.R.S., and sometime M.L.C. in Western Australia. He was for many years a clerk in the Admiralty. On the 3rd, at Crewe Hall, aged 81, **Lord Crewe**; Hungerford Crewe, third baron; educated at Eton; succeeded his father, 1855; took little part in politics, but devoted himself to the management of his large estates in the Midlands; with him the title becomes extinct. On the 4th, at Calcutta, aged 28, **Sir William Augustus Annerley Stewart**, tenth baronet, eldest son of William Molloy Stewart, of Rumelton, Co. Donegal; educated at Queen's University, Belfast; practised as an advocate at the Calcutta Bar. On the 4th, at Inveraray Castle, aged 50, the **Duchess of Argyll**, Amelia Maria, daughter of the Right Rev. Thomas Leigh Claughton, Bishop of St. Albans. Married, first, 1868, Colonel the Hon. Augustus H. Anson, V.C., second son of the first Earl of Lichfield; and,

second, 1881, George, eighth Duke of Argyll. On the 7th, at Lagos, aged 42, the **Right Rev. Joseph Sidney Hill, D.D.**, Bishop of the Church of England in Western Equatorial Africa; born at Barnack, near Stamford, and was first occupied in business. Entered the Church Missionary College, Islington, 1873; ordained, 1876, and at once went to West Africa as a missionary, and to New Zealand, 1878-90; when he returned to England and worked in East London. Ordained Bishop of the Niger Districts, 1893. On the 8th, at Wimbledon, aged 61, **Major Cavendish Charles Fitzroy**, eldest son of Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P., younger son of the fourth Duke of Grafton. Born in Burlington House; educated at Harrow; entered the Army, 1850, as ensign in the 68th Regiment. Served through the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5, with great distinction; aide-de-camp to Lord Carlisle, Viceroy of Ireland, 1855-7. Served with his regiment during the Indian Mutiny and in Burmah, 1857-62; but having passed the Staff College, 1864-5, was forced to retire in consequence of ill-health, and he subsequently devoted himself wholly to philanthropical work in connection with the administration of the poor law, the Charity Organisation Society, and other channels. Married, 1859, Mary, daughter of Thomas Lumisden Strange, Judge of the Sudra Court, Madras. On the 9th, at Kiel, aged 90, **Professor Forchhammer**, Professor of Archaeology at Kiel University since 1837. In early life he travelled much in Asia Minor and Greece, and sat in the Lower House of the Prussian Diet, 1868, and in the German Reichstag, 1871-3. On the 10th, at Cowley St. John, Oxford, aged 100, **John Chisel Buckler**, eldest son of John Buckler, F.S.A. Practised as an architect until his ninetieth year; was the author of an account of the Palace of Eltham, and other works, and obtained the second premium for his design for rebuilding the Houses of Parliament. On the 10th, at South Audley Street, London, aged 67, **Dowager Lady Wolverton**, Georgiana Maria, daughter of the Rev. George Tuffinch, of Uffington, Berks, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. Married, 1848, George Grenfels, second Baron Wolverton. On the 11th, at Spennithorne, aged 66, **Major-General Charles Henry Ingilby, C.B.**, son of Captain R. M. P. Ingilby, 84th Regiment; educated at Woolwich; entered the Royal Artillery, 1846. Served in the Crimean Campaign with great distinction, and was severely wounded at the battle of Inkerman. Served subsequently in India, and commanded Royal Artillery in Scotland. Married, 1875, Sara Dulcibella, daughter of Captain William Bell, 43rd Regiment. On the 11th, at Leigh, Essex, aged 75, **Mrs. Thackeray** (Isabella Gethin Creagh Shawe), eldest daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Matthew Shawe, C.B. Born in Java, 1818; married, 1836, William Makepeace Thackeray, then aged 24, and at the beginning of his literary career. They lived for a short time together in Paris, but her health hopelessly broke down after the birth of her youngest child in 1840. On the 12th, at Hagerstown, Maryland, U.S.A., aged 71, **Rear-Admiral Donald MacNeill Fairfax**, of the United States Navy (great-grandson of Bryan, eighth Baron Fairfax, the friend of Washington). Entered the Navy, 1837; served on the West Coast of Mexico and California during the Mexican war. In 1866 he cast in his lot with the Federal Navy, and commanded in the South Atlantic, and was the officer who took Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the Confederate delegates, out of the R.M.S. *Trent*. Was in command of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, 1864-5. Married, first, daughter of Thomas Ragland, of Virginia; and second, daughter of Rear-Admiral Foote, U.S.A. On the 12th, at Woodborough Hall, Notts, aged 70, **Mansfield Parkyns**, son of Thomas Boulbten Parkyns, and brother of Sir Thomas G. Parkyns, sixth baronet; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1845. Travelled for several years in unexplored parts of Africa, and especially in Abyssinia, living wholly as native. On his return, published (1853) "Life in Abyssinia." Was attaché at Constantinople, 1850-2. Distinguished as a linguist and a psychist. Married, 1854, Emma Louisa, third daughter of first Baron Westbury, when he was appointed Assignee in Bankruptcy and afterwards Comptroller of the Court of Bankruptcy. Resigned, 1884, and devoted himself to literary and artistic work, the oak-carvings in Woodborough Church being amongst his most recent productions. On the 13th, at Highbury, aged 71, the **Rev. Gordon Calthorpe**. An eloquent and popular preacher. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; First Class in Classical Tripos, 1847; Vicar of St. Augustine's, Highbury, 1864; Prebendary of St. Paul's, 1889. On the 14th, at the Deanery, aged 73, the **Very Rev. William John Butler, D.D.**, Dean of Lincoln, son of John L. Butler, a London merchant and banker. Educated at Westminster School; elected Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge; rowed in school and college boats; B.A., 1840; Vicar of Wantage, 1846-80; Canon of Worcester, 1880-5, in which year he succeeded Dr. Blakesley as Dean of Lincoln. On the deposition of Dr.



Colenso from the see of Natal by the Bishop of Cape Town, he was elected by a section of the clergy and laity "Bishop over the Church in Natal"; but on the advice of Archbishop Longley, did not accept the nomination. Established the Wantage Sisterhood, of which he was Warden. On the 15th, at Leys, Kincardineshire, aged 60, **Sir Robert Burnett**, eleventh baronet. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1854. Married, 1864, Matilda Josephine, daughter of James Murphy, of New York, U.S.A. On the 18th, at Mere Hall, Knutsford, aged 73, the **Hon. Mrs. George Keane**, Catherine Mary, eldest daughter of Major Alexander Macleod. Married, first, 1841, Thomas Langford Brooke, of Mere Hall; and second, 1881, Admiral the Hon. George Disney Keane, C.B., third son of George, first Lord Keane, G.C.B. On the 17th, at Woodgates, Dorset, aged 35, **Viscount Somerton**, Charles George Welbore Ellis, eldest son of the third Earl of Normanton. Was lieutenant, 7th Hussars, 1881-3. On the 17th, at Bath, aged 99, **Dowager Viscountess Sidmouth**, Mary, daughter of the Rev. J. Young, Thorpe Malsor, Northants. Married, 1820, William, second Viscount Sidmouth. She had been a frequent attendant in early life at the House of Commons, and vividly remembered Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce. On the 17th, at Devonshire Place, W., aged 61, **Robert Ruthven Pym**, youngest son of Francis Pym, of the Hazells, Beds, M.P. A member of the firm of Coutts & Co., bankers, and was connected with the Baroness Burdett-Coutts in all sorts of philanthropical work. Married, 1862, Harriet, eldest daughter of Henry Sykes Thornton, of Clapham, whom he survived only two days. On the 17th, at New York, aged 81, **Elizabeth Peabody**, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Peabody, of Boston, Mass., where she lived the greater portion of her life. Her first work, "Key to Hebrew History," was published in 1834. Her "Records of a School," "Æsthetic Papers" (1849), and "Crimes of the House of Austria" were her most popular books. She introduced the kindergarten system into America, and from 1874 edited the *Kindergarten Messenger*, and contributed to numerous other periodicals. On the 18th, at Paris, aged 52, **Paul Delair**, Curator of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture at the Trocadero. He was also a dramatist of some repute, and adapted "The Taming of the Shrew" into French. On the 18th, at Nantes, aged 96, **General Mellinet**, the father of the French Army, son of one of Napoleon's Generals. Served in Spain and Algeria; commanded a corps in the Crimean War, and again in Lombardy, 1860. Elected a Senator, 1865, and was Grand Master of the Freemasons, 1865-70. On the 19th, at Bishop's Stortford, aged 84, **John Francis Waller, LL.D.**, of Finnoe House, Co. Tipperary. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; called to the Irish Bar, 1837. Author of "The Kingsley Papers" (1852), poems (1854), and "Pictures from English Literature" (1870). Was for many years editor of the *Dublin University Magazine*, and of the "Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," and was the author and editor of numerous biographies. On the 20th, at Grosvenor Place, S.W., aged 69, **Sir Henry Dalrymple des Vœux**, son of the Rev. Henry des Vœux. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1845; Fellow of All Souls, 1848. Married, 1863, Lady Alice Magdalen, daughter of the second Earl of Wiltou. On the 22nd, at Headley, aged 71, **Vice-Admiral John Edward Parish**, second son of Sir Woodbine Parish, K.C.H. Educated at Royal Naval College, Portsmouth. Entered Royal Navy, 1836; saw most service in the South Pacific, 1859-65. On North American station, 1868-73, when he was appointed senior naval officer at Hong Kong. Married, 1879, Emma, eldest daughter of William Longman, of Ashlyns, Herts, and Paternoster Row. On the 23rd, at the Cloisters, Westminster, aged 77, the **Rev. Thomas James Russell**, one of a family of nineteen. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1838. Incumbent of St. Peter's, Stepney, 1844-60; of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, 1860-72; and St. Stephen's, Westbourne Park, 1872-83. Canon of Westminster, 1882; and Deputy Clerk of the Closet, 1879. On the 25th, at Venice, aged 45, **Constance Fenimore Wootton**, born at Claremont, New Hampshire, U.S.A., a great-niece of Fenimore Cooper, and herself a popular writer of tales chiefly of Florida life. Author of "Castle Nowhere" (1875), "Rodman the Reefer" (1880), "Anne" (1882), "Horace Chase" (1893), etc. On the 25th, at Eltham, aged 78, **Vice-Admiral Donald Macleod Mackenzie**, sixth son of Sir George Stewart Mackenzie, of Coull. Entered Royal Navy, 1830; served on the West Coast of Africa. Was First Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Edinburgh* in the Baltic, 1854-5, and afterwards commanded H.M.S. *Bacchante* when flagship in the Pacific. Married, 1866, Dorothea, eldest daughter of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour. On the 25th, at Eckington Rectory, Derbyshire, aged 90, the **Rev. Edward Hiley Bucknall Estcourt**, third son of Thomas E. Bucknall Estcourt. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A.,

1825; Fellow of Merton College, 1827; Rector of Eekington, 1843. Married, 1831, Anne Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Lowther Johnstone, Bart., of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire. On the 26th, at Stanley Hall, Bridgwater, aged 69, **Sir Henry Thomas Tyrwhitt**, of Outwellthorpe Hall, Norfolk, third baronet, and at one time lieutenant in Rifle Brigade. Married, 1853, Emma Harriet, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Robert Wilson, Baroness Berners in her own right. On the 26th, in Paris, aged 80, **Madame Elise de Bury**, a distinguished journalist and woman of letters. Marie Pauline Rose Stuart, daughter of Lieutenant William Stuart, born at Oban, N.B., passed the greater portion of her life in France. Married, 1838, Henri Blaze de Bury, the translator of "Faust" into French verse, and a writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on technical and other questions. On the 26th, at Buckley Hall, Rugby, aged 88, **General Sir Frederick Horn, G.C.B.**, son of Captain Fred. J. Horn, King's Dragoon Guards. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School. Entered the Army, 20th Foot, and served in Crimean Campaign, commanding the Light Brigade, 4th Division, at the Alma, and his regiment at Inkerman. Married, 1852, Mary, daughter of Moore Wilson, E.I.C.S. On the 28th, at Berlin, aged 54, **Professor Auguste Hirsch**, a distinguished physician and pathologist. A member of the German Cholera Commission, 1873, and the author of works on epidemics of the Middle Ages, and of a text-book on diseases of the eye. On the 28th, at Fiskebäckskil, Sweden, aged 62, **Elise Hwasser**, the most accomplished Swedish actress of the day. First appeared at Stockholm in 1848, and for forty years had no rival in Shakespearian characters. On the 30th, at Hill Street, Berkeley Square, aged 81, **Sir Hugh Hume-Campbell**, seventh baronet, only son of Sir William Hume-Purves, who took the name of Hume-Campbell on succeeding to the estates of his maternal ancestors the Earls of Marchmont. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Represented Berwickshire as a Conservative, 1834-47. Married, first, 1834, Margaret, daughter of John Spottiswoode, of Spottiswoode, N.B.; and, second, 1841, Juliana Rebecca, daughter of Sir Joseph Fuller, G.C.H. On the 30th, at Edinburgh, aged 74, **Gourlay Steele, R.S.A.**, Curator of the National Gallery, Edinburgh (1882), and animal painter to the Queen in Scotland (1874). Educated in the class-room attached to the Board of Manufacturers under Sir William Allan and Robert Scott Lauder. Elected an Associate of the Scottish Academy, 1846, and an Academician, 1859.

## FEBRUARY.

**G. W. Childs.**—George W. Childs, the proprietor of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, died in that city on February 3 from the effects of a stroke of paralysis.

Born in the city of Baltimore, State of Maryland, on May 12, 1829, Mr. Childs received a limited education in the local school. At the age of fourteen years circumstances forced him to take on the burden of his own support. Journeying to the neighbouring city of Philadelphia, his entire fortune consisting of 10s., he secured a position in a book shop at a weekly wage of 12s. Four years of hard work and frugal living followed, and then, having saved about 40l., he opened a small book shop of his own, which was located in what became the office of the *Public Ledger*. At the age of twenty-one he entered the publishing firm of Childs and Peterson, a firm associated with many well-known works, among which are Allibone's "Dictionary of English and American Authors," and the works

of Dr. Kane, the Arctic explorer. In 1863 he retired from the publishing business with a moderate capital. During the following year a local journal, the *Public Ledger*, on which large sums had been expended, but which had failed to make a success, came on the market, and into this discredited enterprise Mr. Childs placed all his money. The young publisher had discovered that in the old city of Philadelphia there existed a large class of wealthy and conservative people anxious to secure trustworthy and full information on financial matters. Believing that, if he could secure this class of readers, he would also secure advertisers, he changed the whole character of the *Public Ledger*, earned for it the reputation among American journalists of being slow, behind the times, old fogey and English; but established an enviable reputation with the reading public for accuracy, honesty and conservatism. The circulation rapidly increased, and

in a few years it became the most valuable newspaper property in the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. Childs had as partner in his newspaper Anthony J. Drexel, head of the well-known banking house of that name, and this business partnership extended into the domain of charity, for as wealth came with increasing rapidity to both, they each year left the actual management of newspaper and bank to juniors, and devoted time and money to the planning and carrying into execution of charitable work. Every public subscription found their names at the head of the list, while their private gifts were constant and most liberal. Together they established and endowed a home for broken-down and aged printers at Colorado Springs, Colorado; while Mr. Childs presented and gave money to preserve a printers' cemetery near Philadelphia. He also had placed in Westminster Abbey a stained-glass window in honour of William Cowper and George Herbert, and a monument over the grave of Leigh Hunt in Kensal Green. He contributed to the window to Thomas Moore in the church at Bromham; a window to Milton in St. Margaret's; a memorial of Bishops Lancelot Andrews and Ken, at Winchester; and the public drinking-fountain and clock-tower at Stratford-upon-Avon, as a memorial to Shakespeare and an acknowledgment of the Queen's Jubilee.

For years Mr. Childs extended a generous hospitality to distinguished foreigners, and especially to Englishmen, visiting Philadelphia. In his town house he had one of the most valuable private libraries in America, among his greatest treasures being numerous manuscripts of Thackeray and Dickens. He was a man of literary taste rather than talent. His wife was the daughter of a woman who wrote a work on astronomy, which received high praise from Lord Rosse and Herschel. In July, 1893, Anthony Drexel died suddenly, and a decided change was at once noted in Mr. Childs, and six months later he followed his friend and partner.

**Sir Harry Verney.**—Sir Harry Verney, second baronet, P.C., who was born December 8, 1801, was the eldest son of General Sir Harry Calvert, G.C.B., to whose title he succeeded in 1826; and he took the name of Verney by royal licence, in 1827, on inheriting the Buckinghamshire and other estates of Mary Verney, in her own right Baroness

Fermanagh, a daughter of Ralph, Earl Verney and Viscount Fermanagh, in the Irish peerage. He was educated at Harrow School and at Downing College, Cambridge; and, after having been attached to Sir Brooke Taylor's Mission to Stuttgart, in 1819, passing through the Royal Military College, entered the Army in 1819, having obtained a commission in the 7th Fusiliers. He afterwards served in the Grenadier Guards, and he was promoted to a majority unattached in 1827, and his name afterwards figured as a major on the retired list. In December, 1832, at the first general election after the passing of Lord John Russell's first Reform Bill, he entered Parliament, in the Whig interest, as one of the members for the borough of Buckingham, polling twenty votes more than his colleague, the Tory candidate, Sir George Nugent, who was backed by the influence of Stowe and the Grenvilles; and, as he reminded his old constituents in a review of his public life, among his first acts in Parliament was to give a cordial support to the movement inaugurated by Wilberforce and carried out by the Macaulays, the Buxtons, and the Lushingtons, for the abolition of slavery. He supported also the measures passed for the improvement of the poor law system, for the introduction of the penny post, and for other means of progress and improvement. In Parliament also he was a strong advocate for carrying the London and Birmingham Railway through the heart of Buckinghamshire, as advised by George Stephenson, but the opposition of the local magnates was too strong, and the line was carried in another direction. His known disapproval of the then existing Corn Laws operated to prevent his re-election in 1841, but in 1847 he was returned for Bedford, and during the following five years advocated the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the Tithe Commutation Act, the reform of the Civil Service and of municipal institutions, the reduction of the National Debt, and the reform and mitigation of the Criminal Law. In reference to this latter subject, it may be added that nobody took a more active part in the work of societies established to aid prisoners on their discharge from gaol. He was also, from conviction, a strong advocate of all measures proposed from time to time to support the Protestant character of our institutions in Church and State. Along with Lords Shaftesbury

and Chichester, for example, he took part in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance, for the purpose of keeping up in England a common interest and common action with Continental Protestantism. He took a keen interest in all agricultural questions, was one of the founders in 1838 of the Royal Agricultural Society of England; and was one of the first landlords to encourage small holdings and peasant proprietors on his estates. In 1857 he returned to the electors of Buckingham, whom he continued thenceforth to represent down to 1874, when he was defeated by Mr. W. Egerton Hubbard, afterwards Lord Addington. At the

next general election, in March, 1880, this vote was reversed, Sir Harry Verney again being returned, though by a majority of only eight votes. In 1885, on his retirement from the House of Commons, he was made a Privy Councillor. He was twice married, first in 1835, to Eliza, daughter of Admiral Sir George Johnstone-Hope, K.C.B., and second in 1858, to Frances Parthenope, daughter of William Edward Nightingale of Embley, Hants, and sister of Miss Florence Nightingale. He died on February 12, after a brief illness, at Claydon House, Bucks.

On the 1st, at Chislehurst, aged 72, **Peter Redpath**, a prominent citizen of Montreal, where he had founded, amongst other industries, the largest sugar refinery in the Canadian Dominion. He built at his sole expense a museum in connection with the McGill College and University at Montreal, and subsequently provided a library, and contributed generously to many other institutions. On the 2nd, at Aarau, Switzerland, aged 74, **General Hans Herzog**. Educated at the Aarau Gymnasium. Served as a volunteer in the Wurtemberg Artillery, 1846. Nominated chief of the Federal Artillery, 1860. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army of 35,000 raised to protect the frontier, and on Jan. 21, 1871, received at Verrieres the surrender of General Bourbaki with 85,000 men. On the 3rd, in Tavistock Place, W.C., aged 40, **Charles Francis Morrell**, only son of T. S. Morrell, of Bayons Park, Lincolnshire. Educated at Cheltenham, and Lincoln College, Oxford; B.A., 1875. Called to the Bar, 1877, at the Middle Temple, and was the author of several legal text-books, etc. On the 4th, at New York, aged 70, the **Rev. Henry Stafford Osborn, D.D., LL.D.**, a noted American preacher, teacher, and writer; born at Philadelphia. Graduated from the Pennsylvania University, 1841, and at the New York Theological Seminary, 1846. Subsequently studied at Bonn and London. Pastor of a Presbyterian Church at Hanover, Virginia, 1849-57, holding also the chair of natural science at the Roanoke College. Professor at Lafayette College, 1866-70, and 1870-3 at the Miami University, Ohio, when he abandoned teaching and devoted his time to literary pursuits. On the 6th, at Abbazia, aged 61, **Professor Billroth**, a distinguished professor of surgery. Born at Bergen, in the Island of Rügen. Studied at the Universities of Greifswalde, Göttingen and Berlin; M.D., 1852. Was assistant to Professor Langenbeck at Berlin, 1853-8; Professor of Surgery at Zurich, 1858-67, when he was appointed to that chair at Vienna. Made a member of the Austrian Upper House, 1887. On the 6th, in Dover Street, W., aged 74, the **Dowager Countess of Ashburnham**, Katherine Charlotte, daughter of George Baillie, of Jerviswoode, N.B. Married, 1840, the fourth Earl of Ashburnham. On the 6th, at Demsborough House, Ripley, Surrey, aged 80, **Major Pitrain Onslow, R.M.L.I.** (retired), fourth son of the Rev. George Walter Onslow. Entered Royal Marines, 1833; served on the coast of Syria, 1839-40. Married, 1843, Adelaide, daughter of Captain Saltren Willett. On the 6th, at Sandymount, near Dublin, aged 86, **John Patrick Prendergast**, born in Dublin. Educated at Read's School under Dr. Valpy; graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, 1825, and called to the Irish Bar, 1830. Appointed, 1836, agent to Lord Clifden's Irish estates. He devoted himself to historical and antiquarian studies, and in 1865 published his best known work, "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland." He subsequently edited papers connected with Ireland in the Castle collection in connection with Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth. He elucidated various other State papers, 1865-77, under the Master of the Rolls, and was subsequently a frequent writer of pamphlets. On the 8th, at Rome, aged 68, **Robert Michael Ballantyne**, author of numerous boys' books of adventure. Born in Edinburgh; went to Canada, and from 1841-7 was in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. Published his first book (1847) on his stay there. Was in the house of Messrs. Campbell, publishers, Edinburgh, 1848-56, when he began writing his books for boys, of which seventy-four volumes appeared (1857-87). He was also a skilful painter in

water-colours, and for many years resided at Harrow, near London. On the 9th, at Cheltenham, aged 70, **Lieut.-General Cornwallis Oswald Maude**, son of Rev. the Hon. John Charles Maude. Educated at Addiscombe; entered Bombay Army, 1842; served through South Mahratta Campaign, 1844. Deputy Advocate-General during the Abyssinian War, 1868; Judge Advocate-General, Bombay Army, 1874. Married, first, 1848, Jane, daughter of Major Stohoe; and, second, 1867, Emily Marie Christian, daughter of R. T. Goddard, of Tay Mount, Carrickfergus. On the 9th, at Baden-Baden, aged 71, **Maxime du Camp**, Member of the French Academy, the son of an eminent Paris surgeon. Educated at Paris. Travelled in the East 1844-5, and on his return published his first volume of travels. In 1848, as a National Guard, was wounded at the barricades. Travelled, 1848-51, in Egypt, Nubia, and with Flaubert, and his account of the journey was one of the first books illustrated by means of photography. Was on the point of joining the Hungarian rising in 1859, and was one of "Garibaldi's Thousand" in Sicily, 1866-7. Wrote much of Paris life and characteristics in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Elected, 1880, to the French Academy in succession to Saint-René Taillandier. On the 9th, at Paris, aged 79, **Adolphe Sax**, the reformer of orchestras, and a noted maker of musical wind instruments, son of a Belgian manufacturer. First obtained notice at Brussels in 1835 by a twenty-four-key clarionet. He subsequently invented the saxophone. Established himself at Paris, 1842, when his inventions attracted the notice of the principal composers. On the 9th, at Kearney, near Dover, aged 71, **Lieut.-General Edward Burgoyne Cureton**, Colonel of the 12th Lancers, eldest son of Brigadier-General Charles B. Cureton, C.B. Joined the 16th Lancers, 1839, and was present at the battle of Maharajapore, 1843; served with 3rd Light Dragoons in Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6, and wounded at the battle of Moodkern, and served with 12th Lancers in Kaffir War, 1851-3, and the Crimean War, 1854-5. Married, 1860, Mary Anne, daughter of T. Henslewood. On the 9th, in West Eaton Place, aged 86, **Walter Arthur Blount**, Clarencieux King-at-Arms, eldest son of Edward Blount, sometime member for Steyning. Entered the Herald's College at an early age, and at his decease was its oldest member. On the 10th, at Coniston, Lancashire, aged 47, **Frederick Saker**, a landscape painter of some talent, who exhibited under the name of Frederick Clive Newcome. On the 11th, in the Lower Ward, Windsor, aged 86, **Colonel Baron George de Rottenburg**, son of Lieut.-General Baron de Rottenburg. Entered 81st Regiment, 1825; served during the rebellion in Canada, 1837-47, as A.A. and A.Q.M.G. Commanded the militia and volunteers of three provinces, and was A.G. of Canadian militia, 1855-8, when, on the formation of the 100th Regiment (Royal Canadian), he was appointed Colonel. Married, 1839, Louisa Mary, daughter of George Nevile Ridley, of Kimbolton, Hunts. On the 12th, at Bromley, Kent, aged 56, **Major-General George Carden**. Educated at Sandhurst; entered the 77th Regiment; served through the Crimean Campaign, 1854-6, and afterwards through the Indian Mutiny. Married, 1866, Mary Gertrude, daughter of Henry Blaine, of Grahamstown, Cape Colony. On the 12th, at Holyport, near Maidenhead, aged 57, **Major-General Fitzroy William Fremantle, C.B.**, second son of Major-General John Fremantle, C.B., Wellington's aide-de-camp at Waterloo. Entered the Rifle Brigade, 1854; served through the Crimean Campaign, commanding the "Woolsack" party of the Light Brigade in the attack on the Redan, June 18, 1855, when he was severely wounded, and in the Indian Mutiny he distinguished himself at the capture of Lucknow, 1857-8. Exchanged to Coldstream Guards, 1860. Assistant Military Secretary in Canada, 1878-83. Married, 1862, Julia Elizabeth Henrietta, daughter of Sir Guy Campbell. On the 12th, at Cairo, aged 64, **Hans Guido von Bülow**, a celebrated pianist and conductor; born at Dresden. First learnt music under Friedrik Wieck, the father of Madame Schumann, but for a time gave up its practice and was at the Stuttgart Gymnasium and the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin in view of a legal career. In 1850 he visited Wagner at Zurich, and by his advice studied music for two years under Liszt at Weimar. Was appointed pianoforte teacher in the Stern Conservatorium, 1854, and in 1864 conducted at the Royal Opera at Munich, where during the next five years he produced Wagner's later operas. From 1869-77 he travelled over Europe, giving performances at the various capitals. Conductor of the Hanover Opera, 1877-80, and Director of Music at the Court of Meiningen, 1880-5. He married a daughter of Liszt, from whom he separated in 1868, and who became Madame Wagner. On the 13th, at Cardington, Beds, aged 77, **General Charles James Conway Mills**, surviving son of Major William Mills, of St. Mary's, Bedford. Educated at Rugby. Entered the Army, 1834; served with distinction through the Crimean Campaign. Married, 1861,

Gertrude, daughter of Samuel C. Whitbread, M.P. On the 15th, at Erddig, Denbighshire, aged 82, **Simon Yorke**, eldest son of Simon Yorke, M.P. for Grantham. Married, 1846, Victoria Mary Louisa, daughter of General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., of Leasome Castle. On the 17th, at Genoa, aged 79, **Camillo Sivori**, a distinguished violinist. Born at Genoa, and at the age of twelve showed talent as a musician. In 1843, he made his first European tour, and held a front place among violinists for many years. On the 18th, at Shanklin, Isle of Wight, aged 64, **Francis White Popham**, only son of the Rev. Walton White, who assumed, 1853, his wife's name of Popham. Educated at Eton and University College; B.A., 1853. Married, 1872, Margaret Emma, daughter of the Rev. N. Hubbersty, of Eastwell Hall, Leicester. On the 20th, at Cheriton Bishop, aged 64, **Captain Webb Elphinstone Elphinstone-Stone**, R.N. Entered the Royal Navy, 1844, and was taken prisoner by the Russians during the Crimean War on the capture of H.M.S. *Tiger* during the bombardment of Odessa, and served subsequently on the West Coast of Africa and in China. On the 22nd, at Lowndes Square, S.W., aged 61, **Sir Gerald Richard Dalton-Fitzgerald**, tenth baronet. Entered Royal Navy, 1846, but retired after a few years' service. Married, 1861, Agnes Georgiana, daughter of George Wildes, of Eton Bank, Manchester. On the 22nd, at Luscombe Castle, Devon, aged 50, **Peter Merrick Hoare**, eldest son of Peter Richard Hoare, barrister, of Fleet Street. Sat as Conservative for Southampton, 1868-74. Married, 1865, first, Edith Augusta, daughter of the Rev. Edmund Strong, Rector of Clyst St. Mary, Devon; and, second, 1893, Margaret Joanna, daughter of John Bell. On the 23rd, at Pillnon Hall, Yorks, aged 81, **Captain Philip Payne-Gallwey**, third son of Sir William Payne-Gallwey, first baronet. Married, 1854, Fanny, youngest daughter of the Ven. Archdeacon Warburton, of Rathkeal. On the 24th, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, aged 74, **Colonel Addison Potter**, C.B., eldest son of Addison Langhorne Potter, of Heaton Hall, Northumberland. Engaged in the coal and iron trade. Alderman and twice Mayor of Newcastle; connected with various public institutions, and reputed, by the date of his commission, to be the oldest Volunteer officer in the United Kingdom. Married, 1850, Elizabeth, daughter of E. Potter, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. On the 25th, at Dover, aged 82, the **Rev. John Puckle**, M.A. Educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; Sanscrit scholar B.A. (second-class mathematics), 1836; Curate of St. Mary's, Dover, 1836-41; Vicar, 1841-93; Hon. Canon of Canterbury, 1869; and Proctor in Convocation for that diocese, 1869-86. The author of several antiquarian and theological works. On the 26th, at Quebec, aged 81, **Sir William Collis Meredith**, D.C.L., LL.D., son of Dr. Thomas Meredith, D.D., Rector of Ardrea, Co. Tyrone. Called to the Canadian Bar at Montreal, 1836; Q.C., 1844; Judge of the Superior Court for the Province of Quebec, 1849-59, and of the Queen's Bench, 1859-66; and Chief Justice of the Superior Court, 1866-84. Married, 1847, Sophia Waters, daughter of W. E. Holmes, M.D., of Quebec. On the 27th, at Eaton Place, S.W., aged 83, the **Dowager Countess of Effingham**, Eliza, daughter of General Sir Gordon Drummond, G.C.B. Married, 1832, the second Earl of Effingham. On the 28th, at Sheffield, aged 51, **Madame Patey**, a distinguished and popular singer of oratorio and other music. Janet Monach Whytock, born at Glasgow; trained by Mr. John Wass, and first appeared at the Town Hall, Birmingham, in 1859. She afterwards joined Mr. Henry Leslie's choir, and received further instruction from Mr. Sims Reeves and Signor Pinsuti, and rapidly acquired a reputation as a contralto singer. Married, 1866, John George Patey, also a prominent singer; and in 1870, on the retirement of Madame Sainton Dolby, succeeded to her place as principal contralto singer at concerts, festivals, etc. On the 28th, at Huntington House, Chichester, aged 85, **Lady Wallis**, Jemima, daughter of General Sir Robert Wilson, M.P. Married, 1849 (second wife), Admiral of the Fleet Sir Robert W. P. Wallis, a centenarian, who died in 1892.

## MARCH.

**General Sir William Montague Scott M'Murdo**, K.C.B., son of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald M'Murdo, of Lotus, N.B., was born in 1819. He was educated at Sandhurst, entered the Army as ensign in 1837, was promoted

to lieutenant in 1841, captain in 1849, brevet-major 1848, brevet-lieutenant-colonel 1853, colonel 1854, major-general 1868, lieutenant-general 1876, general, 1878. He served as Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army

under Sir Charles Napier during the campaign in Scinde in 1843, and was present at the battle of Meeanee, in which his horse was shot under him; at an affair with the enemy while conducting Major Stack's brigade from Muttaree to form a junction with Sir Charles Napier's force at Hyderabad, and at the battle of Hyderabad, where he received a sabre-wound in the right breast. For these services he was granted the medal with two clasps. He again served as Assistant Quartermaster-General to Sir Charles Napier, during the campaign against the mountain and desert tribes on the right bank of the Indus early in 1845. In 1851-2 he served as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops under Sir Charles Napier in the expedition against the Afridis, including the forcing of the Kohat Pass, for which he received the medal with clasp. At an early period of the campaign in the Crimea, when the inadequate means of land conveyance had become apparent, he was entrusted with the formation and command of the Land Transport Corps—since designated the Military Train. Not long after the Volunteer movement of 1859 assumed a permanent character, Colonel M'Murdo was selected as the fittest officer for the responsible post of Inspector-General of Volunteer Forces for the term of five years; and on his retirement the most influential promoters of the movement raised a subscription for a testimonial in recognition of his services. In February, 1865, the honorary colonelcies of the Inns of Court Volunteers and of the Engineers and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps were accepted by him. He retired from active service in the Army in 1881, and after serving as Honorary Colonel of the East Yorkshire Regiment he was appointed in June, 1888, Honorary Colonel of the Cheshire Regiment. He married, in 1844, Susan Sarah, daughter of Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B., under whom he had served for many years, and died on March 2, at Nice.

**Sir James Stephen.**—James Fitzjames Stephen, the eldest son of Sir James Stephen, author of "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," and for a time Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was born in 1829. Neither at school nor in Cambridge did he give clear promise of the talents and force of character which he afterwards displayed. His name does not appear in the triposes. He won no important scholarship or prizes.

He was known to be an ardent student of Bentham and Austin and to be acute in controversy; but, except in a small circle at Trinity, his capacity was scarcely surmised.

He was called to the Bar in 1854. His rise was not remarkably rapid, nor his success equal to that of many men infinitely inferior to him. He made no pretence to eloquence. His speech was thick and far from fluent or graceful; his demeanour to solicitors was not propitiatory, and his epigrams did not always spare his own clients. He was made Recorder of Newark in 1859, and he obtained a moderate amount of business on circuit and at sessions. For some years he made his mark in no case, except in the prosecution of the Rev. Roland Williams in the Court of Arches on a charge of heresy. He also came into prominence as one of the counsel for the prosecution in the case of Governor Eyre.

But from the time of his call to the Bar until 1869, his best work was in literature and journalism. In 1863, he wrote "A General View of the Criminal Law," in which, while expounding with acuteness Bentham's ideas as to jurisprudence, he managed to give in a short space a view of English criminal law unsurpassed even by Blackstone in lucidity and interest. To the *Saturday Review*, *Fraser*, the *Cornhill*, the "Transactions of the Juridical Society," and to many newspapers he contributed endless articles, all impressed by a stamp of their own; all marked by aggressive vigour; all expounding with fearless logic his favourite doctrines, most of them unpalatable to his generation. A few of his countless articles written about this time were published as "Essays by a Barrister."

In 1869 he was appointed successor to Sir Henry Maine as legal member of the Legislative Council of India. He took up with ardour the work of codification begun by his predecessors. He drew up, with the assistance of Mr. Cunningham and Captain Newbery, and passed through the Council, a Code of Criminal Procedure which, with considerable modifications, was re-enacted as the Code of 1882. He prepared, and ultimately passed after much criticism, the Indian Evidence Act, 1872.

He returned to England in 1872 to begin a life scarcely less occupied than that which he had quitted. One of his first tasks was to prepare, at the instance of Lord Coleridge, then Attorney-General, a bill codifying the English law of evidence—a measure which was

cut off at an early age. Much more ambitious was his attempt to reduce to the form of a code the substantive criminal law; a gigantic task, pursued with remarkable pertinacity and industry in the face of much opposition; unsuccessful in the end, after more than once being nearly accomplished, but not wholly unfruitful. The bill embodying his scheme was referred to a select committee consisting of the draftsman, Lord Blackburn, Lord Justice Lush, and Mr. Justice Barry. The report was presented too late for the code to be passed in 1879; and in subsequent years it dropped out of the list of Government measures.

Having vainly attempted to enter upon Parliamentary life as a candidate for Dundee, Mr. Stephen, in 1879, was appointed a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division, but the result somewhat disappointed his admirers. He had not the mental agility or alertness or, in full measure, the patience needed at Nisi Prius; and his judgments in Banc were worthy of the acute essayist only when he was free, which was rare, to extricate himself from details and precedents. His "History of the Criminal Law of England," in three volumes, might have absorbed several years of a scholar's life; it was composed amid the press and fatiguing iteration of judicial work. And in addition to all this he found time to prepare his "Digest of the Law of Criminal Procedure," his interesting account in two volumes of the trial of Nuncomar, and defence of Sir Elijah Impey against Lord Macaulay's strictures, and a multitude of articles on legal, philosophical, and literary subjects, including a series of masterly letters to the *Times* dissecting Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886.

At last, in 1891, the strong brain began to give way under the unsparing demands made upon it, and he felt himself compelled to resign his seat on the Bench, taking leave of his colleagues at the Bar in faltering words. He was created a baronet; and it was hoped that he might again use his pen with its old vigour, but he never fully recovered his health, and after a long illness died on March 11, at Redhouse Park, near Ipswich.

Sir James Stephen married, in 1855, Mary Richenda, daughter of the Rev. J. W. Cunningham.

**Louis Kossuth.**—Louis Kossuth was born on September 16, 1802, at Monok, in the county of Zemplin, a region of rich valleys and famous vineyards.

His father, a small landowner of the noble class, was descended from an ancient Hungarian family, of whose members no fewer than seventeen were prosecuted for high treason by the Austrian Government between 1527 and 1715. "My genealogical tree is like a gallows," he once said, "there is an ancestor hanging from every branch." Louis's father was an advocate, whose landed property covered no more than a few acres of vines, and Louis himself was trained for the law. After learning the rudiments at a village school, he was sent to the Protestant College of Scharashepatack and there took his degrees in law. At one time he contemplated becoming a Lutheran pastor, but it is said that he was diverted from clerical life by the jest of a professor.

Upon getting his legal diploma, Kossuth was appointed steward to the Countess Szapary, and in that capacity had a seat in the Comitatus Assembly. It was the practice in those times for the widows of magnates to be represented by their nominees, not only in the Comitatus Assemblies, but at the Table of Deputies, in the Hungarian Diet. These "ladies' men" had right of speech but no votes, and they usually confined themselves to shouting *Haljuk, haljuk* ("Hear, hear"), to the orations of their mistresses' noble kinsmen. But Kossuth would not treat his functions as a sinecure, nor would he even admit that he held a *mandat impératif*, so that he soon fell out with the countess, and this lady, angered by his independence, accused him of falsifying her accounts. However, Kossuth cleared himself of the charge, and one of the Counts Hunyady, deeming that he had been unfairly treated, chose him to sit as his representative in the National Diet of Presburg. Kossuth was one of 300 similar delegates of absentee landlords. His position gave him a free residence in his principal's palace. But one of its peculiarities was that a deputy was required to furnish regular reports of the proceedings in Parliament to his principal; and Kossuth's reports were so very good, not only as summaries of business, but as descriptive sketches and comments, that Count Hunyady suggested that they should be published. A small lithographic press was purchased by subscription among the members of the Liberal Opposition, and hundreds of copies of the reports being thus struck off were circulated under the



title of *Parliamentary Gazette* among annual subscribers. The effect of these gazettes was immense, and the Austrian Government, which had always sought to prevent combined action on the part of the various Diets by forbidding the publication of their debates, took alarm at the gazette and declared it illegal. The lithographic press had to be abandoned; but then a large staff of clerks was engaged to copy the reports in manuscripts and these were sent out to subscribers at six florins a month. Again the Government endeavoured to stop these papers. They were being taken in by numerous clubs as well as by private persons, and Kossuth resolved to enlarge the scope of his enterprise by reporting the debates of some local Diet when the National Diet was not in session. He chose the Assembly of Pesth for this purpose, and the Government of Vienna issued an order for his arrest. The Chancellor of Hungary, Count Raviczky, refused to countersign the warrants; he was dismissed from office and his place given to Count F. Palfy, a zealous agent of Prince Metternich's. Kossuth fled to his residence among the hills of Ofen; but there he was captured, taken back to Pesth and put upon his trial for high treason along with several accomplices.

One of these fellow Liberals was a wealthy and popular magnate, Count Nicholas Wesselenyi. Having large estates to serve as bail for him, Wesselenyi was not shut up pending his trial; but he eventually, in 1839, received the same sentence as Kossuth—that is, four years' imprisonment. Kossuth was at first confined in the common gaol of Pesth, but his conviction caused such a ferment among the people that the authorities feared that a movement might be made to release him, and he was accordingly transferred to the Castle of Ofen. The mass of the nation took up his cause, however, and the Government became involved in a serious conflict with the Diet. The elections of 1839 returned a majority of deputies who had bound themselves to throw out every Government measure until Kossuth and his friends should be released. In vain did the Austrian party in the kingdom press upon Prince Metternich that he had better make a compromise; the autocratic minister refused to yield, and the consequence was that the deputies declined to vote the annual levy of troops and then proceeded to pass resolutions censuring the Septemvirate

Tribunal which had condemned the patriots. A still more serious resolution was that which decreed by a majority of two that the Hungarian language should for the future be the only one used in the debates of the Diet. At this Metternich, seeing matters take an ominous turn, advised the Emperor to grant an amnesty, and Kossuth was released with his friends. He came out of prison amid frantic demonstrations of popular triumph, and a subscription that was started to present him with a testimonial produced a sum of 10,000 fl. Soon after his liberation Kossuth was married to Mlle. Wesselenyi. This young lady, who was a person of great beauty and accomplishments, had conceived a romantic attachment for him on the strength of his reputation and before she had seen him. With her father's consent she sent the prisoner books, papers, and letters of encouragement during his incarceration, and in this way a correspondence sprang up. The fact that Kossuth was allowed to receive Mlle. Wesselenyi's missives and to answer them while in custody shows that his imprisonment was not a very rigorous one; and in after years it was generally believed in England that he had learnt our language in prison by studying an English Bible—the only book allowed him. After his liberation, Kossuth saw Mlle. Wesselenyi, and an engagement was formed, but it was with the utmost difficulty that a dispensation could be obtained from Rome for a marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic. Popular as Kossuth was, no Catholic priest could be prevailed upon to solemnise the marriage, even after the dispensation had come, and his bride contented herself with a wedding in a Protestant chapel.

Up to the time of his prosecution Kossuth had not been regarded as a popular leader in Hungary. His influence was not on a level with Szechenyi's, nor with that of the calm, learned Francis Deák, the soundest lawyer and the most cogent speaker in the Diet. But when Kossuth had undergone fifteen months' imprisonment for the Liberal cause, there was no name so dear as his to the people, because it was associated with a great and unexpected victory of popular agitation. It was Kossuth who had begun the strife out of which the conflict between the Diet and the Imperial Government arose. It was over his body that the Hungarian Deputies had fought with Austria and had actually forced the Imperial Government to

yield. Kossuth at once made the most of his opportunities. In 1841, entering into financial partnership with a bookseller of Pesth, he founded the *Pesti Hirlap* (Pesth Journal) for the advocacy of Liberal opinions. The tone of this paper was very cautious, there was nothing in it to give the Government any pretext for saying that it was the organ of Hungarian Separatists, and Metternich took a sensible course, when, instead of trying to suppress the paper, he started a Conservative rival, the *Vilag*, under the editorship of Count Aurelius Dusseffy, a man of mordant wit and one of the ablest writers in the kingdom. But, in 1842, the editor of the *Vilag* died—of his antagonist's pin-thrusts, as the wits of Pesth said—and then Kossuth remained master of the field. Upon this the Government set quietly to work to embroil him with his partner. A dispute was started with Kossuth on a question of salary, and ended by his flinging his resignation into the bookseller's face, vowing that he would bring out a new paper and kill the *Hirlap*. But he forgot that before founding a newspaper he must get a licence from Government. When Kossuth applied for leave to start a new journal, the minister had the audacity to propose that Kossuth should accept a State subvention and write on the Austrian side.

Before leaving the *Hirlap*, Kossuth had entered into a project for creating a number of agricultural credit banks for small peasant proprietors; but he lost a good deal of money in this venture; and plunged deeper into speculations which always had some philanthropical object. One of these was a mutual relief association, which established branch lodges all over the kingdom and had tens of thousands of subscribers. It helped to strengthen his influence with the population, but cost him a great deal of money; and in fact his pecuniary affairs fell into such bad condition at last that he must have become bankrupt had not his wife opportunely inherited some property. In 1847 he was elected to the Diet by the County of Pesth, and he drew up a programme of reforms which at once caused a split in the Liberal party. The Magnates, who were most energetic in their championship of Magyar interests against Austria, were not prepared to accept Kossuth's agrarian schemes—that is to surrender half their estates for the creation of a peasant proprietorship—

even though they were promised compensation on a scale to be assessed by elective Land Courts. However, in the session of 1847, Kossuth took much higher rank as a practical politician than he had occupied before. He had formerly been a fluent and sharp debater; he now reappeared as a solemn and often impassioned exponent of the people's grievances. Outside the Diet he called himself a Republican; inside the Assembly he was careful to use no disloyal expressions, but his tone was that of a tribune who knew that he had a host behind him ready to march at the first move of his finger.

The time for action came abruptly in 1848. On February 24, the Parisians rose to overthrow Louis Philippe, and, after three days' fighting, proclaimed the Republic. On March 3, Kossuth addressed a large open-air meeting at Presburg, where the Diet was sitting, and declared that "the example of the French must not be thrown away upon the down-trodden subjects of Austria." He incited the youth of Presburg to band themselves into a national guard, to elect officers, and to be ready to strike a blow for their liberties; at the same time he arranged with his friends that a Hungarian Ministry should be formed under the presidency of Count Louis Batthyany. Deák was to be Minister of Justice; Szechenyi, Home Minister; and he, Kossuth, Minister of Finance. The Table of Magnates demurred at this, but on March 13 an insurrection broke out in Vienna, causing the downfall of Metternich, and on the 15th Kossuth entered the city at the head of a Hungarian deputation which was received with a frantic enthusiasm. But Kossuth found that he could not force the Emperor to do all that he wanted. He had to be content with the appointment of Archduke Stephen to the Viceroyalty of Hungary and with the confirmation of Batthyany's Ministry; but it had been his wish to obtain for his country a charter of complete independence, and on his return to Presburg he applied himself to arm the nation against any possible attempt to withdraw the concessions that had been made. He was not the leader of the Ministry, half its members and more than half the deputies in the Diet were afraid of his policy, and yet his voice seemed to have the magic power of forming majorities. In a short session all the reforms which he had advocated before coming into

office were passed into law. The remains of feudalism were swept away. The peasants were declared free from all seigniorial claims; in other words, the tenants in one half the lands of Hungary were declared possessors of that land, rent free, the landlords receiving a promise of indemnities. The peasant and the burgher were admitted to all the rights of nobles, and a new electoral law was passed conferring the suffrage on every man who possessed property to the amount of 300 fl. By way of raising funds to carry out these vast schemes, Kossuth decreed an immense issue of paper money, Prince Esterhazy, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Batthyany Cabinet, guaranteeing the paper with his estates. Kossuth's bank-notes were little pink slips, having no ornament on them but only the amount for which they were issued and his signature. There was no difficulty at first about getting them circulated, for the whole nation was full of confidence, but later it became necessary to decree capital punishment against those who refused to take the pink paper, which had become discredited like the *assignats* of the French Revolution.

The period of confidence lasted only a few months, Kossuth had reckoned without Joseph Jellachich, the Croatian leader. This extraordinary man—poet, minstrel, soldier and patriot after a fashion—perceived in Austria's difficulties the chance of his own fortune. As a Croat he hated the Hungarians, and he harboured a particular personal antipathy towards Kossuth, who had once called him to his face "a frivolous libertine." While Kossuth was shaking off the yoke of Austria, Jellachich represented to the Croats that they had nothing to gain by Hungary's triumphs; for, if the control of the Imperial Government over the Magyars were removed, all the small Slavonic States would lie at the mercy of the Hungarians. The Croats, bristling at this idea, petitioned the Emperor that Jellachich might be appointed "Ban," or Governor; and Jellachich, having received this high office along with the rank of field-marshal and the command of all the troops in Croatia, refused to go to Pesth and have his authority confirmed by the Hungarian Diet. Kossuth protested and called upon the Vienna Government either to dismiss the Ban or to compel his submission. Meanwhile Jellachich had discovered that his cry, "One Emperor and Austria

undivided," was not enough to keep the Slavonic States in union, unless the prospect were held out of converting Austria into a wholly Slavonic Empire. By force of harangues, cajoleries, promises, and bribes, he sustained his influence over the Southern States; but, while the people idolised him, many among the higher classes looked upon him as little better than a brigand adventurer, and he sometimes had to assert himself by rough measures, and satisfy the Emperor that Jellachich was a safe instrument to use against Kossuth. But first a comedy had to be played, and at the instance of Batthyany Jellachich was dismissed, and even declared traitor. Nevertheless, he was received with acclamations at Agram, and notwithstanding his nominal deposition, he continued to govern as if he were still Ban, and soon returned to Vienna, breathing defiance against the Magyars. A mediation was offered by Archduke John on this occasion, but it was only a pretence. Batthyany and Jellachich met in the Archduke's palace for a conference, and in five minutes came to high words.

The insurrection of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia followed close upon this interview, and then Kossuth did a thing which ever afterwards he lamented with unaffected contrition. To make terms with Austria he threw over the Italian cause. He had called Venetians and Lombards brothers, had urged Daniel Manin by private letters to take up arms, and had promised various Italian emissaries that he would make his countrymen disown all participation with Austria in her rule over Lombardy. Instead of keeping his word, Kossuth now prevailed upon his colleagues to launch a proclamation, which, solemnly abjuring Italian interests, caused an indignant shock throughout the Peninsula, surprised Europe, and did the patriot no good among his own friends. The Italian insurgents were crushed by Radetsky, and when the Moderate party in the Hungarian Diet became alarmed at the isolation of their country, the Moderate members of the Cabinet—Batthyany, Messaros, and Deák—resigned. This was just after the election of a new Diet, in which Kossuth's supporters had a majority. Hearing of Jellachich's advance towards the Drave, the Diet declared itself permanent, decreed the levy of four army corps, and appointed Kossuth Governor with dictatorial powers. At this juncture Kossuth fell ill from

overwork and anxiety; but, though parched with fever and so weak that he could not stand, he had himself carried to the rostrum of the Diet, and two friends supported him in their arms while he made a stirring speech.

The Magyars swore to fight, and they did. The first battle between their troops and Jellachich's took place at Valencze, and the day was one of frightful carnage on both sides. After twelve hours' fighting the issue was still undecided, when the Hungarian General Moga at the head of his hussars made a series of heroic charges which broke the Croatian centre and forced Jellachich to retire. But this tough captain was not beaten. He concluded an eight days' truce, and fell back upon Raab, there to await reinforcements from Vienna—a course which brought matters between Kossuth and the Imperial Government to a crisis. Up to this date everything had been done by the Hungarians in the name of "Ferdinand, King of Hungary"; Jellachich's defeat, however, rendered it imperative that Ferdinand and his *camarilla* of counsellors should either openly support the Magyars or throw off the mask. They threw off the mask, and five regiments in Vienna received marching orders to go and rejoin Jellachich. But the Viennese rose in the night to prevent these troops from leaving the city. For the third time within the year the Kaiserstadt was up in arms; the venerable General Latour was murdered by the Viennese rabble; Ferdinand fled to Schönbrunn, and the insurrectionary leaders called upon Kossuth for volunteers to help them in holding the capital. While ten Magyar battalions marching with Republican war cries answered this appeal, Jellachich, marching still faster with reorganised troops, appeared unexpectedly before the city gates. On that day he saved the Hapsburg Dynasty. Operating with Windischgraetz, who had come to besiege the insurgent capital, he directed all the tactics of the two days' siege (October 28-30, 1848), and, after capturing Vienna, went to meet the Hungarians at Schwechat. Once more the Republicans of Vienna tried a desperate rally, and on November 2 there was fighting within and without the city; but while Windischgraetz massacred the insurgents Jellachich put the Hungarians to utter rout. They crossed the Leitha in disorder; and Kossuth, seeing that a war to the knife was now inevitable, withdrew with the Diet to Debreczin,

where the seat of government was temporarily established.

Ferdinand abdicated on December 2, 1848, and was succeeded by his son, Francis Joseph. Kossuth has often been blamed for not trying to negotiate with the new sovereign; but he really never had the chance of doing so. He declined to recognise Francis Joseph because he knew that no terms short of unconditional surrender would be accepted from him. The first act of the young Emperor was to send troops pouring into Hungary. Windischgraetz invaded the country with 50,000 men and 200 cannon: General Schlick occupied the Polish frontiers with 20,000 men; Nugent held the north of the Drave with 16,000. Against these and several smaller armies Kossuth could only bring 20,000 men into the field, but his genius rose equal to his difficulties, and he organised the defence of his country with an ability and a courage which have won for him an undying reputation. In 1849 Hungary surpassed itself, and the whole world thrilled to see this small nation fighting for its liberties and winning one victory after another against double and treble odds. In Generals Bem and Görgey Kossuth had two admirable lieutenants. The former, marching into Transylvania, defeated Jellachich, and sent the news of his victory in the Cæsar-like despatch, "Bem Ban Böm" (Bem beat Ban). The latter, at the head of the dashing battalions of Honveds (national defenders), and with squadrons of that terrible light cavalry the Czikos—who in addition to ordinary weapons carried three-tailed whips with leaden balls at the end of each tail—scoured the Carpathians. Utterly demoralised by a series of defeats which culminated in the disaster of Tasszeg, where they lost 9,000 men, seven flags, and twenty guns, the Austrians were gradually beaten back to the frontier, and the Imperial Government had at length to accept the assistance of Russia. At the same time Görgey, intoxicated by his successes, would not do as he was ordered by Kossuth, and the Dictator showed a lamentable weakness in dealing with him. Upon the recapture of Pesth from Windischgraetz, Kossuth appointed Görgey Minister of War, hoping to control him in this way, but Görgey did not accept this arrangement. Resigning his portfolio to take active command, he besieged Komorn, contrary to the plan of Kossuth, which was that he should fall back upon the Theiss and

fortify himself there, and by this disobedience marred all the operations of Bem and Dembinski. On July 4, 1849, Dembinski fairly thrashed an army of 15,000 men under Jellachich in the plains of Hagyös, but this victory came too late. A month previously the Russian Marshal Paskevitch had entered Hungary. The battle of Temesvar was fought; then came the capitulation of Villagos. Kossuth abdicated his power into the hands of Gorgey, who, on August 11, surrendered to the Russians at Arad with 40,000 men, throwing all the blame on Kossuth as he did so, and stigmatising him as a "Jesuit." Early in September Marshal Paskevitch was able to write to the Czar saying: "Hungary is pacified and lies at the feet of your Majesty."

Sinister reprisals followed upon the restoration of Austrian rule. The brave Louis Batthyany was shot; Szechenyi and many more, among whom was Count Andrássy, were sentenced to be hanged, and only escaped this fate by flight. Windisch-grätz, Haynau, and Püchler went about holding court-martials, shooting, hanging and flogging; and meanwhile the Austrian Government was demanding the extradition of Kossuth, Bem, and Dembinski, who had taken refuge in Turkey with 4,000 of their followers. The strongest influence was brought to bear by the Russian Government on Sultan Abdul-Medjid in order that Kossuth might be delivered up; but the counter influence of the British Government prevailed. Kossuth and six of his companions were at first relegated to honourable confinement at Widdin, and then at Kutahia in Asia Minor, and for a time there was considerable anxiety in England lest Lord Palmerston's intercession for the prisoners should not be successful. It was owing to this strong public feeling aroused on Kossuth's behalf that General Haynau met with so brutal a reception when he came to England in August, 1850. This incident leading to a stiff correspondence between the Austrian and British Governments made Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Premier, more anxious than ever to wreak vengeance on Kossuth. However, on August 22, 1851, the ex-Dictator was released, and on September 1 sailed for England. He met with such a hearty reception at Genoa that President Louis Napoleon, who was just about to kill the French Republic, would not allow him to pass through France. Kossuth landed at

Southampton on October 23, and two days later started for London. His progress was like a conqueror's triumph. On the 30th the Corporation of London presented him with an address, and he was cheered by immense crowds on his route from Eaton Square to Guildhall.

On the 3rd of the following month a great metropolitan demonstration was made in his favour at Copenhagen-fields. It was estimated that about 25,000 people were present on the occasion. Great assemblies also welcomed him at Birmingham and Manchester, while addresses from almost every town of note in the kingdom were forwarded up to November 20, when the popular exile sailed for the United States.

At this point the political life of Louis Kossuth really closed. He returned to England after his visit to America, and lived for some years in this country, writing occasional pamphlets and corresponding with foreign newspapers. His frequent intercourse with Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin caused him to be suspected of being one among a revolutionary triumvirate who were planning the overthrow of all monarchical Governments on the Continent, and on one occasion his lodgings in London were searched for arms. But though he declared that he was ready at the first favourable opportunity to stir up a new rebellion in Hungary, he was careful to add that "his stores of arms were not in England." While living as a refugee in London Kossuth forfeited much of the admiration and sympathy which he had won by his patriotic exploits. His name, always coupled with those of Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, was too often to be found at the foot of demagogic manifestoes crying to foreign peoples to rise up; and Liberals came rather to resent the swaggering tone and turgid utterances of the triumvirate. It was not Kossuth's hand, however, that penned most of these manifestoes; and it may be noted that after his two turbulent allies were gone the Hungarian patriot was always heard preaching peace—not war, nor even civil war. For the last thirty years of his life he lived in Italy, enjoying easy circumstances. In 1867, after the Austro-Prussian war, when by Count Beust's advice the Emperor Francis Joseph consented to the establishment of the dual system and went to Pesth to be crowned King of Hungary, Kossuth gravely cautioned his country-

men to beware of Austrian concessions. He had so often found them delusive that there was no faith left in him; yet he lived to see his confidence restored and to own that the concessions had been genuine. Elected to the Hungarian Diet in 1868, he refused to take his seat, saying that he would not play a part in a farce; but ten years later, when a deputation of Magyars sought him at Turin and offered to get him re-elected, he replied that he had no wish to be a firebrand. Still a Republican in theory, he had come to perceive that a Magyar Republic was hardly practicable for the present nor desirable, and, patriot to the end, he was content with the sight of his country's happiness—not grudging her felicity because it had not been achieved by him or by means which he had once thought the best. He died on March 20, at his adopted home in Turin. The removal of his body to Pesth was made the occasion of a national display. His funeral was undertaken at the public expense, and at the closing ceremony the Government and imperial family of Austria were represented.

**Captain Lovett Cameron, R.N., C.B.**—Verney Lovett Cameron, the son of the Rev. J. H. L. Cameron, Vicar of Shoreham, was born at Radipole, Weymouth, in 1844. He entered the Royal Navy in 1857, and became midshipman in 1860, commander in 1876, and captain on the retired list in 1891. Before Cameron entered upon the great work of his life he had visited the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and the Red Sea. He served with distinction in the Abyssinian Campaign of 1868. In 1872 he was selected as leader of the expedition sent out by the Royal Geographical Society to render additional succour to Livingstone, whom Stanley had discovered some time before. On March 18, 1873, the expedition left Zanzibar, Cameron being accompanied by Dr. Dillon, Lieutenant Murphy and Mr. Moffat. Moffat died soon after the expedition started, Dr. Dillon shot himself while in delirium, and Mr. Murphy returned to the coast with Livingstone's body, the party conveying which was met in Unyanyembe. Cameron resolved to proceed with his expedition into the interior, and reached Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika on February 21, 1874, after having discovered several affluents of the Malagarazi. Cameron definitely fixed the position of Ujiji and corrected the accepted height of the lake. One

of his most important services as an explorer was the partial circumnavigation of Tanganyika, and especially his observations on the River Lukuga, which, he maintained, flowed out of the lake to the Lualaba. On May 20, he left Ujiji for the purpose of passing through the western half of the continent to the Atlantic Ocean. In August he reached Nyangwe, on the Lualaba, which, from his observations for altitude, he definitely proved could not belong to the Nile system. Cameron tried to obtain the means of making his way down the Lualaba, but was unsuccessful, and had to leave it to Stanley some months later to prove that it was the upper course of the Congo. Cameron turned south-westward, and following the right bank of the Lomané, he reached Kilemba, the chief town of Urua. Here he remained from October, 1874, until October, 1875, making excursions in various directions, and adding fresh features to the map of Africa. He continued his march with the caravan which he had accompanied on his way southwards, and, passing through Bihé, reached Katombela, on the Atlantic Ocean, north of Benguela, on November 7, 1875. Cameron's discoveries during this prolonged journey added materially to our knowledge of Central Africa, which he was the first European to cross from east to west. He received the gold medals of the London, Paris, and Lisbon Geographical Societies and from the King of Italy, was created a C.B., and received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from Oxford. In 1877 he published the narrative of his great journey under the title of "Across Africa." In 1878 he started on a tour through Asia Minor and Persia to India, and two years later published a work on the Euphrates Valley entitled "Our Future Highway," the object of which was to prove the feasibility of constructing a railway from the Mediterranean to India. In 1882 he accompanied Sir Richard Burton to the Gold Coast mainly with the view of investigating its gold resources. Much valuable information was, however, collected concerning the interior of the colony in all its aspects, which was recorded in a work by himself and Burton under the title of "To the Gold Coast for Gold," 1883. Cameron was engaged in various other commercial enterprises, the latest being in connection with a company seeking to develop the Portuguese territory lying between the Zambesi and the Loangwe, and also claiming to have rights in

the region known as British Central Africa. Besides the works already mentioned, he was the author of a translation of Butakoff's "Steam Tactics" and of "The Cruise of the *Black Prince Privateer*," "Jack Hooper: his Adventure at Sea and in South Africa," "In Savage Africa," and "The Adventures of Herbert Massey in Eastern Africa." He married in 1885 Amy Nora Read, daughter of W. B. Morris of Kingston, Jamaica. Whilst returning from hunting with Lord Rothschild's stag hounds, on March 26, he was thrown from his horse, and died a few hours afterwards at his residence, Soulbury, near Leighton Buzzard.

**Lord Hannen.**—James Hannen, the son of James Hannen of Kingswood, Surrey, a London merchant, was born in 1821, and was educated first at St. Paul's School and afterwards at Heidelberg, then at the zenith of its reputation, particularly as a school of law. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1848, and joined the Home Circuit. It is understood that he was at one time a reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, and that he wrote for the press. But he had not very long to wait for success in his own profession. Devoid of eloquence, a clear, but frigid and passionless speaker, accurate, precise, and painstaking, well endowed with masterful good sense, he pushed to the front through a crowd of formidable competitors. He had as a junior the pick of the business on his circuit and much at Guildhall; and long before he was made Attorney-General's "devil" his friends marked him out for high office. He appeared in the Shrewsbury peerage along with Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Mr. Ellis for the claimant, was principal agent for Great Britain on the mixed British and American Commission for the settlement of outstanding claims, 1853-5, and helped in the prosecution of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester.

After having been junior counsel of the Treasury for some five years, Mr. Hannen was in 1868 appointed a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench in succession to his friend Mr. Justice Shée. In that court, Lord Justice Cockburn and Mr. Justice Blackburn were too dominant to admit of one of the youngest of the puisnes showing the full measure of his capacity. Some incidents of the time which he spent in the Queen's Bench, however, became landmarks in legislation; one being the fact that in the case of "*Farrer v. Close*," which materially affected the legal position of trade unions, and

was regarded by every Unionist as a severe blow to their interests, he took a strong line of his own.

Sir James Hannen's powers as a judge received full recognition only after he became Judge of the Probate and Divorce Court. This was in 1872, and in 1875 he became President of the Probate Division and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. He succeeded Sir C. Creswell, one of the acutest minds of the century, and Sir James Wilde, who had given promise of judicial excellence. Sir James Hannen showed himself worthy to replace them. Less brilliant than either, he surpassed both in patience, sobriety of judgment, perfect poise of good sense, and consistent maintenance of a high ideal of his office. Nature had given him a fierce temper; a strong will and powerful intelligence had so mastered it that on his almost impassive countenance no trace could be seen of the struggle going on within. In regard to diction as well as demeanour he was a purist.

He will chiefly be remembered for the manner in which he presided over the Parnell Commission. A supremely difficult task was lightened by the dignity, temper, tact and unruffled calm with which Sir James Hannen regulated an inquiry of 129 days. It is no secret that he himself penned a large part of the report; and his influence pervaded the whole proceedings.

In the Behring Sea inquiry at Paris Lord Hannen acted as one of the British arbitrators, and the successful issue of the inquiry was in no small degree due to him. This was his last public service, and it was among his greatest. His courteous persistency foiled tactics which threatened to be fatal to the Commission; he dispelled fears which had penetrated even the tribunal; and he showed that a just decision could be given without wounding the susceptibilities of Russia or any other Power.

In January, 1891, Lord Hannen was appointed a Lord of Appeal and created a life peer. In the final Court of Appeal he had few opportunities of making use of his vast experience; and he retired at the close of the session of 1893.

In early life Lord Hannen was an advanced Liberal, and as such he stood for Shoreham in 1865 against Mr. Stephen Cave and Sir Percy Burrell. Lord Hannen married, in 1847, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Wineland, and died on March 29, at Lancaster Gate, Hyde Park, after a somewhat protracted illness.

On the 2nd, at South Kensington, aged 82, **Dowager Lady Dallas**, the Hon. Francis Henrietta Law, youngest daughter of the first Lord Ellenborough. Married, first, 1832, Charles des Vœux; and, second, 1841, Sir Charles Robert Dallas, second baronet. On the 2nd, at Lynchburg, Virginia, U.S.A., aged 77, **General Jubal A. Early**, a prominent leader in the Confederate Army. Born in Franklin Co., Virginia. He graduated at West Point Military Academy, 1837, and the following year he resigned the Army and studied for the Bar, and was elected Commonwealth Attorney in the State Legislature of Virginia. During the war with Mexico he recruited a regiment, which he commanded with great distinction. On the close of the war he returned to his practice; but on the breaking out of the Confederate War was seriously wounded at the Battle of Williamsburg. Commanded a division at Fredericksburg, and again at Gettysburg. Ordered to hold the Shenandoah Valley against the Northern Army, and for a time held it in check, and won the Battle of Monocacy, and this was followed by a raid into Pennsylvania. His campaign against General Sheridan in the South was less successful, and he finally was defeated by General Custer at Waynsburg. On the 4th, at Bath, aged 73, **Lord Tweedmouth**, Dudley Coutts-Majoribanks, first Baron Tweedmouth, eldest son of Edward Majoribanks, of Greenlands, Bucks. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford. Called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1848. Was for some time a director of the East India Company, and a member of Meux's Brewery. Sat as a Liberal for Berwickshire, 1853-68, and 1874-81. Created a baronet, 1866, and elevated to the peerage, 1881. Married, 1848, Isabella, daughter of Sir James Weir Hogg. On the 5th, at Tenerife, aged 41, **Colonel Alfred Burdon Ellis, C.B.**, surviving son of Sir Samuel Burdon Ellis, K.C.B. Entered the Army in 1872, and appointed to the 1st West India Regiment, and served his whole career in West Africa. In the Ashantee War, 1873-4; against the Arawan, 1875, when he commanded the Housa Constabulary, and in many other expeditions. District Commander of Quittah, 1878; of Accra, 1879; and commanded the troops on the Gold Coast and in the expedition against the Sofas, 1893-4. On the 6th, in Bulstrode Street, London, aged 58, **Major-General George Williams Knox, C.B.** Entered the Scots Guards, 1855, of which he commanded the first battalion in the Egyptian War, 1882. Married, 1886, Sybil Emily, daughter of the third Earl of Lonsdale. On the 7th, at Lympstone, Devon, aged 80, **Thomas Hussey**, of Bredy, Dorset, eldest son of John Hussey, of Lyme Regis. Educated at Brasenose College, Oxford. Sat as a Conservative for Lyme Regis, 1842-7. Colonel Commanding the 1st Somerset Militia. Married, 1853, Julia Agnes, daughter of John Hickson, D.L. On the 8th, at Rouen, aged 67, **Cardinal Thomas**, a distinguished preacher who had been Bishop of Rochelle, 1866-83, when he was advanced to the Archbishopric of Rouen. On the 9th, in Camden Town, N.W., aged 53, **Roderick Macdonald, M.D.**, son of a crofter in the Isle of Skye. Educated at Lommore Free School, and subsequently at the Free Church Normal School, Glasgow. Studied for the ministry at Glasgow University, but abandoned theology for medicine, which he studied at Edinburgh and Durham, and at the latter place became M.D. He came to London and practised at Poplar, Isle of Dogs. Was elected Coroner for North-east London, 1887. Sat as an advanced Liberal for Ross-shire, 1886-92. Married, 1890, Frances, daughter of E. M. Perceval, of Eastbourne, and great-grand-daughter of the Prime Minister, Spencer Perceval. On the 10th, at Rutland Gate, S.W., aged 90, **Admiral Sir Claude Henry Mason Buckle**, second son of Admiral Matthew Buckle. Entered the Royal Navy, 1817; passed his examination as lieutenant, 1823. Was present at the capture of Rangoon, 1824, and afterwards served in South America, West Indies, and West Coast of Africa, being constantly employed. On the outbreak of the Russian War he commanded H.M.S. *Valorous*, 16, in the Baltic, leading the attack on Uleaborg and Bomarsund in the Aland Isles. In 1854 his ship was ordered to the Black Sea, and was present at the blockade of Kertch and at the capture of Kinburn. He was subsequently Captain-Superintendent at Deptford, 1857-63, and as Rear-Admiral commanded H.M.S. *Mersey* at Queenstown, 1867-70. Married, 1847, Harriet Margaret, daughter of Thomas Deane Shute, of Bramshaw Hill, Hants. On the 10th, at Romford, aged 64, from the effects of a railway accident, **James Theobald, M.P.**, son of James Theobald, of Hyde Abbey, Winchester. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford. Sat as Conservative for the Romford Division of Essex since 1886. Owned a large landed estate near Havering-at-the-Border. Married, 1858, Mabel, daughter of W. R. Eaton, of Cheshire. On the 11th, at Bishopstoke, aged 65, **Lieut.-General James Gubbins, C.B.**, son of Lieut.-Colonel Richard Gubbins, C.B. Educated at Sandhurst. Entered the Army, 1845; served through the Crimean War as aide-



de-camp to General Sir de Lacy Evans; severely wounded at Inkerman. Married, 1866, Charlotte, second daughter of S. Corby, of Stradbally Hall, Queen's Co. On the 12th, at Cleveland Gardens, W., aged 84, **General Sir George Balfour, K.C.B.**, son of Captain George Balfour. Educated at Addiscombe. Entered Madras Artillery, 1825; became General, 1877. Was Colonel at Shanghai, 1843-66; Member of the Madras Military Board, 1849-57; and Inspector-General of Ordnance, 1857-66; Member of the Military Finance Commission in India, 1860-2; and of Royal Commission on Recruiting, 1868-70; Assistant-Controller of the War Department, 1868-71. Sat as a Liberal for Kincardineshire, 1872-92. Married, 1848, Charlotte Isabella, daughter of Joseph Hume, M.P., a well-known advocate of administrative economy. On the 12th, at Courtown House, Co. Wexford, aged 66, the **Countess of Courtown**, Elizabeth Frances Milles, second daughter of the fourth Baron Sondes. Married, 1846, James, fifth Earl of Courtown. On the 12th, at Cam's Park, Hants, aged 87, **Seymour Robert Delmé**, son of John Delmé, of Cam's Hall. Married, 1846, Jane, first daughter of J. Jenkins, of Penzance. On the 15th, at the Deanery, aged 78, the **Very Rev. the Hon. George Herbert**, Dean of Hereford, third son of the second Earl of Powis. Educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1848; Curate of Kidderminster, 1850-5; Vicar of Chene, Salop, 1855-67, when he was appointed Dean of Hereford. Married, 1863, Elizabeth Beatrice, fourth daughter of Sir Tatton Sykes, fourth baronet. On the 16th, at Torquay, aged 82, **William Pengelly, F.R.S.**, a distinguished archaeologist. He was the author of several geological papers and works; devoted sixteen years to the exploration of Kent's Cavern; re-established the Torquay Mechanics' Institute, 1837; founded the Torquay Natural History Society, 1844; and the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, etc., 1862. On the 17th, at Paris, aged 68, **Robert Clark**, senior partner in the firm of R. & R. Clark, publishers, and a distinguished player of and authority on golf, the son of a solicitor at Montrose. Served as a printer with Mr. Burness, of Edinburgh, and afterwards with Messrs. Clowes and Messrs. Vizetelly, and finally established himself at Edinburgh. On the 18th, at Limasol, Cyprus, aged 82, **Lieut.-General Augustus William Murray, C.B.** Entered the Army, 1832. Served through the rebellion in Canada, 1848-50; Acting Deputy Advocate-General in Jamaica, 1848; commanded a brigade and forces in Gambia, 1853-61; in Barbadoes, 1862-7; in Mauritius, 1877-82. Married, 1840, Catherine Fortescue, daughter of Captain P. Perceval Graham, R.N. On the 20th, at Lockesly Hall, Hants, aged 75, **Frederick Gonnerman Dalgety**, son of Lieutenant Alexander Dalgety, 89th Regiment. Emigrated to Sydney, N.S.W., 1833, and entered as clerk in a house of business. Moved to Melbourne, 1843, and established a firm which subsequently became the largest in the wool trade, and which, in 1884, was converted into a limited liability company. Married, 1855, Blanche Elizabeth Frost, daughter of John Allen, of Coleridge House, Devon. On the 20th, at Hyères, aged 73, **General Sir Richard John Meade, K.C.S.I.**, son of Captain John Meade, R.N., of Innishannon, Co. Cork. Educated at the Royal Naval School. Entered Bengal Army, 1838; served through the Indian Mutiny, and whilst in command of a column captured the rebel leader Tantia Topet. Political agent of Government of India at Gwalior, 1860, Central India, 1861, and Chief Command at Mysore, 1870. Married, 1853, Emily Salter, daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm, Resident at Baroda. On the 20th, at Charles Street, Berkeley Square, aged 62, the **Dowager Countess of Sandwich**, Lady Blanche Egerton, daughter of the first Earl of Ellesmere. Married, 1865 (second wife), John William, seventh Earl of Sandwich. On the 20th, at Montague Square, aged 45, **Albert Childers Meysey Thompson, Q.C.**, third son of Sir H. Meysey Thompson, first baronet. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1872. Called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1872; Q.C., 1892. Married, 1882, Mabel Louisa, daughter of Rev. the Hon. James Walter Lascelles. On the 20th, at Chester, aged 62, **Admiral Charles Balley Calmady Dent**. Entered the Royal Navy, 1846. Served in the Baltic, 1854, and the Black Sea, 1854-5, as senior Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Goryon*. Employed in recovering antiquities in Halicarnassus, 1856-7. Appointed Marine Superintendent of the London and North-western Division, 1866-92. Married, Corinda, eldest daughter of Sir Dometrius Courcunelli, of the Island of Corfu. On the 21st, at Kingstown, aged 69, **Major-General William Andrew Armstrong**. Entered the Army, 1840; served with the 17th Foot through the Crimean Campaign, and took part in both attacks on the Redan. On the 21st, in London, aged 70, **Charles Thomas Buckland**, son of the Rev. John Buckland, and nephew of Dean Buckland, of Westminster. Educated at Eton, where he gained after competition a writership,

and afterwards at Haileybury, where he had a distinguished career. Went to India, 1844, and served in the Bengal Secretariat, being a Member of the Board of Revenue, and later of the Lieut.-Governor's Council. Retired, 1881. Married, 1845, Caroline A., daughter of Sir Henry Ricketts. On the 21st, at Kensington, aged 67, **Alfred Carrington Wilde**, fifth son of Sir John Wilde, Chief Justice of the Cape of Good Hope, where he became Attorney to the Supreme Court at the age of twenty, and held various offices as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in different parts of the colony. On the 22nd, at Edinburgh, aged 43, **John Miller Gray**, Curator of the National Scottish Portrait Gallery. Began life as clerk in a bank, but resigned his post and took to the study of art, and was a writer on art subjects. Appointed Curator, 1887. On the 23rd, at Lowestoft, aged 65, **Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen**, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., third son of Captain Cunliffe Owen, R.N. Entered the Navy, 1842; retired, 1847, when he was appointed to a place in the School of Design at Marlborough House, the origin of South Kensington Museum. Superintendent of British Section of the Paris Exhibition, 1855; Assistant-Director at South Kensington Museum, 1860, and represented this country at various international exhibitions abroad. Succeeded Sir Henry Cole as Director of the South Kensington Museum, 1873; retired, 1892. Married, 1854, Jenny, daughter of Baron Fritz von Reitzenstein, of the Royal Prussian Horse Guards. On the 24th, at Sydenham, aged 63, **William John Westbrook, Mus.D.** Born in London. Educated at the London College of Music; organist of St. Bartholomew's, Sydenham, 1851-90. A composer of church music, and one of the examiners in that branch at the College of Preceptors. On the 24th, at Dublin, aged 69, **Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.D.** Professor of Music in the University of Dublin. Born in Dublin; was for some time a chorister in Christchurch Cathedral. Appointed, 1843, organist to Trinity College, Christchurch and St. Patrick's Cathedrals. Was the composer of numerous successful pieces, and the author of several essays and works on musical subjects. Married, first, 1846, Mary, daughter of Peter Brown, of Rahin, Castlebar; and, second, Marie, daughter of Joseph Wheeler, of Queenstown, Co. Cork. On the 24th, at Uxbridge, aged 57, **Captain the Hon. George Fitz-Clarence, R.N.**, third son of George, first Earl of Munster. Entered the Royal Navy, 1850; served in the Black Sea and Baltic during the Russian War. Married, 1864, Lady Maria Henrietta, eldest daughter of the third Earl of Clonmell. On the 25th, at Blackford, Ivybridge, aged 75, **Sir John Charles Rogers**, ninth baronet, second son of Sir F. Leman Rogers. Succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his elder brother, Lord Blachford, accidentally drowned in a lake in his own park. On the 25th, at San Remo, aged 69, **Viscountess Templetown**, Susan, daughter of Field-Marshal Sir Alexander Woodford, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. Married, 1850, third Viscount Templetown. On the 26th, at Queen's Gardens, W., aged 67, **Charles Henry Stewart, C.M.G.**, son of Captain James Stewart, of the Ceylon Rifles. Admitted Advocate of the Supreme Court in Ceylon, 1846; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1863; appointed one of the law officers of the Crown, 1852; Puisne Justice, 1867; Senior Puisne Justice of Supreme Court, 1873-9. Married, 1856, Helen Margaret, daughter of T. McKenzie, of Dundonell, Ross-shire, N.B. On the 28th, at New York, U.S.A., aged 82, **George Ticknor Curtis**, a leading member of the American Bar and a distinguished historian. Born at Watertown, Mass. Graduated at Harvard, 1832; admitted to the Bar at Boston, 1836, where he practised until 1862. Was the author of many works on jurisprudence, and of the lives of Daniel Webster and James Buchanan. On the 29th, at Bangor, aged 76, the **Most Rev. Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D.**, Bishop of Meath, son of the Rev. Charles F. Reichel. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1843. Sometime Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Vicar of Mullingar, 1864-75; Archdeacon of Meath, 1875-82; Rector of Trim, 1875-85; Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin, 1878-83; elected ninety-second Bishop of Meath, 1885. Married, 1851, Mary Brown, daughter of Henry Joy McCracken, of Ballymena, Co. Antrim. On the 29th, at West Hampstead, aged 30, **Joseph Haydn Parry**, an operatic composer, son of Dr. Joseph Parry, of University College, Cardiff. Educated in London. His chief works were the operas of "Cigarette" and "Miami." Was teacher of music at Harrow School, and Professor at the London Guildhall School of Music. Married, 1888, daughter of William Watkins, of Swansea. On the 29th, at Montagu Street, W., aged 74, **Mrs. Pitt-Byrne**, Julia Clara Busk, daughter of Hans Busk, of Glenalder, Radnorshire. Married, 1842, William Pitt-Byrne, son of the founder of the *Morning Post*, and a godson of William Pitt. She was a constant contributor to periodical literature for many years, and her first book, "Flemish Interiors" (1885), and her last, "Gossip of

the Century" (1892), were both published anonymously. On the 30th, at Kempshott Park, Hants, aged 62, **Sir Nelson Rycroft**, fourth baronet. Educated at Eton. Entered the Army, 85th Foot. Married, 1858, Juliana, daughter of Sir John Ogilvy, ninth baronet. On the 30th, at Paris, aged 60, **Henri Charles Georges Pouchet**, Professor of Comparative Anatomy at the Museum of Natural History. Born at Rouen. Educated for the medical profession; appointed Assistant-Naturalist to the museum, 1864-9, and Professor in 1879. Was the author of numerous scientific works. On the 30th, at Farndon Vicarage, aged 67, the **Ven. Brough Maltby**, born at Southwell, Notts, and educated at the Grammar School there, and at St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1850. Vicar of Farndon, 1864; Canon of Lincoln, 1871; Archdeacon of Notts, 1878. To his zeal and energy was principally due the establishment of the See of Southwell. On the 30th, at Betley Court, Staffs, aged 78, **Thomas Fletcher Twemlow**, eldest son of Francis Twemlow. Educated at Rugby and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1837; M.A., 1840. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1841. Married, 1849, Eliza Anne, daughter of William Paynter, of Richmond, Surrey. On the 31st, at Frimley, aged 78, **Major-General John Hall Smyth, C.B.**, son of Edward Smyth, of Macclesfield. Educated at Addiscombe. Appointed, 1831, to the Bengal Artillery; served through the Bundelcund Frontier Campaign, 1837-38 and 1839-43; Gwalior Campaign, 1843; Indian Mutiny, 1856-7. Colonel on the Staff at Aldershot, 1859-62 and 1867-72. Married, 1849, Emma, daughter of C. Struth.

## APRIL.

**Lord Bowen, F.R.S., D.C.L.**—Charles Syng Christopher Bowen, born in 1835, the eldest son of the Rev. Christopher Bowen, of Freshwater, Isle of Wight, began his education at Rugby when that school was at the zenith of its fame, and in due course Charles Bowen rose to be captain of the school in 1853, and passed thence to Balliol College, Oxford, where both as a scholar and an athlete he more than justified the reputation he had brought from Rugby. Almost every scholarship and prize of importance, including the Hertford and Ireland, fell to him. He took, in 1858, a first class in classical honours, becoming afterwards a Fellow of his college. He quitted Oxford in 1861 and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, with a reputation rarely equalled for all-round ability and accomplishments, and joined the Western Circuit. In his leisure he wrote much for the *Spectator* and *Saturday Review*, ceasing, it is said, to contribute to the latter in consequence of a strong and, as he thought, unjustifiable attack on his friend Dean Stanley and, in conjunction with Sir William Harcourt and other Liberals then on the staff of that paper, transferred his contributions to the *London Review*, which, notwithstanding the ability of its writers, had only a few years' existence. But by this time he had achieved a reputation at the Bar. At the instance of Lord Coleridge, then Attorney-General, he was appointed in 1870 Junior Counsel

to the Treasury. He became also Counsel to the Railway Association, and soon obtained a large, remarkably varied, and lucrative practice. He was never a great advocate. He spoke with chilling, almost mincing precision. He loved subtleties and distinctions, and the finer they ran the more they were to his taste. Amongst his important cases was that of the Tichborne claimant, in which, though forced to play a subordinate rôle to Sir John Coleridge, he had many opportunities of distinguishing himself.

In 1879 he was appointed a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division. During the three years in which he held that position he did his work well; but his talents were not suited for the rough work of *Nisi Prius*. In the history of English law, Lord Bowen will be chiefly remembered as a member of the Court of Appeal, to which he was raised in 1882. He sat beside several Judges of unusual ability; and was called upon to deal with matters to which his attention, when at the Bar, had rarely been given. He quickly proved himself no less apt in equity and company cases than in common law; and soon, in the estimation of the profession, he had obtained a position of authority which few Judges, if any, of his age have possessed. In 1885 the President and Fellows of Balliol College elected him visitor, and on the death of Professor Jowett there was some idea of electing him Master of the College. He was raised to be Lord of Appeal in

succession to Lord Hannen, and created a life peer as Lord Bowen of Colwood, but his health was too much shattered to permit him to take an active share in this new work. In his leisure he had translated a part of Virgil's "*Æneid*" into English hexameters, and proposed to deal similarly with the Georgics. He married, 1862, Emily Frances, daughter of James Meadows Rendel, F.R.S., and died on April 10, at Colwood, Sussex, after a long and painful illness.

**Lord Emly.**—William Monsell, afterwards created Lord Emly, was the eldest son of William Monsell, of Tervoe, and Olivia, eldest daughter of Sir J. Allan Walsh, and was born in 1812. He was educated at Winchester and Oriel College, Oxford. In 1836 he married Lady Anna Maria, only daughter of the second Earl of Dunraven, who died in 1855, and in 1857 married Berthe, daughter of the Comte de Montigny, who died in 1890. In 1847 he was elected one of the members of the county of Limerick as a Liberal Conservative in politics, and retained the seat until 1873, when he was raised to the peerage after serving in different capacities under successive Liberal Governments. In 1850 he became a Roman Catholic, having been, like Lord Granard and many others of the nobility, carried out of the pale of the Church of England by the wave of Tractarianism which swept over the kingdom. In 1852 he received his first appointment under the Crown as Clerk of the Ordinance—an office which he filled until its abolition in 1857, when he became President of the Board of Health. In 1866 he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and in 1868 Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1871 he was promoted to the higher position of Postmaster-General, which he held only for two years, having been created a peer in 1873, shortly before the resignation of the Gladstone Ministry. After the

outbreak of the Land League agitation, which severed the ties of mutual goodwill existing between landlords and tenants, his popularity, which had been increased by his change of religion, declined. He became, like many others, obnoxious to the people whose criminal folly he deplored and condemned. His social influence was repudiated, and, as a mark of their hostility, he was removed from the chairmanship of the Board of Poor Law Guardians, where he had presided usefully for many years. The adoption of the policy of Home Rule by Mr. Gladstone was so repugnant to his convictions that he felt constrained to withdraw from the ranks of the Liberal party, in which he had loyally served for so many years. Lord Emly was a very zealous Roman Catholic, and took a deep interest in all that affected the interests of his Church. His name is identified with a scheme which was adopted by Mr. Gladstone for the establishment of an Irish National University upon a federal basis, which was to supersede or subordinate the University of Dublin and to affiliate other colleges with Trinity College, Dublin. It failed, however, to meet with the approval of English Liberals, and the bill of Mr. Fawcett, which opened the University of Dublin equally to all denominations, was regarded at the time as a more satisfactory settlement. When the Royal University was founded, in the hope of removing all ground of discontent, Lord Emly accepted the office of Vice-Chancellor and continued to devote assiduous attention to its administration until his advanced age and infirm health made it impossible for him to do so. He was a member of the Privy Council, but rarely attended its meetings, and for many years was Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county and city of Limerick. He died on April 20, at his residence, Tervoe, Co. Limerick, where he spent the greater part of his life.

On the 1st, in London, aged 53, **Thomas Beach**, better known by his adopted name of Major Henry Le Caron. Born at Colchester; went to Paris, 1860, where he was for a time employed in a house of business. At the breaking out of the War of Secession, volunteered into the Northern Army, where he saw much service and rose to the rank of Major. In 1865, he first came in contact with the Fenian organisation, and by his information to the English Government led to the complete failure of the Canadian invasion. From that time onwards to 1889, he was the chief means through which the British Government was kept informed of the doings of the Irish Nationalists and others in the United States. He published, 1882, the history of his life, "*Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service.*" On the 1st, in Paris, aged 77, **Charles Edward Brown-Séquard**, born at Port Louis, Mauritius, son of Edward Brown, of Philadelphia, U.S.A., and a

French lady. Studied medicine in 1838-40. After taking his degree, devoted himself to experimental physiology. Appointed Professor of Physiology and Nervous Diseases at Harvard University, 1864-9, when he returned to France for a short time; but in 1878 succeeded Claude Bernard as Professor of Experimental Medicine at the College de France. For some years his name was connected with the system of subcutaneous injection, and latterly with attempts to restore youth to the old and decrepit. On the 2nd, at Highbury Park, aged 71, **Sophia Dobson Collet**. Was associated with the musical services at South Place, Finsbury, held by Mr. J. Fox, M.P. Published a small work on "George Jacob Holyoake," 1855; "Phases of Atheism," 1860, and was subsequently the editor of the "Brahmins' Year Book," a journal of Indian theism, 1870, and of other works and much periodical literature. On the 5th, at Hastings, aged 64, **Lady Susan Harriet Vernon Harcourt** (Lady Susan Holroyd), daughter of the second Earl of Sheffield. Married, 1849, Edward William Vernon Harcourt, M.P., of Nuneham, Oxon. On the 6th, at Arcachon, aged 43, **Prince Michael Cantacuzene-Speranski**, Director of the Department of Foreign Creeds in the Russian Ministry of the Interior, a great-grandson of the famous Count Speranski. Educated at the University of Odessa. On the 6th, at Monte Carlo, aged 38, **Lord de Clifford**, Edward Southwell Russell, twenty-fourth Baron de Clifford. Married, 1879, Hilda, daughter of Charles Balfour, of St. James' Street, and Bracknell, Berks. On the 9th, at Edinburgh, aged 70, **Lieut.-General Patrick George Scot**. Educated at Addiscombe. Served with the 12th Bengal Native Infantry through the Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6, and was with his regiment when it mutinied at Nowgory, 1857. Served through the Mutiny Campaign, and was in the defence and siege of Lucknow, and other engagements, 1857-8. On the 9th, at St. Edward's College, Everton, aged 70, the **Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D.**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, son of an Irish farmer. Born at Ballybeg, Co. Meath. Educated at Ushaw College, Durham. Ordained, 1847, and as assistant-priest at Toxteth Park distinguished himself by his self-devotion during an epidemic of typhus in Liverpool. Placed in charge of St. Vincent's Mission, 1852; Canon of Liverpool, 1862, and Vicar-General and Bishop, 1872. On the 10th, at Brixton, aged 30, the **Marquess of Allesbury**, George William Brudenell-Bruce, only son of the third Marquess of Ailesbury. Was educated privately. His only part in public life was that of a lieutenant in the Berkshire Militia, 1881-6, and he never took his seat in the House of Lords. He gave himself to horse-racing, and was ultimately warned off Newmarket Heath. To meet his enormous debts, he endeavoured to obtain the sanction of the Court of Chancery to the sale of Suvernaque, the family seat, for which Lord Iveagh was ready to pay 700,000*l.* Owing to certain difficulties raised by his wife the negotiations fell through. He married, in 1884, Dorothy Julia Haseley. His bankruptcy was under consideration at the time of his death. On the 11th, at New York, aged 88, **David Dudley Field**, the leader of the New York Bar, the son of a Massachusetts clergyman, and the eldest of four brothers, all of whom attained distinction: Cyrus Field, who engineered the first Atlantic cable; Stephen J. Field, Assistant-Judge of the United States Supreme Court; and the Rev. H. Martyn Field, a leading Presbyterian divine. David Field was born at Haddan, Connecticut, graduated at Williams' College, 1825, and called to the Bar at New York, 1828, where he continued to practise for sixty years. Member of the United States Congress, 1876; author of "Outlines of an International Code," 1877, and many other legal works. On the 12th, at San Remo, aged 45, **Lucy Rossetti**, eldest daughter of Ford Madox Brown, a distinguished painter, by whom she was taught. Exhibited at the Dudley Gallery (1869), "Painting," "Romeo and Juliet" (1871), and several other works there and at the Royal Academy. Married, 1874, William Michael Rossetti, brother of the poet and artist. On the 13th, at Hamilton Terrace, N.W., aged 72, **William Haywood**, Engineer to the City Commissioners of Sewers since 1846, having for two years previously been assistant-engineer. In 1851 he prepared with Mr. F. Forster a scheme for diverting the London sewage from the northern side of the Thames, which was eventually carried out in conjunction with Sir J. Bazalgette by the Metropolitan Board of Works, 1854-64; designed and laid out the City of London Cemetery, 1856; constructed the Holborn Viaduct, 1863-70, and was the first to lay down asphalt in the streets of London. He passed through all the grades of the London Rifle Brigade, 1859-81, of which he was Colonel-Commandant. On the 14th, on board the SS. *Britannia*, off Sicily, aged 58, **Frederick Barnes Peacock, C.S.I.**, eldest son of Sir Barnes Peacock. Educated at Eton. Appointed to the Bengal Civil Service, 1857. Called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1880. Chief Secretary to

the Governor of Bengal, 1888-7; Member of the Board of Revenue, 1887-90. On the 15th, at Brighton, aged 79, **Sir Robert Murray**, of Clermont, eleventh baronet, second son of the Rev. Sir William Murray. Married, first, 1839, Susan Catherine Saunders, daughter of John Murray, of Ardeley-Bury, Herts, and widow of Adolphus C. Murray; and, secondly, 1865, Laura, daughter of the Rev. Charles Taylor, of Biddesham, Somerset, and widow of the Rev. W. H. Crawford, of Haughley Park, Suffolk. On the 17th, at Westbourne Terrace, W., aged 44, **Frederick Harold Keram**, second son of Lyons Keram, of Hooton-Levet Hall, Rotherham. Educated at Rugby. Called to the Bar in 1873. Contested Lincoln as a Conservative, 1885; returned in 1886. Married, 1882, Marian, daughter of J. L. W. Heyn, M.D. On the 17th, at North Creake, Fakenham, aged 77, the **Rev. John Nassau Simpkinson**, son of Sir Francis Simpkinson. Educated at Rugby under Dr. Arnold, and at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1839; first-class in classical tripos and junior optime; Curate of Hurstmonceux, 1840-5; assistant-master at Harrow School, 1845-55; Rector of Brinton, Norfolk, 1855-68, when he was presented to the Rectory of North Creake. Author of "Life of G. Wagner" (1855), "The Washingtons" (1860), and of many articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, etc. On the 18th, at Lindhele, Hesse, aged 80, **Sacher-Masoch**, an eminent novelist and historian. Born at Lemberg, near Galicia. Educated at Prague and Grätz. Became Professor of History, but subsequently devoted himself to literature. On the 19th, at Oxford, aged 74, the **Rev. Edmund Salusbury Ffoulkes, B.D.**, third son of Colonel Ffoulkes, of Eirviat Hall, Denbighshire. Educated at Shrewsbury and Jesus College, Oxford; graduated second-class in classics, 1841. Fellow and tutor of Jesus College, 1843-55, when he joined the Church of Rome. Re-instated as a clergyman of the Church of England, 1870; Rector of Wigginton, 1876-8, when he was appointed by Oriel College Vicar of the University Church, St. Mary's, at Oxford. Was the author of several controversial and other works. Married, 1860, Anne, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Strange, D.C.L., Chief Justice of Madras. On the 28th, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 70, **Lady Maria Forester**, the friend and supporter of Miss Florence Nightingale in her mission to the Crimea and subsequent career as a nurse. Lady Maria Jocelyn, youngest daughter of the third Earl of Roden, married, 1848, the Hon. Charles R. Weld Forester, son of the first Baron Forester, Major, 12th Lancers. On the 22nd, at Kensington, aged 73, **General Robert MacLagan, B.E., LL.D., F.R.S.**, son of Dr. David MacLagan, Physician to the Forces in Scotland. Educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh, and afterwards at Addiscombe. Entered the Engineer Corps of the East India Company's Service, 1839. Served under Sir Charles Napier at Lahore, 1846. Principal of the Engineering College at Rorkee, 1847-60; aided in the suppression of the Mutiny. Chief Engineer and Secretary to Public Works Department in the Punjab, 1860-79. Author of several articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Married, 1855, Patricia, daughter of Patrick Gilmour of the Grove, Londonderry. On the 23rd, at Brussels, aged 65, **Auguste Couvreur**, the son of a journalist. Born at Ghent. Became political editor of *L'Indépendance Belge* at an early age, and held the post for twenty-five years. Was a Liberal member of the House of Representatives, 1864-84, and its Vice-President during the Frère-Orban Cabinet; an ardent free-trader. Married, first, a daughter of M. Carr van der Macrea, an Irishman naturalised in Belgium and known as the "Belgian Cobden"; and, second, a lady of Belgian descent born in Tasmania, known under her pseudonym as an author, "Tasma." On the 23rd, at Prestwood, Stourbridge, aged 65, **Henry John Wentworth Hodgette-Foley**, eldest son of J. H. Hodgette-Foley. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Sat as a Liberal for South Staffordshire, 1857-68. Married, 1854, the Hon. Jane Frances, daughter of the first Lord Vivian. On the 26th, at Bryanstone Square, aged 80, from the effects of a street accident, **William Torrens McCullagh Torrens**, son of James McCullagh, of Delville, Co. Dublin. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1834. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. Commissioner of the Poor Law Inquiry in Ireland, 1835; private secretary to Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), 1846; sat for Dundalk, 1847-52; Yar-mouth, 1857; and Finsbury, 1865-70; carried in Committee the Lodgers' Franchise, 1867; brought in and passed the Artisans' Dwellings Bill, 1868; obtained the adoption of boarding-out pauper children, 1869; suggested the establishment of the London School Board, of which he was a member for Finsbury, 1872-5; was the author of several political biographies, and other works. Married, 1836, Margaret Henrietta, daughter of John Gray, of Charleville House, Dublin. Assumed, 1863, his mother's name of Torrens. On the 26th, at Dover, aged 61, **Colonel William Frederick Wright, C.B.**, son of Bache Wright,

of the Ordnance Department. Entered Ordnance Store Department, 1850; served in the Canaries and in China, 1857; South Africa, 1878-80. Married, 1869, Anna, daughter of Robert Leech, M.D. On the 29th, at Garych Castle, Abergelle, aged 67, **Robert Bamford Hesketh**, son of Lloyd Hesketh B. Hesketh. Served in the 2nd Life Guards; a munificent supporter of local and general charities. Married, 1851, Ellen, second daughter of John Jones Bateman, of Pentre Mawr, Denbighshire. On the 30th, at Brussels, aged 70, **Ernest Klingweyer**, pupil of Baron Wappers. Studied at Antwerp, and at the age of nineteen painted the "Episode du Vengeur," afterwards purchased for the Cologne Museum. He was the painter of other large works, chiefly battle scenes. He subsequently turned his attention to politics, and was for a time Conservative representative for Brussels.

## MAY.

**Bishop Pelham.**—John Thomas Pelham, third son of the second Earl of Chichester, was born June 21, 1811, and educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1832. He was ordained in 1834, and in 1837 was presented to the Rectory of Bergh Apton, Norfolk, where he remained eighteen years, when he became Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hampstead. In 1855 he was transferred to the important Crown living of Marylebone, and in 1857 he was nominated to the Bishopric of Norwich in succession to Bishop Hinds, his name having already been under discussion when vacancies had occurred when Dr. Tait was appointed to the See of London. Dr. Pelham was the last survivor of "Lord Palmerston's bishops," appointed by that Premier under the advice of the Earl of Shaftesbury. He displayed throughout the long tenure of his office cautious and dignified zeal, and did

much to stimulate the activity of the clergy of his diocese by personal inspection. In convocation he more than once advocated a reform of that body, desiring a single assembly for the two provinces and an extension of the ecclesiastical franchise. He was also in favour of an increase of the episcopate, and the augmentation of small benefices by the reduction of episcopal incomes, and framed a scheme under which no living would fall below 300*l.* per annum. Dr. Pelham, having occupied the see for thirty-six years, a longer period than any of his eighty-seven predecessors, resigned early in 1893, and lived in complete retirement at Thorpe, near Norwich, where he died suddenly on May 1 of cardiac syncope. In 1845 he married Henrietta, daughter of Thomas William Tatton, of Wythenshawe Hall, Cheshire, who died on Dec. 31, 1893, at a time when Dr. Pelham himself was not expected to live.

On the 2nd, at Hyde Park Square, aged 63, **Admiral Edward Hardinge, C.B.**, third son of Major-General R. Hardinge, R.A. Entered the Royal Navy, 1831; served as Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Triton* with great distinction during the Crimean War on board his ship and on land with the Naval Brigade. Married, 1875, Lila, daughter of Thomas Papillon, of Crowhurst Park, Battle. On the 4th, at Marseilles, aged 63, from the consequences of an accident, **General Ferron**, Inspector-General of the French Army and member of the Supreme War Council. Born at Pré St. Evrault. Educated at the Ecole Polytechnique. Entered the Engineers, 1852; served through the Crimean Campaign. Was sent to New Caledonia in command of the Engineers, 1866, and was absent from France during the Franco-Prussian War. Minister of War, 1887, succeeding General Boulanger. On the 5th, at Highbury, aged 55, **Alice King**, the blind novelist, daughter of the Rev. J. M. King, of Cubcombe, Somerset, a verse translator of Virgil. Born with defective eyesight, Miss King became totally blind at the age of seven; but her education was carried on by her mother, and she ultimately acquired orally seven languages. Her first book, "Forest Keep," appeared in 1862, and was followed at short intervals by "The Lady of Wimbourne" (1865), "Sir Tristram's Will" (1867), etc., down to "A Strange Tangle" (1885). For many years she conducted a Bible-class in her father's parish, and exercised very great influence over all classes, and was, moreover, a frequent contributor to periodical literature. On the 6th, at Exmouth, aged 70, **Augusta Theodora Drane**, known as Mother Frances Raphael. Born at Bromley-by-Bow. Fell under the influence of Dr. J. H. Newman; became a convert to the Roman

Catholic Church, 1851, publishing at the time an essay on "The Morality of Tractarianism." In 1852 she joined the Dominican Order, and was prioress and provincial of the convent at Stone, Staffordshire, 1872-81. Was the author of the "Life of St. Dominic," of "St. Catherine of Siena," "The Three Chancellors," etc.; also of a volume of poems, "Songs in the Night," and was the editor of Archbishop Allatoni's autobiography and letters. On the 7th, at Paris, aged 80, **Charles Emile Jacque**, a distinguished painter. Born in Paris, and apprenticed to a map engraver. During his military service he was present at the siege of Antwerp, and at the end of his service became led to art, designing many subjects in wood and stone for periodicals, 1857-48. He then took up etching and afterwards painting, chiefly of animals and rustic life. Gained medals at the Salon, three as an engraver (1857, 1861, 1863), and three as a painter (1861, 1863, 1864), and in 1867 received the Legion of Honour. On the 7th, at Edinburgh, aged 64, **Captain Edward Francis Lodder, R.N.** Entered the Royal Navy, 1845; served in the Baltic and White Sea during the Russian War, 1854-5, and was afterwards employed on special service on the West African Coast. On the 7th, at sea off Aden, aged 48, the **Right Rev. Charles Alan Smythie**, Bishop of Zanzibar. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1867. Curate of Great Marlow, 1869-72; Curate and Vicar of Roath, Glamorganshire, 1872-83. Consecrated Missionary Bishop of Central Africa, 1883, his title being changed in 1892. On the 8th, at Burntisland, Fifeshire, aged 86, **Dr. Harry Alexander Bruce**, Principal Inspector-General of H.M. Forces. Studied at Aberdeen and Edinburgh; graduated M.D., 1829. Appointed, 1830, to the Bengal Medical Service; to the 24th Native Infantry, 1832-8; 85th Native Infantry, 1838-41, during which time he went through the Afghan Campaign; was with the garrison in Cabul, 1839-40. Appointed Surgeon to the Envoy at Herat, 1841; major-general in the Sikh War, 1845-7; Inspector-General of Hospitals, 1860-4, when he was promoted to be Principal Inspector-General, and retired 1866. On the 8th, at Madeira, aged 55, **Vere Fane Benet-Stanford**, of Pythouse, Wilts, and second son of the Rev. Arthur Fane, Rector of Fubeck, Lincolnshire, and Lucy, daughter of John Benet, M.P., of Pythouse, whose name he assumed. Educated at Marlborough College. Entered the Army, 45th Foot, 1857; was subsequently Captain-Commandant of the Shaftesbury Rifle Volunteers. Sat as Conservative for Shaftesbury, 1873-80. Married, 1867, Ellen, daughter of William Stanford, of Preston Place, Sussex, whose name he also assumed. On the 9th, at The Grove, Watford, Herts, aged 36, the **Countess of Clarendon**, Lady Carolina Elizabeth Agar, daughter of the third Earl of Normanton. Married, 1876, Edward, the fifth Earl of Clarendon. On the 12th, at Chesham Place, S.W., aged 81, the **Hon. Mrs. Denison**, Clementina Baillie-Hamilton, daughter of the Ven. Charles Baillie-Hamilton, Archdeacon of Cleveland. Maid of Honour to the Queen, 1837-44. Married, 1845 (second wife), the Right Rev. Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury, 1837-54. On the 12th, at Harold Wood, aged 60, the **Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D.**, a distinguished authority on early English and other literature. Educated at St. John's, Battersea. Appointed, 1869, Lecturer on English Language to the King's College School. Head Master of the Royal Masonic School for Boys, 1875-90. He was a copious author and editor of works on literature, from the "Etymology of Local Names" (1857), to "Folk Tales of India" (1885), including editions of Chaucer and Spenser. On the 12th, at St. Petersburg, aged 66, the **Grand Duchess Ekaterina Michailovna**, only child of the Grand Duke Michael-Paulovitch, son of the Czar Paul I. Married, 1851, Grand Duke George of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. She was a most charitable lady, and a generous patron of the arts and sciences. On the 12th, at Kilconquhar House, Fifeshire, aged 67, the **Earl of Lindsay**, John Trotter Bethune, tenth earl, son of Major-General Sir H. Lindsay Bethune, first baronet. Entered the Army, Lieutenant, 91st Foot. Established, 1878, his claim as Earl of Lindsay and subordinate titles. Chosen a representative peer for Scotland, 1885. Married, 1858, Jeanne Eudacie Marie, daughter of J. V. Duval, of Bordeaux. On the 13th, at Pesth, aged 92, **Baron Vay**, President of the Hungarian House of Magnates. Born at Tsoleza, in the county of Borrod. Appointed Royal Chamberlain, 1827; elected member of the Diet, 1840, and of the Supreme Court of Justice, 1844. Took a leading part in maintaining order in Upper Hungary in 1846. Accompanied the Archduke Palatine Stephen through Hungary, 1847, and raised to the dignity of Keeper of the Crown, and was for many years Inspector-General of the Reformed Church in Transylvania. On the 14th, at Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, aged 72, **Henry Morley**. Born in London. Educated at Neuvied, on the Rhine, and at King's College, London.



Studied medicine for a time, and was a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. Practised at Madeley, Shropshire, 1844-8; and then tried as a schoolmaster at Liscard, near Liverpool, a method he subsequently described in *Household Words*. Came to London, 1851, and devoted himself to journalism and literature. Appointed English Lecturer at King's College, London, 1857, Professor of English Literature and Language at University College, London, 1865-89, and held a like post at Queen's College, 1878-89; Principal of University Hall, London, 1882-9. In conjunction with Canon Jelf, Professor Leone Levi, and others, he established the evening classes at King's College, London. Was the author of "A Defence of Ignorance" (1851), "Life of Jerome Cardan" (1853), "Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair" (1857), "English Writers before Chaucer" (1864), "From Chaucer to Dunbar" (1887-90), besides numerous other works, and edited a library of English literature (1874-80), and many series of works dealing with that subject. On the 14th, at Bayswater, aged 35, **Prince Louis Clovis Bonaparte**, only son of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, the philologist. His son earned his living as an engineer. On the 15th, at Melbourne, Australia, aged 52, the **Right Rev. Sydney Linton, D.D.**, Bishop of Riverina, N.S.W., son of the Rev. Henry Linton, Rector of St. Peter's-le-Barley, Oxford. Educated at Rugby and Wadham College; B.A., 1864 (second-class law and history). Curate of St. Mark's, Cheltenham, 1867-70; Vicar of Holy Trinity, Oxford, 1870-7; of St. Philip's, Norwich, 1877-84, when he was appointed fourth Bishop of Riverina, in Australia. Married, 1887, Jane Isabella, daughter of the Rev. Professor Heurtley. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. On the 17th, at Paris, aged 73, **Mlle. Valentine de Cessia**, the niece and adopted daughter of the poet Lamartine, whose name she assumed and whose correspondence she edited. On the 17th, at Tintagel Vicarage, Cornwall, aged 83, the **Rev. Richard Byrn Kinsman**, second son of Robert John Kinsman, of Green Bank, Falmouth. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1834; a contemporary and life-long friend of Alfred Tennyson. Vicar of Mawman, 1838-42; Rector of St. Paul's, Exeter, 1845-51, when he was appointed Vicar of Tintagel. Prebendary of Exeter, 1875: an antiquarian of local repute. On the 19th, at Southwick, Sussex, aged 74, **General Montagu James Turnbull**. Educated at Addiscombe. Entered the Army, 1836; served with the 7th Bengal Light Cavalry with distinction in Scinde, 1844-5; Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; and in the Indian Mutiny, 1857-9. Married, 1841, Harriet Jane, daughter of C. J. Apperley, who wrote under the name of "Nimrod." On the 20th, at the Savoy Hotel, London, aged 63, **Edmund Yates**, a well-known journalist, son of Frederick Yates, a popular actor. Born at Edinburgh; educated at Highgate School, and afterwards at Diisseldorf. Clerk in the General Post Office, 1847-72; began to write, chiefly domestic criticism, 1858. Was a contributor to *Household Words*, and afterwards to *All the Year Round*. Between 1864 and 1874 produced several novels—"Broken to Harness," "Black Sheep," etc., and during the same period edited successively *Temple Bar* and *Tinsley's Magazine*, founded the *World*, 1874, conjointly with Mr. Grenville Murray, of which he subsequently became the sole proprietor. Was expelled from the Garrick Club, 1858, on account of a "personal" article, which Thackeray resented, and imprisoned in Holloway Gaol for two months in 1884 for a libel which appeared in the *World*, of which he refused to disclose the authorship. Married, 1861, Louisa, daughter of H. Wilkinson, of Pall Mall. On the 22nd, at Paris, aged 61, **Madame Renan**, Marie Scheffer, daughter of Henry and niece of Ary Scheffer, Dutch painters. Married, 1856, Ernest Renan, the philosopher, critic, and historian. On the 23rd, at Oxford, aged 46 (less three days), **George John Romanes, F.R.S.**, born at Kingston, Canada. Educated privately in London, and at Caius College, Cambridge; B.A., 1870 (second-class natural science tripos, Darwin's son being in the first-class of the same year). Devoted himself to the exposition and defence of Darwinism, and the study of the lower forms of sea-life. Author of "Animal Intelligence" (1881), "Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution" (1884), "Mental Evolution in Man" (1888), "Darwin, and After Darwin" (1892). Held a special chair at Edinburgh University, 1882-5; Fullerian Professor of Physiology, 1888; founder of the Romanes lectures at Oxford, 1891. On the 23rd, at Wotton-under-Edge, aged 94, **Brian Houghton Hodgson, D.C.L., F.R.S.** Entered the East India Company's Service, 1818. Appointed Secretary to the Nepal Embassy, 1821; Representative at that Court, 1833-49, and then for fifteen years devoted himself to the study of Buddhism, amassing a collection of Himalayan plants, and the study of zoology. Married, first, 1843, Annie, daughter of General Scott; and, second, 1869, Susan, daughter of Colonel Charles Townshend, R.A. On the 25th, at Folkestone, aged 74, **General Sir John Jarvis Bisset, K.C.M.G.**,

second son of Captain Alexander Bisset, R.N. Born at Bathurst, Cape of Good Hope. Entered the Army, 1840; served with distinction through the Kaffir War, 1844-5, 1846-7, and 1850-3, and was severely wounded. Lieut.-Governor of Natal, 1865-7, and commanded the expedition against the Basutos. Commanded a division in Canada, 1868-73. Married, first, 1848, Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. A. B. Morgan; and, secondly, 1888, Francis Hannah, daughter of Thomas Bridge, of Folkestone. On the 25th, at Vevey, Switzerland, aged 72, **Edward Allesley Boughton Ward-Boughton Leigh**, eldest surviving son of John Ward, of Brownsover Hall, Warwick, who assumed the names of Boughton and Leigh on his marriage. Married, 1867, Ellen Caroline, daughter of the Hon. Charles Lennox Butler. On the 26th, at Mayence, suddenly, aged 60, the **Hon. Roden Berkeley Wriothesley Noel**, son of the first Earl of Gainsborough. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1855. Groom of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary, 1867-71. The author of several volumes of poetry, and of a "Life of Lord Byron." Married, 1863, Alice, daughter of M. Paul Bröe. On the 27th, at Montreal, aged 77, **Sir Francis Godschall Johnson**, son of Captain Godschall Johnson, 10th Hussars. Born at Oakley House, Beds. Educated at St. Omer. Emigrated to Canada, 1835. Admitted to the Canadian Bar, 1839; Q.C., 1847. Recorder of Rupert's Land, 1854; Governor of Assiniboia, 1858; Puisne Justice of Superior Court, 1865-89; Special Commissioner and Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, 1870-3; Chief Justice, 1889. Married, first, 1854, May Gates, daughter of Nathaniel Jones, of Montreal; and, second, 1857, Mary Louisa, daughter of John Milliken Miles, of Somerset. On the 29th, at Scotney Castle, aged 73, **Hugh Montgomery**, eldest son of William Montgomery, of Grey Abbey, Co. Down. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Married, 1846, Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Herbert, daughter of the second Earl of Powis. On the 29th, at Onslow Gardens, S.W., aged 63, the **Hon. Charles Henry Pearson**, fourth son of the Rev. J. Norman Pearson. Educated at Rugby and Exeter College, Oxford; B.A., 1852 (first-class classics). After a year's medical study at Edinburgh returned to Oxford, and was elected Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, 1854; Professor of History, King's College, London, 1855-65; Lecturer on Modern History, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1869-71. In consequence of ill-health went to South Australia, 1872; Lecturer on History at Melbourne University, 1874; Headmaster of Ladys' Presbyterian College, Melbourne, 1875-7; Royal Commissioner of Education, 1877-8; elected member of the Legislative Assembly for Castlemaine, 1878-83, and for the East Bourke borough, 1883-92; Minister of Public Instruction, 1886-90, and without portfolio in the Berry Government, 1890-7. Author of "History of England in the Middle Ages" (1861-8), "National Life and Character" (1893), and many other works. Married, 1872, Edith Lucille, daughter of Philip Baker, of Tickford, Hobart Town. On the 30th, at Budleigh Salterton, aged 77, **Vice-Admiral George William Preedy, C.B.**, son of Robert Preedy, of Hampton, Worcestershire. Entered the Royal Navy, 1828; commanded H.M.S. *Duke of Wellington* in the Baltic, 1854-5, and served on shore also with distinction. Commanded the *Agamemnon* while laying the first telegraph cable between Europe and America, 1857-8. Married, 1864, Elizabeth, daughter of Commander G. W. Webber, R.N. On the 31st, at Royal Mews, Buckingham Palace, aged 77, **Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Ashley Maude, K.C.B.**, son of the Hon. and Rev. Francis Maude. Educated at Woolwich. Entered the Royal Artillery, 1834; commanded a troop throughout the Crimean War, 1854-5, and was dangerously wounded at the Battle of Balaclava. Attached to Earl Granville's special mission to Russia, 1856; Departmental Superintendent of Irish Constabulary, 1857-8; Crown Equerry to the Queen, 1859. Married, 1845, Katharine K., daughter of Charles Beauclerk, of St. Leonard's, Horsham.

## JUNE.

**The Bishop of Bath and Wells.**—Arthur Charles Hervey, fourth son of the first Marquess and fifth Earl of Bristol, was born in 1808. He was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was placed in the first class of the classical tripos in 1830. In 1832 Lord A. Hervey was ordained deacon and priest, and was presented by his father to the Rectory of Horringer with Ickworth, in Suffolk, the parish of the family seat. There he remained for thirty-seven years, discharging diligently the duties of a country clergyman, and at the same time taking an active part in the public work of the neighbourhood and diocese. The adjacent town of Bury St. Edmunds often enjoyed the benefit of his literary and musical talents in the way of concerts and lectures at the Mechanics' Institute, of which he was the president. In 1862 he was made Archdeacon of Sudbury; and in 1869 he was recommended by Mr. Gladstone, his old friend and schoolfellow, to the See of Bath and Wells, then vacant by the resignation of Lord Auckland on the ground of failing health. Lord Auckland lived for six months longer, during which time he continued to inhabit the ancient and beautiful palace of Wells, while the new bishop took up his residence in Bath, which, lying in the corner of the diocese, had hitherto seen little of its bishops, and had accordingly been accustomed to pay little regard to them. A residence of six months in the city made a great change in this respect; and when Lord Arthur Hervey transferred his home to Wells, he did not lose the affection and popularity which he had merited and won in the greatest city of his diocese. To mark his eightieth birthday, an episcopal ring was presented to him in the name of the clergy by Archdeacon Denison in warm and affectionate language; sharp differences between the bishop and archdeacon on public matters having never been allowed to interrupt their private friendship.

Lord Arthur Hervey married, in 1839, Patience, daughter of Mr. John Singleton, and died on June 9, at Hackwood Park, Hants, the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Hoare, having within the previous fortnight addressed a public meeting at Bath, after completing the visitation of his diocese.

**Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England.**—The Right Hon. John Duke Coleridge, F.R.S., D.C.L., Honorary Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, the eldest son of the late Right Hon. Sir John Taylor Coleridge, of Heath's Court, Ottery St. Mary, was educated at Eton, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he obtained a scholarship, and graduated B.A. in 1842; he was elected to an open fellowship at Exeter College in 1843, and graduated M.A. in 1846, in which year he married and ceased to be a Fellow of Exeter College. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, November 6, 1846, and went the Western Circuit, of which he was for some years the leader. In 1855 he was appointed Recorder of Portsmouth, and was created a Queen's Counsel in 1861, being soon afterwards nominated a Bencher of the Middle Temple. He was an unsuccessful Liberal candidate for the representation of Exeter in August, 1864, but was elected for that city in July, 1865, and continued to represent it till November, 1873. In December, 1868, on the formation of Mr. Gladstone's Government, he was selected to fill the office of Solicitor-General, when he received the honour of knighthood, and in November, 1871, on Sir Robert Collier being appointed to a judgeship in the Judicial Department of the Privy Council, Sir John Duke Coleridge was appointed to succeed him as Attorney-General. In 1871 he was offered and declined the office of Judge of the Court of Admiralty, Probate, and Divorce. On May 11, 1871, began that memorable trial, in which Arthur Orton, *alias* Thomas Castro, then and since called "The Claimant," sought to gain possession of the Tichborne estates on the ground that he was the missing heir, Roger Charles Tichborne. The Attorney-General, Sir J. D. Coleridge, was leading counsel on behalf of the Tichborne family. The ability which marked his conduct of the case enhanced enormously his reputation as an able and eloquent advocate. The claimant was under examination twenty-two days; and then the trial was adjourned on the fortieth day, July 7, and was not resumed until November 7 following. The case for the claimant closed on December 21, and when the trial was resumed on January 15, 1872, the Attorney-General began that great

oratorical effort, abounding in flashes of wit, eloquent passages, and logical deduction, which utterly wrecked the claimant's pretensions. Sir John spoke for twenty-six days, a sustained forensic effort which was then without a parallel. On the retirement of Lord Romilly, in 1873, from the Mastership of the Rolls, Sir John Coleridge, as Attorney-General, though a member of the Common Law Bar, received the first offer of that appointment, but after consideration he declined the office, which was conferred upon Sir George Jessel, the Solicitor-General, who was a member of the Equity Bar. Soon afterwards, however, the death of Sir William Bovill left the Chief Justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas at the disposal of the Government, and this high office was at once conferred upon Sir John Coleridge, who was sworn in as Chief Justice, November 19, 1873. In the following month he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Coleridge of Ottery St. Mary, in the county of Devon. He was appointed Lord Chief Justice of

England on the death of Sir Alexander Cockburn, in November, 1880. To him was granted, for the first time in English history, the patent under this title, all former holders of this office having been described in their patents as Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. In Parliament Lord Coleridge rendered distinguished service in advocating the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the removal of the disabilities of Dissenters in relation to the universities. He was an occasional contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* and other periodicals. He married first, in 1846, Jane Fortescue, third daughter of the Rev. George Turner Seymour of Farringfordhill, in the Isle of Wight; and second, in 1885, Amy Augusta Jackson, the eldest daughter of Mr. Henry Baring Lau- ford, of the Bengal Civil Service.

Lord Coleridge, who for a short time had been in failing health, but had nevertheless continued to sit in court, died on June 14 at his residence in Sussex Square, Hyde Park.

On the 4th, at Offwell House, Devon, aged 92, the **Rev. John Gay Copleston**, nephew of Dr. Edward Copleston, Dean of St. Paul's and Bishop of Llandaff. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford; B.A., 1824. Rector of Kinsey, Bucks, 1828-34; of Lamyatts, Somerset, 1834-41; and of Offwell, Devon, 1841-80. On the 4th, at Yokohama, aged 62, **Hugh Fraser**, H.M. Minister to Japan. Appointed attaché at the Hague, 1855; served in Germany, Central America, also China. Secretary of Legation at Peking, 1876-9; Secretary of Embassy at Vienna, 1879-81; Rome, 1882-5; Minister Resident at Santiago, 1885-8, when he was appointed Minister to Japan. On the 5th, at Brameton, North Devon, aged 75, **Edward Capern**, "the postman poet." Born at Tiverton; began life as a letter-carrier in the neighbourhood. His first volume of poems (1856) passed through several editions, and subsequently obtained for the author a Civil List Pension. His other works were "Ballads and Songs" (1859), "The Devonshire Melodist" (1862), with the author's own music, and "Wayside Warbles" (1870). On the 5th, at Upper Berkeley Street, W., aged 77, **Richard Blanshard**, eldest son of T. Henry Blanshard, of Kirby, Essex. Educated at Queen's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1840. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1845; Governor of Vancouver Island, 1849-51. Married, 1852, Emily, daughter of James Hyde, of Aller, Somerset. On the 6th, at Kentish Town, aged 56, **Thomas Eccleston Gibb**, son of James Gibb, of Liverpool. Educated at King's College, London. Joint editor and proprietor of the *Liverpool Mercury*, 1865-69. Vestry Clerk for St. Pancras, 1869-86. Sat as a Liberal for East St. Pancras, 1885-6. Alderman, London County Council, 1889-93. On the 7th, at Boston, Mass., aged 67, **Professor William Dwight Whitney**. Born at Northampton, Mass. Graduated at Williams' College, 1845. Was a bank clerk for three years, and then entered Yale University, and subsequently studied at Berlin and Tübingen. Appointed Professor of Sanscrit at Yale, 1854, and of Comparative Philology, 1870. Assisted in the compilation of the Sanscrit dictionary of Böthlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg, 1853-67). Was the author of several works on the growth of languages, and of "The Century Dictionary of the English Language," of which the first volume was published in 1889. He was member of many important learned societies of Europe and America, and a Knight of the Prussian Order *Pour le Mérite*. On the 7th, at South Kensington, aged 60, the **Dowager Lady de Blaquiere**, Anna Maria, only daughter of John Wormold, of Upper Harley Street. Married, 1832, the fifth Baron de Blaquiere, Captain, Royal Navy. On the 7th, at Tadla (between Morocco and Carollanca), aged 63, the **Sultan of Morocco**, Muley El Hassan, who succeeded his father in 1873. A despot of an enlightened type, who managed

to develop the resources of his country whilst resisting the pressure of foreign diplomacy and intrigue. On the 10th, at Madrid, aged 79, **Don Federico Madrazo**, an eminent Spanish painter. Director of the Academy of Fine Arts at Madrid. He had studied in Paris, where he was a frequent exhibitor. On the 11th, at Victoria, British Columbia, aged 75, **Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie**, Chief Justice of British Columbia, son of Colonel Begbie, 82nd Foot. Educated at Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and Peterhouse, Cambridge; twenty-eighth wrangler and third-class classics, 1841; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1844. Judge of British Columbia, 1858-70; Chief Justice of Vancouver Island and of the United Colony, 1870. On the 13th, at Vico Equente, aged 63, **Baron Giovanni Nicotera**. Born at San Biagio, in Calabria. Studied law, but at an early period gave up his whole life to political agitation. Was an officer in the army of the Roman Republic, 1848-9; retired to Tunis for a while, but joined the Sofia expedition under Carlo Pisacane, 1857. Was made prisoner by the Neapolitans and sentenced to the galleys for life. On the overthrow of the Bourbons he was liberated, and became one of Garibaldi's aides-de-camp in 1861, and again in 1867. Elected as a deputy by the town of Salerno, and became Minister of the Interior, 1876-7, in an extremely Radical cabinet, and again in 1892 he held office under the Marchese di Rudini, notwithstanding his suspected relations with the Mafia and the Camorra. On the 14th, at sea, SS. *Oceana*, aged 52, **Sir John Cox Bray, K.C.M.G.**, son of Thomas Cox Bray, of Adelaide, South Australia. Studied law. Entered the Legislative Assembly of South Australia, 1872; Minister of Justice, 1875; Attorney-General, 1876-7; Premier and Chief Secretary, 1881-7; Speaker of the House of Assembly, 1888-90; Agent-General, 1892-4. Married, 1872, Miss Hornabrook. On the 15th, at Kensington, aged 56, **Samuel Sandars**, of Chalfont Grove, Bucks, eldest son of Charles Sandars, of Beechwood, Kent. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1860. Married, 1863, Elizabeth Maria, daughter of Francis W. Russell, M.P. Bequeathed a large number of valuable books to the Fitzwilliam Museum, and 2,000*l.* to the University of Cambridge to form a readership in bibliography. On the 16th, at Ebury Street, S.W., aged 81, **William Calder Marshall, R.A.** Born at Edinburgh; came to London and studied under Chantrey and Bailey. Visited Rome, 1836. Elected Associate of the Scottish Academy, 1842, of the Royal Academy, 1844, and a full R.A., 1852. First exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1835. Worked much for the Art Union, which reproduced "The Broken Pitcher" (1842), "Rebecca" (1845), "The Dancing Girl" (1848); executed the statues of Lords Clarendon and Somers in the Houses of Parliament, of Sir Robert Peel at Manchester, Jenner in Kensington Gardens, and the allegorical group of agriculture for the Prince Consort Memorial. On the 16th, at New York, U.S.A., aged 55, **William Walter Phelps**. Born at New York. Educated at Yale University and practised law for some years. Elected to Congress for the State of New Jersey, 1872; Minister to Vienna, 1881-2; returned to Congress, 1883-9; Minister to Berlin, 1889-93. On the 17th, at New York, aged 71, **William Hart**, a landscape painter. Born at Paisley, N.B. Emigrated to Albany, N.Y., in 1831, when he was apprenticed to a coach-builder and painter. Exhibited at the National Academy of New York, 1848; came to Scotland to study art, 1850-3, when he returned to New York and opened a studio. Elected Associate of the National Academy, 1855, and an Academician, 1858. Organised the Brooklyn Academy of Design and American Society of Water-colourists, and was president of both institutions for several years. On the 17th, at Holmwood Vicarage, aged 84, the **Rev. Edmund Dawe Wickham**, son of James Anthony Wickham, of North Hill House, Frome. Educated at Winchester, and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1831 (second-class classics). Curate of Godstone, Surrey, 1836-51; Vicar of Holmwood, 1851-93. Married, 1836, Emma, daughter of Archdale Palmer, of Cheam Park, Surrey. On the 18th, at Rioage, Geneva, aged 80, the **Comtesse Agénor de Gasparin**, author of "Les Horizons Célestes," "Vesper," and other works. She was sister of Edmond Boissier, a distinguished French botanist, and married, 1833, Comte Agénor de Gasparin, who devoted much time and money to improving the condition of agriculture in France, and to practical philanthropy. On the 19th, at Humberstone, Leicestershire, aged 51, **Thomas Guy Paget**, only son of John Paget, of The Boltons, South Kensington. Married, 1873, Edith, daughter of Viscountess Forbes and T. N. Vaughan. On the 20th, at St. James's Palace, aged 61, **Lady West, Mary**, daughter of Captain the Hon. George Barrington, R.N. Married, 1858, Sir Algernon West, K.C.B., sometime Chairman of Inland Revenue. On the 22nd, at Hastings, aged 60, **Captain John Robert Deane Cooper, R.N.** Entered the Navy, 1848; distinguished himself off the East Coast of Africa

and in the Kaffir War, 1851-2, and in the Crimea, 1854, when he served with the Naval Brigade. On the 22nd, at York, aged 81, **Lord Forester**, Canon Residentiary of York, fourth Baron Orlando Watkin Weld Forester, fourth son of Cecil Weld Forester, who was raised to the peerage. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1835; Curate of Dunton, Bucks, 1836-41; Vicar of Doveridge, Staffs, 1859-67; Rector of Gedling, 1867-87; Canon Residentiary of York, 1874; and Chancellor of York Cathedral, 1875-91. Married, first, 1840, Sophia Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Norman; and second, 1875, Emma Maria, daughter of William Tollemache; succeeded his brother, 1886. On the 23rd, at Ville d'Avray, Paris, aged 68, **Marietta Alboni**, a distinguished singer. Born at Bologna. Studied under Rossini. First appeared in Italy, and afterwards at Vienna, London, and Paris. First achieved a reputation in "La Cenerentola" at Paris in 1847, and subsequently as Fidéa in "Le Prophète," and other works. Married, first, 1848, Count Pepolo, a grandson of Joachim Murat and Caroline Bonaparte; and, second, 1877, Captain Charles Ziegler, of the French Republican Guard. On the 23rd, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, aged 66, **Prince Ladislas Czartoryski**, second son of Prince Adam Czartoryski. Succeeded his brother, Prince Witold, in 1865. Married, first, 1855, Princess Mary Amporo, daughter of Queen Christiana of Spain; and, second, 1872, Princess Marguerite de Bourbon, daughter of the Duc de Nemours. On the 23rd, at Wimbledon, aged 73, **Major-General James Young Gowan**. Educated at Addiscombe. Entered the Bengal Army and served in the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9, and was instrumental in saving the fugitives from Rohilkhand during the Mutiny, 1857-8. On the 24th, at Aldershot, aged 59, **Georgiana Fanny Shipley Daniell**, only daughter of Captain Frederic Daniell, H.E.I.C.S. With her mother she originated, in 1862, the institutions known as "Soldiers' Homes," of which they managed seven entirely at their own charge. On the 25th, at Faversham Hall, Norfolk, aged 80, **Henry Sharnborne Nathaniel Micklethwaite**, eldest surviving son of Nathaniel Micklethwaite, of Beeston Hall, Norfolk. Educated at the Royal Naval School. Entered the Navy, 1829; Commander, R.N., 1849. Inherited on the death of his brother, 1877, the estates of the extinct Viscount Micklethwaite. On the 28th, at Chiswick, aged 68, **Thomas Lane Coward**, manager of the *Morning Post*, son of John H. Coward, of London. Educated at the Merchant Taylors' School. Married, 1862, Flora, daughter of Colonel Lewis. Was connected with the *Morning Post* for upwards of forty years. On the 28th, at Woburn, Beds, aged 87, **Lord Charles James Fox Russell**, sixth son of John, fifth Duke of Bedford. Educated at Westminster. Entered the Army, 1824; served in the 60th Rifles. Sat as a Liberal for Bedfordshire, 1832-47; Sergeant-at-Arms to the Speaker, 1848-75. Married, 1834, Isabella Clarissa, daughter of William Davis, of Penylan, Carmarthenshire. On the 29th, at Malvern, aged 74, **Admiral John William Dorville**. Entered the Royal Navy, 1834. Was mate on board H.M.S. *Bellerophon* on the coast of Syria, 1840. Distinguished himself in the Burmese War, 1852-3, and in the Crimea, 1854-5. Author of "Cruising in Many Waters." On the 29th, at Kilcascar Castle, Co. Cork, aged 87, **William Joseph O'Neill Daunt**, son of Captain Joseph Daunt. Was for many years secretary to Daniel O'Connell, and an active worker in the cause of the Repeal and Catholic Emancipation. Sat for Mallow, 1832-3. Was throughout his life an ardent Home Ruler. Author of "A Catechism of Irish History," "Ireland and Her Agitators," etc. Married, 1839, Ellen, daughter of Daniel Hickey. On the 29th, at Winnipeg, Manitoba, aged 78, the **Most Rev. Alexander Antonine Taché**. Born at Riviere-du-Loup, Canada. Graduated at the College of St. Hyacinthe, and after studied at the seminary at Montreal. Became a monk of the Oblate Order, and volunteered for service among the Red River Indians, 1845, and at once devoted his life to the work. After being exposed to fearful privations, consecrated Bishop of Avater, *in partibus*, 1851; Bishop of St. Boniface, 1853, which was erected into a metropolitan see, 1871, and he was appointed Archbishop. He exercised enormous influence over the Indians and half-castes of the North-West, and often intervened effectively on their behalf. Was the author of several works on missionary labour in North-West America. On the 30th, at Great Tew, Oxford, aged 74, **Matthew Preiss Watt Boulton**, son of Matthew Boulton, C.E., and last surviving male representative of Watt's partner in the Soho factory where the steam engine was brought into practical shape. He was educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself, and although a man of great learning and attainments lived a retired life. Married, first, 1845, Francis, daughter of William Cartwright, M.P., of Aynhoe, Northolt; and, second, 1868, Pauline, daughter of the Rev. Ernest Gleissberg, of Cannstadt, Württemberg.

## JULY.

**Sir Henry Layard.**—Right Hon. Sir Henry Austen Layard, P.C., G.C.B., D.C.L., was the son of Henry John Peter Layard, of French Huguenot descent, and was in the Ceylon Civil Service. His grandfather was Dr. Layard, Dean of Bristol, and his mother, Miss Mary Ann Austen, was the daughter of a medical man at Ramsgate, and connected with the Cobb family of Lichfield. Henry Layard was born in Paris, March 5, 1817, and spent his youth and received his education in Italy. In 1833 he came to London with the view of qualifying himself as a solicitor, but sedentary life had no charms for him, and in 1839 he set out on his travels, visiting first the North of Europe, and passing through Albania and Roumelia reached Constantinople. Thence he travelled onwards through various parts of Asia, and having acquired Arabic and Persian spent two years among the wild tribes of the Bakhbi-yari. The discoveries of Champollion and Wilkinson, of Burckhardt and Lane, and especially the excavations of Botta at Mosul, fired his enthusiasm, and returning to Constantinople he interested Sir Stratford Canning, who offered to share the cost of his proposed excavations. In 1845 he started for Birs Nimroud, where his labours were abundantly rewarded by the discovery of "Assyrian" marbles, which he subsequently presented to the British Museum. In his first important work, "Nineveh and its Remains" (1848-9), he graphically described the exhumation and discovery of these monuments. His second book, "Nineveh and Babylon" (1851), was followed two years later by his "Discoveries in the Ruins of Babylon and Nineveh"—the result of a second expedition undertaken for the trustees of the British Museum, and the first public recognition of his services; the House of Commons, forced by popular opinion, having at length voted 3,000*l.* for the prosecution of these excavations. Layard unearthed the remains of four distinct palatial edifices at Nineveh and Babylon. The most remarkable discoveries were made in the North-West Palace, supposed to have been built by Sardanapalus. The walls had been lined with large slabs of gypsum or alabaster, covered with bas-reliefs and cuneiform inscriptions. Many of these were sent to England, together with gigantic winged human-

headed bulls and lions, and eagle-headed deities. They were placed in the British Museum, of which they have since remained one of the chief attractions.

In 1849 Layard was appointed Attaché to the Embassy at Constantinople, but he held the post for a short time only. Returning to England he devoted himself to a political career, with a special view to Eastern affairs. He was returned for Aylesbury in the Liberal interest in 1852, and became Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for a few weeks, in Lord John Russell's Administration. He might have held office under both Lord Derby and Lord Aberdeen, but he declined. In 1853 he was presented with the freedom of the City of London, in consideration of his discoveries amongst the ruins of Nineveh; and he went out to Constantinople with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe as a friend, but disagreeing with him on the Russian question returned in the course of the year to England. In the House of Commons he strenuously advocated a more decisive policy on the Eastern question, and delivered several energetic and impressive speeches on that all-absorbing topic. In 1854 he again proceeded to the East and was a spectator of the important events then taking place in the Crimea, witnessing the battle of the Alma from the main-top of the *Agamemnon*. He remained in the Crimea till after the battle of Inkerman, making himself acquainted with the condition of the British Army engaged in the siege of Sebastopol. When the mismanagement and disasters in the Crimea were discussed in the House of Commons he was one of the foremost in demanding a committee of inquiry, and when it was appointed he took a leading part in the investigation and gave important evidence. When Lord Palmerston formed his first Administration in 1855 he was again offered a post; but as it was unconnected with the foreign policy of the country he declined it. Becoming one of the leaders of the Administrative Reform Association, Layard brought before the House of Commons in June, 1855, a motion embodying their views, but it was rejected by a large majority.

Losing his seat for Aylesbury at the elections of 1857, Layard visited India, where he spent some time in 1857-8 investigating the causes which led to

the terrible mutiny. After his return to England in 1859 he unsuccessfully contested York, but he was returned for Southwark in 1860, and in the following year he took office under Lord Palmerston in his old post of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. This appointment he held until the fall of the Russell-Gladstone Administration in 1866. His last ministerial appointment was that of Chief Commissioner of Works in Mr. Gladstone's Government formed in December, 1868, and at this time he was added to the Privy Council. He retired from parliamentary and official life in 1869, when he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid. His views on the Eastern question having commended him to Lord Beaconsfield, in April, 1877, he was sent as Ambassador to Constantinople, in succession to Sir Henry Elliot. In this capacity he negotiated the treaty for the British occupation of Cyprus; and his active assertion of the Premier's Imperial policy procured him the Grand Cross of the Bath. The accession to power of the Liberal party in 1880 involved his retirement from the Embassy. His markedly philo-Turkish sympathies during and after the Russo-Turkish War had excited hostile comments in many quarters.

In 1848 Layard received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford, and in 1855 he was elected Lord Rector of the University of Aber-

deen. He was appointed a trustee of the National Gallery in February, 1866. He was a considerable authority on Italian art, in regard to which he always professed himself a devoted follower of the late Signor Morelli. He re-wrote Kügler's well-known "Handbook," introducing Morelli's judgments very largely; and he edited, with a strongly controversial preface, Miss Ffoulkes's translation of Morelli's "Italian Painters." As a trustee of the National Gallery he did long and zealous service. He formed, moreover, in his house in Venice, the Ca Capello, a beautiful collection of North Italian pictures. In 1887, returning to the work which had made him famous, he published his "Early Adventures in Persia, Babylonia, and Susiana." As an ambassador, he showed himself wanting in some of the qualities required by a diplomatist of the first order, and he failed in his scheme of reinvigorating the Turkish Empire by a close and cordial alliance with England. But he was a man of determined courage and perseverance, and he has left a name deservedly high on the list of the archaeological investigators and discoverers. Sir Henry Layard married in 1869 Mary Enid Evelyn, daughter of Sir John Guest, first baronet, and died on July 5 at his London residence in Queen Ann Street, bequeathing to the National Gallery his choice collection of pictures.

On the 3rd, aged 92, **Madame Boulanger**, mother of General Boulanger, Mary Anne Webb Griffiths, daughter of a brewer and Town Councillor of Brighton, who was murdered whilst returning home. Married, 1829, Henri Boulanger, Notary of Rennes, Brittany. On the 5th, at Melton Mowbray, aged 89, **Lady Grant**, Isabella Elizabeth, fifth daughter of Richard Norman. Married (second wife), 1829, Sir Francis Grant, President of the Royal Academy, fourth son of John Grant, of Kilgraston, Perthshire. On the 7th, at West Eaton Place, S.W., aged 70, **Sir Henry Ainslie Hoare**, of Stourhead, Wilts, fifth baronet, son of Henry Charles Hoare, of Wavendon House, Bucks. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Sat as a Liberal for Windsor, 1865-6, when he was unseated on petition, and for Chelsea, 1868-74. Married, 1845, Augusta Frances, daughter of Sir George Clayton East, Bart. On the 7th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 82, **Rev. Edward Hcare**, a leader of the Evangelical party, son of Edward Hoare, who had married a sister of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; fifth wrangler 1834. Incumbent of St. John's, Holloway, 1846-7; Vicar of Ramsgate, 1847-53, when he became Vicar of Holy Trinity, Tunbridge Wells; Hon. Canon, 1868. Married, 1839, Mary Eliza, daughter of Sir Benjamin Brodie, M.D., first baronet. On the 7th, at West Malling, aged 84, **William John Little, M.D.**, founder of the London Orthopædic Hospital. M.R.C.S., 1832; M.R.C.P., London, 1837; M.D., Berlin, 1837; F.R.C.P., 1877. A distinguished specialist on the deformities and diseases of children. On the 10th, at Tiltstone House, Tarporley, aged 88, **Sir Gilbert Greenall**, first baronet, son of Edward Greenall, of Wilderspool, Cheshire. Head of a large brewing firm; sat as a Conservative for Warrington, 1847-65, 1874-80, and 1884-92. Married, first, 1836, Mary, daughter of David Claughton, of Haydock; and second, 1864, Susannah, daughter of John Louis Rapp. On the 10th, at Herne Bay, aged 64, **David Nasmith, Q.C., LL.D.**, author of "The Institutes of English Law"; "Matters of



Modern Thought," etc. On the 11th, at Audley Square, W., aged 76, **Dowager Lady Forester**, Alexandrina Lelia, daughter of Count von Maltzan. Married, first, 1841, Frederick James Lamb, first Baron Beauvale, and afterwards third and last Viscount Melbourne; and second, 1856, John George, second Baron Forester. On the 12th, at Bishop's Teignton, Devon, aged 83, **Nicholas Blundell**, of Crosby Hall, Lancashire, eldest son of William Blundell. Educated at Stonyhurst. Colonel, Duke of Lancaster's Own Rifles. Married, 1847, Agnes Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Smythe, Bart. On the 14th, at sea, aged 71, **Prince Henry of Bourbon**, Duke of Seville, third son of Francis, Duke of Cadiz, Vice-Admiral of the Spanish Navy. Married, 1847, Helena de Castelli y Shelly Fernandez de Cordova. On the 16th, at Perchtoldsdorf, near Vienna, aged 84, **Professor Joseph Hyrtl**, an eminent anatomist. For many years Professor at the University; founded two orphan asylums at Modling, and was distinguished alike for his learning and benevolence. On the 17th, at Paris, aged 75, **Lecote de Liale**, a famous poet, and a member of the French Academy. Born at La Réunion; educated at the University of Rennes; published his first volume, "Poesies Classiques," 1849; succeeded to the *fauteuil* of Victor Hugo, 1884. On the 19th, at Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A., aged 81, **George Rex Graham**. Born at Philadelphia; began life as a cabinetmaker; in 1839, passed all his legal examinations, and admitted to the Bar; became editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, of Philadelphia; in 1839, founded *Graham's Magazine*, to which the leading writers of the day contributed; and in 1846, became editor and proprietor of the *North American and United States Gazette*, which he controlled up to his death. On the 19th, at Biarritz, aged 80, **Admiral Edward Phillips Charlewood**, youngest son of Rev. C. B. Charlewood, of Oakhill, Staffordshire. Entered the Navy, 1829; served in Colonel Chesney's *Euphrates* Expedition, 1834, and through the Syrian Campaign, 1839. On the 20th, at Mildenhall, aged 72, **Lady Bunbury**, Frances Joanna, daughter of Leonard Horner, F.R.S. Married, 1844, Sir Charles James Fox Bunbury, Bart., of Stanney Hall, Cheshire. On the 21st, at Holland Road, Kensington, aged 62, **Rear-Admiral John William Pike**. Entered the Royal Navy, 1842; served in the Baltic and Black Sea, 1853-6; West Coast of Africa, 1856-9; and Pacific, 1862-5. Married, 1865, Jane Roberts, daughter of John Brown, of Copenhagen. On the 22nd, at Belgrave Square, aged 71, the **Marquess of Headfort, K.P., P.C.**, Sir Thomas Taylour, third Marquess, eldest son of Thomas, second Marquess of Headfort. Lord-Lieutenant, Co. Meath, 1864; sat as Earl of Bective for Westmoreland, 1854-70, as a Conservative. Married, first, 1842, Amelia, daughter of Alderman William Thompson, M.P., of Underley Hall, Westmoreland; and second, 1876, Emily Constantia, daughter of Rev. Lord John Thynne, and widow of Captain Eustace J. Wilson-Patten. On the 22nd, at Kingstown, Dublin, aged 60, **Colonel George Murray**, of Indian Staff Corps. Served in Chinese war, 1860, and at the capture of Peking. On the 22nd, at Carlsbad, aged 20, **Viscountess Baring**, Ethel, daughter of Colonel Davidson, C.B. Married, 26th June, Viscount Baring, eldest son of the Earl of Northbrook. On the 22nd, at San Francisco, aged 66, **Frederick F. Low**. Born at Frankfort, Maine; entered a merchant's office at Boston; ran away to San Francisco, 1849, and after three years at the goldfields, started in business at San Francisco; established a bank at St. Marysville, 1873, and realised a large fortune; elected member of Congress, 1860; Governor of California, 1863-7; appointed United States Minister to China, 1869-74; negotiated a treaty with Corea for the protection of American subjects, 1871. On the 25th, at Eton College, aged 66, **Rev. Edward Hale, M.A.** Educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; B.A. 1850; Assistant Mathematical Master at Eton, 1850; and subsequently Science Master. On the 25th, at Ernst Brunn, Lower Austria, aged 73, **Prince Henry IV.**, of Reuss-Köstritz, second son of Prince Henry LXIII. Married, 1850, Louisa Carolina, daughter of the reigning Prince Henry XIX., of Reuss-Greig, and widow of Prince Edward, of Saxe-Altenburg. On the 25th, at Drum Castle, N.B., aged 39, **Francis Hugh Irvine**, son of Alexander Forbes Irvine, of Drum Castle, Aberdeenshire. Educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford; B.A., 1876; called to the Bar, 1880, but devoted himself to journalism, and became a member of the parliamentary staff of the *Times*; unsuccessfully contested West Aberdeenshire as a Conservative, 1885 and 1886. Married, 1880, Mary Agnes, daughter of Colonel John Ramsay, of Barra, Aberdeenshire. On the 26th, at Vizagapatam, E.I., aged 34, **Miss Annie Wardlaw Jagannadham, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.**, the first Indian lady who obtained a registered British Diploma. Studied at Madras, and afterwards at the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women, 1888-90, obtaining the triple qualification; House Physician at the Edinburgh Hospital for Women, 1891;

and at the Kana Hospital, 1891-3. On the 28th, at Philadelphia, aged 86, **General Augustus James Plessanton**. Born at Washington; entered U.S. Army, 1826; resigned, 1832, to practise law at Philadelphia; severely wounded during the Labour Riots, 1844, when leading the troops against the mob. As Brigadier General of the State Militia, had the control of the State defence during the Civil War. In 1861 he began a series of experiments on the action of different coloured rays of sunlight on vegetable life, and subsequently started "the blue glass craze," which lasted till 1878. On the 28th, at South Park, Penshurst, aged 72, **Viscount Hardinge**. Charles Stewart Hardinge, second Viscount, was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1844; third-class classics; Captain, West Kent Yeomanry, 1848-53; Major, 1853-9; Lieutenant-Colonel, West Kent Volunteers, 1860; sat as a Conservative, 1851-6; Under-Secretary of War Department, 1858-9. Married, 1856, Lady Lavinia, third daughter of the third Earl of Lucan. On the 29th, at Baden, near Vienna, aged 67, **Archduke William**, fourth son of Archduke Charles, nephew of Francis I., Emperor of Austria. Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, F.Z.M.; Inspector-General of Artillery, and chief of a Prussian regiment and Russian Brigade of Artillery. On the 29th, at Clarges Street, W., aged 47, **Sir George Rendlesham Prescott**, fourth baronet. Educated at Eton; joined 2nd Life Guards, 1864. Married, 1872, Louisa Franklin, daughter of Lionel Lawson, of Brook Street. High-Sheriff for Sussex, 1883. On the 30th, at Oxford, aged 54, **Walter Horatio Pater, M.A.**, a distinguished man of letters. Born in London; educated at King's School, Canterbury, and Queen's College, Oxford; B.A., 1862; second-class classics; Fellow of Brasenose, 1865; author of "A Study of Coleridge," 1866; "The Renaissance," 1873; "Marion the Epicurean," 1885; "Imaginary Portraits," 1887; "Plato and Platonism," 1893; and several other articles and essays on art subjects.

## AUGUST.

**The Earl of Albemarle.**—The Right Hon. William Coutts Keppel, seventh Earl of Albemarle, was born in 1832 and educated at Eton. He entered the Scots Guards in 1849 and went to India as Aide-de-camp to Lord Frederick Fitzclarence. In 1850 he resigned his commission and was Private Secretary to Lord John Russell, 1850-3, when he was appointed Civil Secretary and Superintendent-General of Indian affairs for Canada, an office which he held until 1855. As Viscount Bury he entered Parliament on the Liberal side as member for Norwich in 1857, and in 1859 Lord Palmerston appointed him to be Treasurer of the Royal Household, and made him a Privy Councillor. His re-election on taking office was declared void, but he was returned in the following year to represent Wick, which he continued to do until 1865. In 1868 he became member for Berwick-on-Tweed. He was defeated there, however, in 1874, and also at Stroud in 1875, but in the next year he was called to the House of Lords in his father's barony as Baron Ashford. From 1878 until 1880, and in 1885-6, he held the post of Under-Secretary for War in Conservative Administrations. He succeeded his father, who was almost the last survivor of the battle of Waterloo, in 1891. As Lord Bury he took an active part in promoting the Volunteer movement

and held various commands in that service, being for many years Colonel Commanding the Civil Service Volunteers, besides being a Volunteer Aide-de-camp to the Queen. He took a great interest in the problems of electricity, and was chairman of the General Power and Electric Traction Company, Limited. In 1855 he married Sophia, daughter of Sir Allan Napier Macnab, first baronet, and in 1879 he formally joined the Church of Rome, and he died at Quidenham Park, Norfolk, on August 28, from a stroke of paralysis.

**Sir John Cowell.**—Major-General Sir John Clayton Cowell, P.C., K.C.B., Master of the Queen's Household, son of Mr. John Clayton Cowell, was born in 1832, was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and joined the Royal Engineers in 1850. He served with the Baltic fleet four years later and in the Crimea, acting as Aide-de-camp to General Sir Harry Jones at Sebastopol. He then returned to England and as Major Cowell acted for nine years—from 1856 until 1865—as Governor to the Duke of Edinburgh, and afterwards for a year in the same relation to Prince Leopold. It was in 1866 that he was appointed to the post of Master of her Majesty's Household. He retired from the Army in 1879 with the honorary rank of Major-General. In the jubilee year he was made a

Privy Councillor in recognition of his services to the Queen, and in 1892 he was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor of Windsor Castle. He married, in 1868, the only daughter and heiress

of Mr. James Pulleine, of Clifton Castle and Crake-hall, Yorkshire. He died quite suddenly at his house at East Cowes, Isle of Wight, on August 29, from failure of the heart's action.

On the 1st, at Broughton Hall, Skipwater, aged 60, **Sir Charles Henry Tempest**, first baronet, eldest son of Mr. Henry Tempest. Educated at Stonyhurst; created a baronet, 1866. Married, first, 1862, Cecilia, daughter of J. H. Washington Hibbert, of Bilton Grange, Warwick; and second, 1874, Harriette, daughter of Captain Rowland Hill Gordon. On the 1st, at Leeds, aged 70, **William Bruce**, Stipendiary Magistrate for Leeds. On the 3rd, at Bridge of Allan, N.B., aged 69, **George Inness**, a landscape painter. Born at Newburg, New York; studied under Regis Gignoux, of New York, and began landscape painting, and afterwards visited Europe, where he spent several years. On his return, he settled near Boston, and was elected National Academician, 1868. On the 3rd, at Château d'Oex, Switzerland, aged 80, **Charles Arthur Rodl**, an Austrian by birth, but naturalised as a British subject, and for some years Rector of the Royal College, Mauritius. The original inventor in 1853 of the dual system of signalling adopted by the Army and Navy. On the 3rd, at Queen Anne's Mansions, Westminster, aged 69, **Thomas Collett Sandars**, eldest son of Samuel Sandars, of Lochness, Herts. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; first class, *Literaræ Humaniores*, 1847; Fellow of Oriel, 1847; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1851; Professor of Constitutional Law in the Inns of Court, 1861-73; a contributor to the *Saturday Review* from its foundation; editor and annotator of *The Institutes of Justinian*; was sent to Egypt on behalf of the bondholders, 1877 and 1880, to arrange the Dairah Sanich debt; Chairman of the Mexican Railway Company. On the 7th, at Edinburgh, aged 69, **Francis Henry Underwood, LL.D.**, U.S. Consul. Born at Enfield, Mass., U.S.A.; educated at Amherst College; taught school for some years in Kentucky; admitted to the Bar, 1850, and identified himself with the anti-slavery cause; appointed Clerk of the Massachusetts Senate, 1852, and became literary adviser to the publishing firm of Phillips, Sampson & Co., and started the *Atlantic Monthly*; Clerk of the Superior Court, Boston, 1859-70; U.S. Consul at Glasgow, 1885-93, when he was transferred to Edinburgh; author of biographies of Longfellow and Lowell, and numerous other works and periodical writings. On the 8th, at Paris, aged 72, **Auguste Cain**, a distinguished sculptor of animals. Born at Paris; the son of one of Napoleon's soldiers; apprenticed at the age of ten years to a decorator. He entered Rude's studio at sixteen, and afterwards became a pupil of Barye. Professor of Drawing at the Jardin des Plantes. He began his career by designing small bronze ornaments. Obtained a third-class medal, 1851; second-class, 1864, from which date his success abounded; executed, amongst other works, the equestrian statue of the Duke of Brunswick at Geneva; the lions at the Hotel de Ville, Paris; and the dogs at Chantilly. Married, 1852, the daughter of F. Mène, a popular artist of animals. On the 8th, at Aberdeen, aged 60, **Peter Essalemont**. Born at Udney, Aberdeenshire; educated at Belhelvie Parish School; worked first on his father's farm, and then went to Aberdeen, where he ultimately established a house of business; Lord Provost of Aberdeen, 1880-3; sat as a Liberal for East Aberdeenshire, 1885-92, when he was appointed Chairman of the Scottish Fishery Board. Married, first, 1857, Georgiana, daughter of G. Birnie, of Strichen, N.B.; and second, 1876, Mary Ann, daughter of Rev. W. B. Sherwood, of Danbury, U.S.A. On the 9th, at Berwick-on-Tweed, aged 89, **Lord Denman**, Thomas Aitchison-Denman, second baron, eldest son of Lord Chief Justice Denman. Educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1833; Associate of Court of Common Pleas, 1832-50. Married, first, 1829, Georgiana, daughter of Rev. Thomas Roe; and second, 1871, Marion, daughter of James Aitchison, of Alderston, N.B., whose name he assumed. On the 9th, at Berwick-on-Tweed, aged 68, **James Allan**, son of William Allan, of Eyemouth, N.B. Twice Sheriff and four times Mayor of Berwick-on-Tweed; Major commanding 1st Berwick-on-Tweed Artillery. On the 9th, at Brighton, aged 80, **Lady Pigott**, Frances, daughter of Thomas Drake, of Ashday Hall, Yorkshire. Married, 1836, Sir Gillery Pigott, Baron of the Exchequer. On the 10th, at Ardington Manor, Berks, aged 91, **Mrs. James Lindsay**, of Balcarres, Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Coutts Trotter and Anne, Countess of Dumfries and Stair. Married, 1823, Captain James Lindsay, who served in the Walcheren Expedition and the Peninsula. M.P. for

Wigan, 1825-31. On the 10th, at Chichester, aged 80, **Lieutenant-General Gustavus Nigel Kingscote Anker Yonge**. Educated at Eton. Served with the Queen's Royals throughout Lord Keane's campaign, 1840; and severely wounded at the storming of Ghuznee; served also in the Mahratta Campaign, 1844-5. On the 10th, at Westminster, aged 81, **Charles Liddell**, son of Rev. H. G. Liddell, Rector of Easington, Durham. A pupil of George Stephenson, and a colleague of Robert Stephenson in the construction of many important railways. Subsequently an Engineer-in-Chief of the Newport and Abergavenny Railway; he completed the Taff Vale system; the extension of the Metropolitan Railway to Aylesbury, and the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincoln to Nottingham. Abroad, he constructed the Danube and Black Sea, and the Novara and Lake Orta Railways; and as a partner in the firm of Newall & Co., laid a cable between Varna and Balacava during the Crimean War, and several other submarine lines. On the 11th, at Simla, aged 46, **Lieutenant-Colonel Cecil Francis Johnstone Douglas**, youngest son of R. Johnstone Douglas, of Lockerbie. Entered the Army, 1868; was Brigade-Major, Khyber Field Force, 1879; with 15th Hussars in Afghanistan, 1880; and in the Boer War, 1881. On the 11th, at Ditton Park, Slough, aged 81, **Rev. Lord Charles Thynne**, seventh son of second Marquess of Bath, K.G. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; ordained, 1836; Vicar of Longridge and Kingston Deverill, Wilts, 1840-52; Canon of Canterbury, 1851-2; joined the Church of Rome, 1852. Married, 1837, Harriet Frances, daughter of Right Rev. Richard Bagot, Bishop of Bath and Wells. On the 15th, at Geneva, aged 76, **Hon. Louis Hope**, seventh son of the third Earl of Hopetoun. Entered Coldstream Guards, 1836. Married, 1854, at Sydney, N.S.W., Susan Frances, daughter of William J. Dumarec, Royal Staff Corps. On the 16th, at South Audley Street, W., aged 62, **Lady Frances Anne Baillie**, sixth daughter of the seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, the giver of the Elgin Marbles. Married, 1855, Evan P. Montagu Baillie, of Dochfour, N.B. Was Lady-in-Waiting to H.R.H. the Duchess of Edinburgh. On the 16th, at Kingston, Jamaica, aged 51, **Sir Adam Gib Ellis**, Chief-Justice of Jamaica, son of Robert Ellis, W.S. Born and educated at Edinburgh; admitted Advocate, 1866; appointed Substitute Procureur and Advocate-General, Mauritius, 1871; Puisne Judge, Supreme Court, 1875; Procureur and Advocate-General, 1877; Chief Judge of Supreme Court, 1879-83, when he was transferred to Jamaica. Married, first, 1871, Sarah Barnett, daughter of Robert Harvey, of Paixton, Glasgow; and second, 1878, Alice Margaret, daughter of Major-General F. Rawdon Chesney, R.E. On the 17th, at Wiston Park, Steyning, aged 50, **Captain Alan Brodrick Thomas, B.N., C.B.**, son of Freeman Thomas, of Rotton, Sussex. Entered Royal Navy, 1844; served at the Bombardment of Alexandria, in command of H.M.S. *Alexandria*. Married, 1885, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Power, of Melbourne, Victoria. On the 18th, at Braemar, aged 56, **Major-General Henry Le Poer Trench, C.M.G.** Educated at Addiscombe; entered the Indian Army, 1840; served under General Pollock in the Afghan War, 1842; and was present at the forcing of the Khyber Pass and taking of Cabul; also through the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, at the siege of Delhi, and under General Showers. Married, 1873, Mary, daughter of Captain Charles B. Mulville, 3rd Dragoon Guards. On the 19th, at Boston, Mass., U.S.A., aged 60, **John Quincey Adams**, eldest son of Charles Francis Adams, U.S. Minister at St. James's. Born at Boston; graduated at Harvard University; admitted to the Bar, 1855; served during the Civil War on the staff of Governor Anderson; elected to the State Legislature, 1866-70; stood as Democratic candidate for post of Governor, 1867 and 1871, but defeated. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather had been Ministers to England, and the two latter Presidents of the United States. On the 21st, at Toronto, Canada, aged 76, **Sir James Lukin Robinson**, second baronet, son of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1843. Married, 1845, Elizabeth, daughter of John Arnold, of Halstead, Kent. On the 21st, at Hounslow, aged 54, **Colonel George Brooke Meares**. Ensign, 7th Royal Fusiliers, 1859; served through the North-West Frontier War in India, 1863; appointed Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall, 1893. On the 22nd, at Charlton Hill, Shrewsbury, aged 69, **Admiral Robert Jenkins, C.B.** Entered the Royal Navy, 1838; saw service during the operations on the Coast of Syria, 1840; in the China War, 1842; and Kaffir War, 1851; commanded the Talbot Arctic Expedition, 1854; was engaged in suppressing piracy in China, 1855-6; and in the China War, 1857-8; and the New Zealand War, 1863-4. Married, 1860, Maria Catherine, daughter of Rev. Robert Horsby, of Lythwood Hall, Salop. On

the 23rd, at Vienna, aged 71, **Baron Jaromer Mundy**, founder of the *Retromagengesellschaft* (Field Ambulance Society). Born at Eichhorn, Moravia; entered the Austrian Army, but in 1855 left it to study Medicine at Würzburg; was Chief of Servian Medical Staff during the Servo-Turkish War; and acted as Hospital Surgeon-in-Chief in the Russo-Turkish during the cholera epidemic; was decorated by M. Thiers for conspicuous bravery during the Commune of Paris, 1871. He shot himself, fearing he was suffering from an incurable malady. On the 24th, at Lisbon, aged 49, **Senhor Oliveira-Martins**, an eminent Portuguese historian and author. Represented Oporto in the Cortes for some years; as Minister of Finance, 1892, presented a report on the sad state of the finances of the country. On the 25th, at Laurence, Kansas, U.S.A., aged 76, **Charles Robinson**. Born in Massachusetts and educated for the medical profession; gave up his practice, 1849, and went to California, where he edited a paper at Sacramento, and was seriously wounded in a miners' riot, 1850; indicted for conspiracy and murder; he was elected to the Legislature; returned, 1852, to Massachusetts and next settled in Kansas, 1853, where he placed himself at the head of the Free State movement and was persecuted by the slave-holders; elected first Governor of Kansas, 1855, and again in 1858-9. When the Civil War broke out Governor Robinson was most active in its support; sat in both Houses of the State Legislature as a Republican, but in 1886 joined the Democrats. On the 26th, at Waikato, New Zealand, aged 67, **Tawhiao**, the second Maori King of New Zealand. Succeeded his father, 1860, and for fifteen years maintained an attitude of hostility towards the New Zealand Government. In 1881 he gave in his submission and in 1884 undertook a visit to England, but without obtaining the intervention of the British Government. In 1892 he surrendered all his pretensions and accepted a pension of 225*l.* per annum from the New Zealand Government. On the 27th, at Edinburgh, aged 71, **Right Rev. Henry Bond Bowlby, D.D.**, Rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham, and Bishop Suffragan of Coventry, son of Captain Peter Bowlby, 4th Foot. Educated at Durham Cathedral School and Wadham College, Oxford; B.A., 1844; Fellow of Wadham, 1848; Incumbent of Oldbury, Worcestershire, 1850-68; Vicar of Dartford, 1868-74; Rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham, 1875; Bishop Suffragan, 1891. Married, 1852, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Salmon of South Shields. On the 28th, at Towyn, N. Wales, aged 70, **Major-General James Thomas Norgate** of the Bengal Staff Corps; served in the Punjab during the Mutiny. On the 29th, at Bedford, aged 75, **General James Bardley Gastrell**. Educated at Addiscombe; entered the Army, 1835, and was appointed to the Bengal Staff Corps; served in the Jey-pore Campaign, 1838, Bundelkhand, 1842-3, throughout the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9, and in the Southall Campaign, 1855. Superintendent of the Revenue Survey and Deputy Surveyor-General of India. Married, 1845, Catherine, daughter of J. S. Sullivan. On the 30th, at St. Asaph, aged 58, **Major-General Charles William Campbell**, eldest son of C. W. Campbell of Borland. Educated at Addiscombe; joined 2nd Bengal Cavalry; served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny and twice wounded, 1856-8; served with Fane's Horse in the China Campaign, 1860, and in the Egyptian War, 1882. Married, 1838, Gwynedd, daughter of Wm. E. Brinckman. On the 30th, at Edinburgh, aged 71, **Sir William Forrest**, third baronet, fifth son of Sir James Forrest, Lord Provost of Edinburgh. Educated at Glasgow University; served in 79th Foot; Lieutenant-Colonel, Renfrew Militia. Married, 1892, Margaret Anne, daughter of William Dalziel and widow of Charles Delacour.

## SEPTEMBER.

**General N. P. Banks.** — Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was born in the New England town of Waltham, Mass., in 1816. The limited means of his parents forced him when a mere boy to take work in cotton mills of his native village. He devoted every spare hour to study, and soon developed talent as a speaker. His lectures attracted such wide notice that he was persuaded to drop his manual labour and assume the editorship of the local newspaper. His political work came to the notice

of President Polk, and the young editor was placed in easier financial circumstances by an appointment in the Boston Custom House. About this time he was admitted to the Bar of Massachusetts. In 1849 he was elected to the State Legislature, and in 1851 was chosen Speaker. In the year 1852 his career as a national politician opened with his election to Congress by the Democrats. Before the end of his term, however, he withdrew from that party, and his re-election in 1854

was the work of the Republicans and the celebrated "Know-nothing" or American party. One year later a memorable struggle took place for the Speakership of the National House of Representatives. It lasted two months, and it was not until the 133rd ballot that Mr. Banks was chosen Speaker by a small majority. He was again elected to Congress in 1856, and in 1857, as candidate of the Republican and "Know-nothing" parties, he was elected Governor of the State of Massachusetts, being re-elected in 1858 and 1859. In 1860 he withdrew from politics to take the post of President of the Illinois Central Railway, but when active hostilities between North and South began he was commissioned Major-General, and given the command of the 5th corps of the Army of the Potomac. Some of his troops fought with success at Winchester, but he was attacked by the Confederates under General T. J. Jackson at Strasburg and forced to beat a hasty retreat to the Potomac. In September, 1862, he was placed in command of the defence of the city of Washington. In December he succeeded General Butler as commander of the department of the Gulf, with headquarters at New Orleans. An unsuccessful expedition up the Red River led, however, to his being relieved of his command. Returning to his native State of Massachusetts he was at once (1864) elected to Congress, being re-elected in 1866, 1868, and 1870. During his last years in Congress he took an active part in debate, and, as Chairman of Committee on Foreign Relations, had a decided influence in shaping much important legislation of the period. When Horace Greeley was nominated for the Presidency in 1872 he was one of his most enthusiastic supporters. From 1879 to 1888 he was Marshal of the Massachusetts district. He shortly afterwards withdrew from political life and died on September 1 at New York, where he had been living in quiet retirement.

**Admiral Sir Edward Inglefield.**—Edward Augustus Inglefield, the son of Admiral Samuel Hood Inglefield, was born at Cheltenham in 1820, and was educated at the Royal Naval College, Portsmouth. Entering the Navy as a first-class volunteer on board H.M.S. *Etna* in 1832, he served as signal mate at the bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre, and afterwards led a storming party at the capture of Sidon. In 1840, when Sub-Lieutenant, he took part in the operations on the coast

of Syria, and was present at the capture of Beyrout. In 1842, on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Scotland in the yacht *Royal George*, he was invested with the rank of Lieutenant, and afterwards assisted his father in surveying in China and on the coast of Borneo. He was serving on board the *Samarang* when she sank off Sarawak, and at that period of his career took part in many engagements with pirates off the coast of South America. He had charge, as acting commander, of H.M.S. *Comus* at the battle of Parana, when the combined English and French fleets destroyed four of General Rosas's heavy batteries at Punta Obligado, and his conduct on that occasion led to the confirmation of his rank as Commander by commission, dated November 18, 1845. After other services in Parana, he was appointed to the command of the yacht *Isabel* in a private expedition which was sent in search of Sir John Franklin to Smith's and Jones's Sound. Although it failed in its main object, his plucky mission on that occasion enabled him to record the discovery of an open polar sea and a coastline 800 miles in length. For this service he received the thanks of the Admiralty, the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, the large silver medal of Paris, and a much-treasured diamond snuff-box from the Emperor of the French. He was at the same time elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and a member of the Royal Geographical Society. Commander Inglefield's first arctic experience brought him a second like command in 1853, when he went out by order of the Admiralty with three ships, specially despatched to the relief of Sir Edward Belcher's expedition. One of the three vessels was crushed in the ice and foundered, but he was able to bring home an officer bearing the news of the discovery of the North-West passage. On his return to England, Commander Inglefield again received the thanks of the Admiralty, and was promoted to the rank of Captain. In the following year he received the command of another expedition, consisting of the *Phoenix*, the *Talbot*, and a transport with stores, sent out to afford further relief to Sir Edward Belcher, and this time he brought back the officers and crews of five ships which were abandoned in the ice. For these services he was awarded the Arctic Medal. Captain Inglefield was next engaged in the Crimea, and commanded the *Firebrand*

at the fall of Sebastopol. He subsequently superintended the landing of the troops at Kinburn, and commanded H.M.S. *Sidon* in the bombardment of the Black Sea forts and in the blockading of Odessa. In 1866-7 he served as Captain of the *Prince Consort*, and in May, 1869, attained flag rank, being appointed second in command of the Channel Fleet. After serving as Naval Attaché at Washington, he was appointed Admiral Superintendent of Malta Dockyard, and second in command of the Mediterranean Squadron, a post which he held from 1872 to 1876, being in the interval raised to the rank of Vice-Admiral. In April, 1878, Sir Edward was gazetted Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indian Station, and in November of the following year was promoted to be full Admiral. He served as Admiral for over five years, and was a member of several committees appointed by the Admiralty. Sir Edward Inglefield bequeathed to naval engineering the hydraulic steering apparatus fitted in the *Achilles* and the *Minotaur*, the screw-turning engine of the *Monarch*, and the anchor bearing his name, which was supplied to the *Dreadnought*, *Sans Pareil*, *Renown*, *Inflexible*, and other ships. Besides the book recounting his arctic researches, he was the author of pamphlets on "Maritime Warfare," "Naval Tactics," and "Terrestrial Magnetism." He married, first, in 1857, Eliza Fanny, daughter of Mr. Edward Johnston, of Allerton Hall, Liverpool; and second, in 1893, Beatrice Marianne, daughter of Colonel Hodnett, late commanding the Dorset Regiment. He retired from the Navy with six medals in March, 1885, and died at his residence in Queen's Gate, on September 5, aged 74 years.

**Comte de Paris.**—Louis Albert Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris, eldest son of the Duc d'Orléans and Hélène, daughter of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, was born at the Tuileries on August 24, 1838, and was baptised with great pomp at Notre Dame on May 2, 1841. His father, the eldest son of King Louis Philippe, was killed by jumping from his carriage, of which the horses had become unmanageable, on July 13, 1842, and the child of four years became heir to the French throne, and the more liberal adherents to the Orleans dynasty found their hopes likely to be baffled by the prospect of a Regency in the hands of the Duc de Nemours. The widowed Duchess,

however, held herself aloof from family and party intrigues, presumably in consequence of her knowledge of her husband's wishes, as expressed in his will, dated April 9, 1840, in which he admonished her to countenance no attempt to set up her claims in opposition to his brothers. She quietly devoted herself to the education of her children, and in 1843 Adolphe Regnier, a distinguished scholar, ultimately Professor of Sanscrit at the Collège de France, became tutor to the young Count, and remained in that post through good and ill fortune till the end of 1851, when his pupil took up the study of mathematics under M. Baudoin. His father's plan of having him sent to a public college, and to pass at least the entrance examination at the École Polytechnique, was frustrated by political events.

On February 24, 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, and when the Duchesse d'Orléans asked him before he quitted the Tuileries for directions, he replied: "It is no longer for me to give directions; the Duc de Nemours is Regent, you must apply to him." Dupin induced the Duchess to accompany him with her two boys to the Chamber of Deputies, on the representation that Odilon Barrot, who was expected to form a Ministry, wished for her presence. The particulars of that tragic scene are differently related by eye-witnesses. The Regency Law was a legal obstacle to the proclamation of the Duchess as Regent, though Nemours, who could not have been accepted, was ready to waive his claims. On this plea a provisional government was proposed by Crémieux, and, according to Lamartine, the nine-year-old King *de jure* innocently clapped his hands at the very speech which tended to dethrone him. What is certain is that the Duchess with her sons bravely remained in the Chamber till the invasion of the mob rendered retreat imperative. Whether or not she attempted to speak and her voice was drowned in the uproar, or whether she was dissuaded from speaking, a discredited Chamber of placemen could not have saved the monarchy. In a dark lobby of the Palais Bourbon the Duchess and her children were separated. The Comte de Paris was seized by a huge, powerful workman, who hugged him tightly and was pretending to be about to strangle him, when a National Guard rescued the child and took him to his mother. Meanwhile poor little Chartres was knocked down and trampled upon, but was happily picked up and taken out

of harm's way. The Duchess and her elder son took refuge at the Invalides, but that building too was threatened with attack, and the governor could not vouch for the fidelity of his soldiers. The Duchess, with her children, had therefore to go to Bligny, the mansion of the Comtesse de Montesquiou, and on the night of the 26th, all hope for the monarchy being at an end, she started for Belgium.

The fugitives first stopped at Ems and then went on to Eisenach, where the Duchess's uncle, the Grand Duke of Weimar, placed at her disposal a château at the foot of the famous Wartburg. Her apartments at the Tuileries had been respected by the mob, and her furniture and dresses were restored to her. In the summer of 1849 she went to England, and the Comte de Paris was confirmed by Cardinal Wiseman at the French Church, Portman Square, in the presence of the whole Orleans family and of many faithful adherents. In 1852 the Duchess took her children to Switzerland, where she was thrown from her carriage and fractured her shoulder. On her recovery she settled for a time in Devonshire.

In the winter of 1853, when Louis Philippe had been dead three years, there was an idea of a fusion with the Legitimists. The Royalist forces, it was thought, should unite, and the Comte de Paris should acknowledge the Comte de Chambord, whose heir he would thus become. The Duchess was strongly opposed to this, and the scheme, which caused a temporary coolness in the royal family, was set aside. After visits with her children to Scotland, Italy, and repeatedly to Germany, the Duchess died at Richmond in 1858, desiring in her will to be eventually buried by her husband's side at Dreux, a wish not to be realised till 1876. The Comte de Paris and his brother were on the point of making a European tour, and their mother had looked forward with anxiety to a separation which death thus precipitated. In 1860 they visited the East, and the Comte de Paris published an account of the tour. The American Civil War in 1861 promised them the opportunity of gaining that knowledge of arms which they could not obtain in France, and which political considerations prevented their seeking elsewhere on the Continent. They accordingly, accompanied by their uncle, Prince de Joinville, joined the staff of General McClellan and witnessed the siege of Yorktown, and the engagements at Williamsburg, Fair-

oaks, and Gaines Mill. Napoleon III., however, took umbrage at the reception of a Pretender into the Federal Army. Bent on his Mexican scheme, he was but too inclined to recognise the South, being only held back by England's refusal to join him, and the American Government, though flattered by the Princes' services, could not safely afford to irritate the Emperor. They had therefore in the summer of 1862 to return to England.

The Emperor even prohibited the signature of an Orleans Prince in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, so that, when the Comte de Paris, after studying the cotton famine in Lancashire, wrote an account of his observations, it had to be ostensibly fathered by M. Forcade. Articles on German unity and Irish Church Disestablishment had to be similarly disguised. Even in recent years, when his signature would have been not merely permissible but welcome, he is believed to have contributed anonymously or under an *alias* articles on delicate international questions. He interested himself in English trade unions and co-operative associations. He attended a co-operative congress in London about 1867 and delivered a short speech, of course in English. The Count published in 1869 an account of English trade unions, which attracted much notice in France, and was translated into English, German, and Spanish. He was far, however, from forcing himself on public attention, and evidently used his pen, not to get talked about, but from real interest in the subjects which he handled.

On the breaking out of the war of 1870, the Orleans Princes petitioned to be allowed to serve in the French Army, but on August 11 the petition was rejected by the Corps Législatif. The Duc de Chartres, however, after the fall of the empire, managed to join General Chanzy under an assumed name, and to win commendations. After the peace, the banishment law of 1848 was formally repealed by the National Assembly, and the Count could at length re-enter France. The assembly also, in December, 1872, awarded the Orleans Princes compensation for the enforced sale—the virtual confiscation—of their estates in France by Louis Napoleon in 1852. Nobody disputed that this was but a partial restitution, but many disputed the opportuneness of the claim, considering that France was still paying by instalments the five milliards exacted by Germany. The acceptance of the



money seemed, moreover, an implied renunciation of dynastic pretensions. Yet, on August 5, 1873, those pretensions were reaffirmed, for the Comte de Paris paid homage to the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf, and became, as it were, the Dauphin. The obstinate adherence of the Comte de Chambord to the white flag and all that it represented rendered futile this fusion, from which his uncle the Duc d'Aumale held aloof.

Residing sometimes in Paris, but mostly at Eu, and holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Second Reserves, the Count led a retired life till the death, in 1883, of the Comte de Chambord, whom, with his uncle Nemours and his cousin Alençon, he had visited in his last illness. He acted as a successor by notifying the death to European Sovereigns, but he did not attend the funeral, for the Comtesse de Chambord refused him the place of chief mourner. Many had expected the Comte de Chambord to leave a will or declaration distinctly acknowledging either the Comte de Paris or Don Carlos as rightful King of France, but "he died and made no sign," which, after all, was a virtual confirmation of the fusion. The French Legitimists accordingly, with very few exceptions, transferred their allegiance to the Comte de Paris, but there was a palpable diminution of their dynastic fervour. Acceptance of Egalité's great-grandson, the grandson of Louis Philippe, who supplanted the elder branch, and of the tricolour, was a bitter pill. Nevertheless, the elections of 1885, held under the revised system of *scrutin de liste*—Gambetta's unfortunate legacy—were highly favourable to the Royalists. The Republic had apparently received a first warning, and another such rebuff would have been fatal to it. The Republicans were alarmed and exasperated. M. Brisson, then Premier, had in his election speech held out a threat that Pretenders would not be allowed to abuse the hospitality offered by the Republic, and banishment was evidently imminent. The desired pretext was found in a grand reception given by the Comte de Paris, in May, 1886, in honour of the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Crown Prince of Portugal—a marriage which established a kind of relationship between the rival Orleans and Bonaparte families, for the bridegroom was nephew of Prince Napoleon's wife. The foreign ambassadors were invited, and there was a large muster of the French aristocracy. But after

all the great offence lay in a flaming article in the *Figaro*, for which the Comte de Paris was in no way responsible, which represented him as having a Ministry and a Court all ready to his hand. The Radicals clamoured for the expulsion of the Pretenders, and M. de Freycinet, with his usual pliancy, introduced a bill which banished the heads of ex-regnant families and their eldest sons, disabled all members of such families for all public functions, and empowered the Government to banish any of them by decree. M. Casimir-Périer, as a grandson of Louis Philippe's Prime Minister, thereupon resigned his seat in the Chamber, being unable, as he said, to reconcile his Republican duty with his ancestral ties, but he was re-elected. The bill passed in the Chamber by a large, and in the Senate by a small, majority—137 to 122. The Comte de Paris, after issuing a dignified manifesto, immediately left Eu with his family for England. A few weeks afterwards the Duc d'Aumale, for a letter to President Grevy protesting against his exclusion from the army, was also banished by decree, and although he took a splendid revenge by a deed of gift bequeathing Chantilly and all its treasures to the Institute of France, that decree was not rescinded till 1889.

Released by exile from the silence previously incumbent on him, the Comte de Paris issued a "memorandum" at the end of 1886, and an address to the mayors of France in July, 1888. In these he distinctly accepted universal suffrage, and even showed a readiness to ascend the throne by a *plébiscite*, but he dwelt on the necessity of a counterpoise in the shape of a dynasty and a firm executive, and of the protection of the Church from harassing attacks. He also received French deputations in Jersey. General Boulanger was now in the field, and it became a question whether the Royalists, like the Bonapartists, should form an alliance with him. There was much difference of opinion on this point, and when the Comte de Paris decided on the alliance some of his leading supporters sorrowfully retired from the political arena, while others reluctantly submitted. The Duc d'Aumale, the cringing letters to whom Boulanger had repudiated till confronted with the facsimiles, was understood to have said of the alliance: "I do not know whether it is for our interest, but I know it is not for our honour."

The obscurity which shrouded the compact was never completely cleared

away. What only was certain was that General Boulanger had an interview with the Comte de Paris in London, in the summer of 1889. The terms offered or made did not transpire, but on the approach of the elections, though the Boulangist tide was fast ebbing, and though it was certain that France would not vote for a man who had run away, the Comte de Paris recommended his friends, in constituencies where they had no candidate of their own, "not to treat as enemies those who are fighting the same adversaries as yourselves." The elections were a crushing defeat for the Anti-Republican coalition. The Comte de Paris was in America, collecting materials for the completion of his eight-volume history of the War of Secession, when his elder son set the banishment law at defiance by suddenly presenting himself in Paris and claiming to serve as a conscript. The young prince, who thus obtained a fleeting popularity among the Royalists, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but liberated after four months' detention.

From this time the Comte de Paris ceased to play an important part in political affairs. The attitude of the Papacy towards the Republic, and the consequent secession of the "Rallied" to that form of government, showed the hopelessness of the monarchical cause. The Comte de Paris reconciled himself apparently to this change, and took upon lease from the trustees of the last Duke of Buckingham the magnificent palace known as Stowe House, where he lived the quiet life of an English nobleman with literary pursuits. His fortune, already very large, had been greatly increased by the judicious investment of a large sum presented to him by the Duc de Galliera, not, as was stated, bequeathed to him by the Duchess, and at the time of his death (due to intestinal obstruction), which happened on Sept. 8, he was supposed to be possessed of upwards of four millions sterling. His death provoked expressions of sympathy and respect from all quarters, even from the French Republicans, who recognised the steady virtues of the representative of constitutional monarchy in France. The Comte de Paris married in 1864 his cousin, a daughter of the Duc de Montpensier, by whom he had six children. The wish expressed by some of the family that he should be buried in the mausoleum of the Orleans family at Dreux, built by Louis Philippe, was over-ruled, and he was interred at Weybridge, where Louis

Philippe, his Queen, and the Duchesse d'Aumale had been originally buried, and where the body of the Duchesse de Nemours still remained.

**Professor Brugsch.**—Heinrich Karl Brugsch was born in 1827 in Berlin, where he received his first education. While still at the gymnasium he published a pamphlet entitled "*Scriptura Ægyptiorum Demotica*," which was regarded as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the language and hieroglyphical characters used by the ancient Egyptians. This publication and some other treatises on demotic writing which followed in quick succession procured for the author the patronage of Von Humboldt and King Frederick William IV., who most liberally supported Brugsch's studies. After completing his philological and archaeological studies in Berlin, and making researches at the museums of Paris, London, Turin, and Leyden, Professor Brugsch made his first scientific journey to Egypt in 1853, at the expense of the King. In Egypt he met M. Mariette, the French archaeologist, whose excavations near Memphis furnished abundant material for linguistic and historic studies. In 1854 he returned to Berlin, and was appointed Keeper of the Egyptian Museum. As a result of his first visit to Egypt he published "Reports on a Visit to Egypt," followed by the work entitled "Monuments of Egypt." The archaeological researches of Professor Brugsch during his second visit to the countries of the Nile in 1857 and 1858 were described in his "*Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens*." At the beginning of 1860 he accompanied the Prussian Embassy to Persia in an official capacity, and made a tour through that country with Baron von Minutoli, the head of the mission. Upon the death of the latter he assumed the direction of the embassy. After returning home in 1861 he published an account of the journey of the mission. In the autumn of 1864 Professor Brugsch was appointed Prussian Consul at Cairo. In 1868 he returned to Germany and accepted the post of Professor of Egyptology at Göttingen. This post, however, he only held until 1870, when, in response to an invitation from the Khedive, he again went to Egypt in order to assume the direction of the *École d'Égyptologie* at Cairo. In 1873 Professor Brugsch acted as Egyptian Commissioner-General at the International Exhibition at Vienna, and shortly afterwards received the

title of Bey. He also organised the Egyptian section of the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876. He afterwards lived alternately in Cairo and Graz, and in 1879 he settled for a time in Berlin, where he delivered a series of lectures at the university. In 1881 he was honoured with the title of Pasha, and in the following year he accompanied Prince Frederick Charles of

Prussia on a journey through Egypt and Syria. He was again in Persia in 1884, but since 1886 he lived at Charlottenburg, a suburb of Berlin, where he died on Sept. 9, after a long illness. He was the author of many important works on Egypt and its history, on the hieroglyphics, and on other kindred subjects.

On the 2nd, at Lynford Hall, Norfolk, aged 81, **Iolande Marie Louise Lyne Stephens** (Marie Duvernay), a distinguished *danseuse* at the French and Italian operas. A pupil of Vestris, and the contemporary of Taglioni and Fanny Elssler; was before the public from 1833-45, when she married Mr. Stephen Lyne Stephens, M.P. for Barnstaple. For many years she devoted her large fortune to works of practical philanthropy. On the 2nd, at Liverpool, aged 86, **Rev. John Hamilton Thorn**. Born at Newry; educated at Liverpool; and under Dr. Channing laboured as Unitarian Minister in Liverpool from 1831 to 1866; was editor of the *Christian Teacher*, and joint-editor of the *Prospective Review* for many years; author of several biographical and critical works. Married, 1834, daughter of William Rathbone, of Liverpool. On the 3rd, at Peebles, N.B., aged 65, **John Vetch, LL.D.** Born at Peebles; educated at the Grammar School there, and at Edinburgh University; after a brilliant career was chosen as assistant to Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, 1855-9; appointed to that chair at St. Andrews, 1860; and transferred as Professor of Rhetoric and Logic to Glasgow, 1864; author of numerous philosophical treatises and biographies. On the 4th, at Dover, aged 68, **Lieutenant-General William Cosmo Trevor, C.B.** Entered the Army, 1842. Served with 14th Foot in the Crimea, 1854-6, and commanded 2nd battalion of his Regiment in the New Zealand War, 1864-6, with great distinction, and was frequently mentioned in despatches. On the 4th, at Boston, Mass., U.S.A., aged 67, **Professor Josiah Parsons Cooke, LL.D.** Graduated at Harvard, 1848; appointed, 1850, Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy at Harvard University, and was the first to introduce laboratory instruction into the undergraduates' course. His "New Chemistry," his most important work, was translated into nearly every European language. On the 4th, at California, aged 72, **Major-General George Stoneman**. Born at Busti, New York; graduated at West Point, 1846, and entered 1st Dragoons; served with the "Mormon Battalion" on the Pacific Coast, 1841-57, when he was sent to Texas; and on the breaking out of the Civil War refused to surrender Fort Brown to the secessionists; served through the Civil War, and distinguished himself as a great cavalry officer and leader, and was present at the leading actions; retired from the Army, 1871, and was Democratic Governor of California, 1883-7. On the 5th, at Washington, aged 69, **James Clark Welling, LL.D.**, President of the Columbian University, Washington. Graduated at Princeton, 1844, and admitted to the Bar; Associate Principal of New York Collegiate School, 1848-50; literary editor of the *National Intelligence*, 1851-6, and editor and manager, 1856-65; Clerk of the U.S. Court of Claims, 1866-7; President of St. John's College, Annapolis, 1867-9; Professor of Belles-Lettres at Princeton College, 1869-71, when he was elected President of the Columbian University, Washington. On the 5th, at Kew, aged 60, **Augusta Webster**, daughter of Vice-Admiral George Davies, R.N., Chief Constable for Cambridge and Hunts. Member of the London School Board, 1879-82 and 1885-8; a poet of some distinction; author of various novels and dramas—"Lesley's Guardian," 1864; "Dramatic Studies and Translations," 1866; "Portraits," 1870, etc. Married, 1860, Thomas Webster, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. On the 6th, at Holton Hall, Suffolk, aged 55, **Colonel Charles Wolfan Nugent Guinness, C.B.**, son of Richard S. Guinness, M.P. Entered 72nd Highlanders, 1860; served with distinction through the Cabul Campaign, 1878-80; and Egyptian War, 1882. On the 7th, at Dublin, aged 82, **Lord Dunsandle and Clanconnel**, Sheffington James, third baron. Married, 1864, Mary, daughter of William Brodrick. On the 8th, at Charlottenburg, Berlin, aged 73, **Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz**, the eminent biologist. Born at Potsdam, where his father was a teacher in the gymnasium, his mother, Caroline Penn, being English; studied medicine at Berlin and became an army surgeon; appointed assistant in the Anatomical Museum, Berlin, 1848; Professor of Physiology at Königsberg, 1849;

Professor of Anatomy at Bonn, 1856; turning over to a like post at Heidelberg, 1859; and Professor of Natural Philosophy at Berlin, 1871; author of several highly important works, "The Conservation of Energy" (1846), "Physiological Optics," and "Sensations of Tone"; received the Copley Medal of the Royal Society, 1873; and raised to the rank of hereditary nobility, 1888. On the 8th, at Baynards Manor, Surrey, aged 79, **Thomas Lyon Thurlow**, surviving son of Rev. the Hon. Thomas Thurlow, Prothonotary of the Common Pleas for Durham. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1837. Married, 1879, Emily Catherine, daughter of Richard Sumner, of Puttenham Priory, Surrey. On the 10th, at the Capuchin Convent, Dublin, aged 58, **Father Columbus** (Maher), President of the Sacred Thirst Total Abstinence League. As a boy he served mass under Father Mathew; went to Rome, 1851, and studied in the Frascati House of the Capuchin Order; passed his philosophy course at Florence and his theology at Siena; sent, in 1856, to the newly-founded monastery of Pantasaph, Holywell, North Wales; ordained at Liverpool, 1858; the first priest of his order ordained in England since the Reformation; superior of his order in Kilkenny, 1859-79, when he was transferred to Dublin. On the 10th, at Lees Court, Faversham, aged 70, **Earl Sondes**. George Watson Milles, first earl, was the eldest son of fourth Baron Sondes. Educated at Eton; entered the Army, Royal Horse Guards, 1852-8; sat as a Conservative for Eastern Division of Kent, 1868-74; created an earl, 1880. Married, 1857, Charlotte, daughter of Sir Henry J. Stracey, baronet. On the 11th, at Paignton, South Devon, aged 82, **Sir Robert Synge**, B.N., fifth baronet, son of second baronet. Entered the Navy, 1825. Married, first, 1832, Jessie, daughter of G. Robyns; second, 1846, Laura, daughter of John Hart; third, 1884, Jane Mary, daughter of Commander Lewis Noel Boyer, R.N. On the 11th, at Los Angeles, California, U.S.A., aged 93, **Don Pio Pico**, the last Mexican Governor of California. Born in San Gabriel. Served for some years as acolyte in the Ord Mission. In 1830 he assumed the leadership of the revolution, and having forced the Governor to abdicate, he occupied his position for six weeks. In 1846 he instigated another revolution with similar results, but soon after had to submit to the American Military Governor, who took charge of the State. He died quite penniless. On the 12th, at Wensley Rectory, Bedale, aged 72, **Rev. the Hon. Thomas Orde-Powlett**, second son of Thomas Powlett Orde-Powlett. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1844; Rector of Wensley, 1850. Married, 1846, Elizabeth, daughter of Marmaduke Wyvill, of Constable Burton. On the 14th, at Quebec, aged 76, **Sir Narcisse Fortunat Belleau**, K.C.M.G., son of Gabriel Belleau, of Quebec. Educated at the Quebec Seminary, and was subsequently called to the Canadian Bar; elected member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, 1852, and Speaker, 1857-62; was Lord Mayor of Quebec, 1860, the time of the Prince of Wales' visit; Minister of Agriculture, 1862; Prime Minister 1865-7, when he became first Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, under the new Constitution; retired into private life, 1872. Married, 1835, Marie Reine Josette, daughter of Louis Gauvreau, M.L.C. On the 14th, at Grundisburgh Hall, aged 86, **Lady Camilla Gurdon**, second daughter of the fifth Earl of Portsmouth. Married, 1888, Sir W. Brampton Gurdon, of the Treasury, and for many years private secretary to Mr. Gladstone and other Cabinet ministers. On the 15th, at Soughton Hall, Mold, North Wales, aged 68, **John Scott Bankes**, Chairman of Flintshire Quarter Sessions, son of Rev. Canon Bankes. Educated at Eton, and University College, Oxford; B.A., 1848. Married, first, 1849, Annie, daughter of Ch.-Just. Sir J. Jervis; and second, 1883, Adelaide S., daughter of Rev. G. Pearson. On the 15th, at Queen Street, Mayfair, aged 78, **Lieutenant-Colonel James M'Caul Hagart**, C.B., son of Thomas Campbell Hagart, of Bontaskine, N.B. Entered 7th Hussars, 1837; was in command of the cavalry of Sir Hope Grant's column during the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8. On the 15th, at Buxton, aged 78, **Dowager Lady Waterpark**, Elizabeth Jane, eldest daughter of first Viscount Anson. Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, 1864-90, when she was made an Extra Lady, and a Lady (third class) of the Royal Order of Victoria and Albert. Married, 1837, third Baron Waterpark. On the 15th, at Rome, aged 78, **Professor Falsetti**. Born and educated at Perugia, and devoted himself to archaeological research; represented Perugia in 1848 in the Constituent Assembly at Rome; Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Turin, 1850-72; Senator, 1869. On the 16th, at Wilton Place, S.W., aged 61, **Charles Brandling**, son of Chas. T. Brandling of Gosforth, North. Married, 1865, Julia, daughter of Sir Robert Peel, second baronet, and widow of sixth Earl of Jersey. On the 18th, in London, aged 70, **Vice-Admiral Charles Fenton Fletcher Boughiey**, sixth son of Sir J. Fenton Boughiey, second baronet. Entered the Navy, 1838; served as Lieutenant to H.M.S. *Trafalgar* in the Black

Sea during the Crimean War. On the 19th, at Hastings, aged 80, **William Alexander Greenhill, M.D.**, an antiquarian and man of letters. Educated at Rugby, and Oriel College, Oxford; M.D., 1841; was Vicar's Churchwarden of St. Mary's, Oxford, during Rev. J. H. Newman's incumbency. Married, 1846, Laura, daughter of Thomas Ward, and niece of Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby. On the 20th, at Frankfort-on-Main, aged 75, **Dr. Heinrich Hoffman**, Geheimer-Sanitätsrath, a specialist in mental disease. Was the author, under his wife's maiden name of H. Donner, of numerous volumes of plays and poems. His most successful work was the "Struw-welpeter," written originally to fix the attention of children whilst he diagnosed their complaints. He was persuaded to publish it in 1845, and before his death it had gone through 140 editions, and had been translated into nearly all European languages. On the 20th, at Oxford, aged 71, **Rev. James Elwin Millard, D.D.**, son of a naval officer. Admitted as a chorister at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1835; elected Demy 1842, and Fellow 1853; Headmaster of Magdalen College School, 1846-64; Rector of Basingstoke, 1864-90, of which town and neighbourhood he wrote several volumes. Married, 1866, Dora Frances, daughter of William Lutley Selater, of Haddington, Hants. On the 21st, at Colon, Central America, aged 68, **Rafael Nunez**. Born at Carthagena, where he graduated at the University, 1846; elected to Congress for Panama, 1851; and Member of the Government, 1853-7; Columbian Consul in Havre and Liverpool, 1865-74, and wrote much in Central American papers under the name of David de Olmedo; Governor of the State of Bolivia, 1875-8, and twice President of Columbia, 1879-84 and 1885-90. On the 23rd, at Kew, aged 69, **Henry Herman**, a successful dramatist. Born in Alsace, and educated there in a military college; emigrated to the United States, where he owned an important newspaper in the south. When the Civil War broke out he first joined the medical staff, but afterwards attached himself to the active service and became Lieutenant-Colonel of 8th Alabama Regiment. He lost all his property, and was also severely wounded in the eye, during the war. Came to England and began writing stories and plays, amongst which the best known were "Jeanne Dubarry" (1875), "The Silver King" (1882) in conjunction with Mr. H. A. Jones, and "Claudius" (1884) in conjunction with Mr. W. G. Wills. He was also associated with Mr. Christie Murray in the production (1887-91) of half a dozen novels and tales. On the 23rd, at West Brighton, aged 82, **Admiral Arthur Mellerah, C.B.** Entered the Royal Navy, 1825; served on the coast of Syria, 1840; during the Burmese War, 1852; and was active in the suppression of piracy on the coast of China, 1853-4. Married, 1850, Harriet Frances, daughter of Rev. T. Butler, Rector of East Worldham. On the 24th, at Hackensack, New Jersey, U.S.A., aged 90, **Thomas Seir Cummings**. Born in England, but taken to America in 1805, and first entered his father's shipping office as a clerk, but was placed in the school of the American Academy of Fine Arts. Headed the movement which resulted in the founding of the National Academy of the Art of Design, 1825, of which he successively held the offices of treasurer, vice-president, etc. He was chiefly distinguished as a miniature painter until the invention of photography, when he relinquished painting and became a teacher. He was the author of "Historical Annals of the National Academy of Design." On the 25th, at Eastbourne, aged 72, **Joseph George Greenwood, LL.D.**, the son of an Independent Minister. Born at Petersfield, Hants. Educated at University College School and University College, London; matriculated with high honours; University Scholar, 1840; and for some years was a master in his former school; joined the Church of England, 1848; appointed to the Chair of Classics and History at Owens College, Manchester, 1850, and in 1857 succeeded as Principal until 1890; Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University, 1890-9; the author of several classical and mathematical works. Married, first, 1863, Miss Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of a Unitarian Minister; and second, 1871, Katherine, daughter of William Langton, of Ingatestone and Manchester. On the 27th, at Tinode, Co. Wicklow, **Rt. Hon. William Henry Ford Cogan**, only son of Bryan Cogan of Athgarret. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1843; called to the Irish Bar, 1845; sat as a Liberal for co. Kildare from 1852-80, and was a Member of the Irish Privy Council, 1866; Commissioner of National Education, Ireland, 1863. Married, 1850, Gertrude Mary, daughter of Francis Kyan. On the 27th, at Liverpool, aged 64, **George Melly**, second son of André Melly, of Geneva, who settled at Liverpool, and was a distinguished entomologist as well as a successful merchant. His son was educated at Rugby; unsuccessfully contested Preston as a Liberal, 1862, and Stoke-upon-Trent, 1863; sat for Stoke, 1869-75; author of "Khartoum and the Blue and White Niles," and other works.

Married, 1852, Sarah E. Mesnard, daughter of Samuel Bright, of Liverpool. On the 27th, at Wheatley Hall, Doncaster, aged 67, **Sir William Ridley Charles Cooke**, ninth baronet. Educated at Eton; entered 7th Hussars. Married first, 1855, Harriet Eloise, daughter of Rev. Jonathan Trebech, and second, 1871, Harriette Blanche Juanita, daughter of Sir William H. Fielden, Bart., of Feniscowles, Lancashire. On the 28th, at New York, aged 61, **Launt Thompson**. Born in Queen's Co., Ireland; in 1847 went to America and studied modelling and sculpture under Erasmus Palmer; appointed Associate of the Academy of Design, 1859, and a full Academician, 1862; lived in Italy 1875-81, chiefly at Rome. His principal works were statues for medallion busts of prominent American citizens. On the 30th, at Onslow Gardens, S.W., aged 66, **Sir Sanford Freeling, K.C.M.G.**, son of Charles Norton Freeling, solicitor to the Inland Revenue. Entered Royal Artillery, 1847; Military Secretary at Malta and Gibraltar, 1859-68; Lieut.-Governor of Dominica, 1868-71; of Grenada, 1871-5; of the Windward Islands, 1875-6; of the Gold Coast, 1876-80, and of Trinidad, 1880-4. Married, 1856, Frederica Selina Owen, daughter of George James Pennington. On the 30th, at Elgin Terrace, Croydon, aged 58, **William Topley, F.R.S.** Educated at the Royal School of Mines; attached to the Geological Survey, 1861; working first in the south-east of England, and afterwards in Northumberland. His chief work was a monograph on the Weald of Kent (1875).

## OCTOBER.

**Oliver Wendell Holmes** was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on August 29, 1809, in a house fronting the northern boundary of Harvard College, which had been the headquarters of the American Army during the siege of Boston. His father was the Rev. Abiel Holmes, a Congregational minister, author of "The Annals of America," and a man of an admirably balanced intellect and humane and upright character. His son has drawn a beautiful and touching picture of him in the poem entitled "A Family Record," which likewise contains sketches of the poet's grandfather, "the Deacon," and his great-grandfather, John, one of the first settlers in Cambridge. Oliver's mother was Sarah Wendell, daughter of the Hon. Oliver Wendell, a lineal descendant of Evert Jansen Wendell, who went out from East Friesland about the year 1640. In the course of a century after his emigration a descendant, Jacob Wendell, purchased the township of Pontotoc, on the Housatonic River, containing 24,000 acres. This is now known as Pittsfield, and Dr. Holmes built his country house upon a remnant of this tract of land which had descended to him.

At the age of fifteen young Holmes was sent to Andover to finish his preparatory studies, and in the following year he went to Harvard College. He graduated in 1829 in a famous class, which included Judges Curtis and Bigelow, Professor Pierce, the Rev. J. Freeman Clarke, and the Rev. William Henry Channing. In the class just below

were Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and John Lothrop Motley. While at Andover, before he had attained his sixteenth year, young Holmes made a spirited translation of a passage in Virgil. From 1830 to 1836 he wrote a number of original poems, and the feeling in some of them, such as "The Last Leaf," and the humour in others, such as "My Aunt" and "The Music Grinders," he perhaps never excelled. On leaving Harvard, Holmes began the study of law, but after a year he abandoned it for that of medicine. This he studied with Dr. James Jackson for two years and a half, when, for fuller instruction and for observation of practice in the great hospitals, he went to Europe, where he resided chiefly in Paris. On his return home he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1836 at Harvard. At the same "Commencement" he read his poem before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, entitled "Poetry, a Metrical Essay," and in this year also his first volume of verse appeared. He had already, whilst studying law, contributed various poems of a light and humorous character to a periodical called the *Collegian*.

In 1837 Dr. Holmes, in conjunction with several eminent physicians, succeeded in establishing the Tremont Medical School, a very successful institution, which was afterwards merged in the Harvard Medical College. The same year his father died, but his mother survived till 1862, in the full possession of all her faculties, and died at the great age of 93. In 1839 Dr. Holmes was appointed Professor of

Anatomy and Physiology in Dartmouth College, an office which he resigned after two years, in order to devote himself to the practice of medicine in Boston. From 1841 until his death there was no figure more familiar than his in that centre of American culture. In 1847 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy in the Harvard Medical College. He held this office until 1882, when he resigned his professorship and was appointed Professor Emeritus. His lifelong relation with medical science was mainly that of a teacher of its principles. He was distinguished, however, for his researches in microscopy and auscultation, and wrote a number of works all more or less closely connected with medical questions and problems, including "Homeopathy and its Kindred Delusions," published in 1842; "Currents and Counter Currents in Medical Science," 1861; "Border Lines of Knowledge," 1862; and "Mechanism in Thought and Morals," 1871.

Dr. Holmes married, in 1840, Amelia Lee Jackson, daughter of the Hon. Charles Jackson, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. By this lady he had three children, two sons and a daughter. The elder son, Oliver Wendell Holmes, jun., served as a captain in the Civil War, became a Judge, and achieved distinction as a writer upon legal subjects. For eighteen years after his marriage Dr. Holmes resided in Montgomery Place, near the Tremont House. He was one of those who warmly welcomed Charles Dickens on his first visit to the United States in 1842, and he wrote for the dinner given to the novelist the exquisite stanzas entitled the "Nux Postcenaica," the best of his many after-dinner poems. In 1843 he published his "Boylston Prize Essays," which gained him great reputation with the medical profession. A new edition of Dr. Holmes's poems appeared in 1849, including "Urania, a Rhymed Lesson," and the well-known "Song of other Days." During the same year the poet built his summer residence at Pittsfield, where he spent seven pleasant seasons—seasons fruitful in good work. Nathaniel Hawthorne was then living at Lenox, near Pittsfield, and in his "Hall of Fantasy," contributed to the *Pioneer* for 1843, he described the poets, whom he saw talking in groups with a liveliness of expression, a ready smile, and a light intellectual laughter which showed how rapidly the shafts of wit were glancing to and fro among them. "In the most vivacious of these," he

added, "I recognised Holmes." The genial doctor had also for near neighbours, Hermann Melville, Anna Sedgwick, and Fanny Kemble, while Cullen Bryant and Ellery Channing paid him frequent visits. Another friend, always welcome and affectionately esteemed, was Motley, the historian, who, like Holmes, was a prominent and useful member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Dr. Holmes entered the lyceum or lecture arena, which Theodore Parker described as "an original American contrivance for educating the people." Besides combining the best things of the Church and the college, it gave the rural districts a chance of seeing the men they read about—the leading "literary lions" of the time.

In the year 1857 the *Atlantic Monthly* was founded, the first number appearing in November. The original list of contributors included Longfellow, Motley, Lowell, Norton, Emerson, Holmes, and Quincy. Mr. Russell Lowell was nominated editor-in-chief, but, while he accepted the position, he expressed his conviction that Dr. Holmes would have been a happier choice. "Depend upon it," he said, "Dr. Holmes will be our most effective writer. He is to do something that will be felt. He will be a new power in letters." Mr. Lowell's prediction was speedily justified, for Dr. Holmes made an immediate as well as a lasting impression by his admirable work, "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," which ran through its pages. The success of "The Autocrat" was so pronounced that Holmes's friends were somewhat fearful of his next venture, "The Professor at the Breakfast Table." It was written upon the same lines, and manifested qualities equal to those of its predecessor, but it dealt with deeper questions, and in a more argumentative and less familiar way.

To this work succeeded "The Professor's Story," which, after its appearance in the *Atlantic Monthly*, was published as "Elsie Venner." It is a romance of destiny, but, although it possesses great charms of style, its weird motive, its physiological speculations, and its continuous oscillation between science and superstition, make it somewhat repellent to the general reader, who has little sympathy with abstruse mental and physical theories. "The Guardian Angel," the second novel by Dr. Holmes, was not published until 1867. It was a far more agreeable story than "Elsie Venner," of which it was in some respects the counterpart.

To "The Guardian Angel" succeeded "Soundings from the Atlantic," a series of essays collected from the *Atlantic Monthly*. In 1870 the poet removed to his new house in Beacon Street, Boston, where he continued to reside until his death. "The Poet at the Breakfast Table," his next most important work, appeared in 1872, after running as a serial through the *Atlantic Monthly*. In addition to his originally collected poems, Dr. Holmes published in 1862 "Songs in Many Keys," a volume of poems dedicated to his mother, in 1865 "Humorous Poems," and in 1874 "Songs of Many Seasons." In 1878 appeared his memoir of "John Lothrop Motley."

In 1880 Dr. Holmes published "The Iron Gate, and other Poems," and in the autumn of 1882 he resigned, as has been mentioned, the position of Parkman Professor of Anatomy in Harvard University, in order that he might devote his time more exclusively to literary pursuits. When he delivered his last lecture he was presented with an exquisitely-chased "loving-cup" by the students. In his valedictory address the Professor gave an interesting review of his thirty-five years' connection with the school. Then he referred to his early college days and to his studies in Paris, and added many delightful reminiscences of Baron Boyer, Baron Larrey, Dupuytren, Velpeau, Louis, and other famous French savants whose lectures he attended at that time. On the evening of April 12, 1883, a grand complimentary dinner was given to Dr. Holmes at Delmonico's by the medical profession of New York City. On October 17, 1883, which was the centennial anniversary of the Harvard Medical School, the new medical buildings were opened. The dedication exercises were divided into two parts, the opening addresses being given in Huntingdon Hall, at the Institute of Technology, and the remainder of the programme in the new building. Upon the platform in Huntingdon Hall were President Eliot of Harvard University, the faculty of the medical school, and numerous invited guests. Directly over the head of the original hung a portrait of Professor Oliver Wendell Holmes, and beneath this portrait was a marble bust of Professor Henry J. Bigelow, who was seated beside Dr. Holmes. Addresses were delivered, and the portrait and bust formally presented to the Medical School.

After his retirement from the professorial chair, Dr. Holmes published a number of works. In 1883 appeared

a volume of "Medical Essays" and "Pages from an Old Volume of Life." In 1884 he wrote a "Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson," published in the series of American Men of Letters. "A Mortal Antipathy" was written in 1885, in which under the guise of a novel he gave himself up to reminiscences, autobiographical and historical.

Dr. Holmes paid a visit to Europe in 1886. While in England he received distinctions from the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh, and was the honoured guest of many of our most distinguished men of letters and other celebrities. On his return to America he published an account of his visit, entitled "One Hundred Days in Europe." In 1888 appeared "Before the Curfew, and other Poems, chiefly Occasional," the effusions extending over a period of nearly sixty years—viz., from 1829 to 1887. They were prefaced by the touching prelude headed "At my Fireside."

At the close of 1890 the octogenarian writer published yet another volume, "Over the Tea Cups." It was a series of pleasant talks with which the veteran essayist, novelist, and poet regaled the army of friends whom his kind wit and his wise heart had gained through many long years. With regard to Dr. Holmes's religious views, he was classed among the most liberal-minded of believers in the Unitarian creed, and he presided as chairman of the Boston Unitarian Festival in 1877. Dr. Holmes's birthday was always observed as a red-letter day in Boston and other American towns, and he was the recipient of hearty congratulations on completing his eighty-fifth birthday on the 29th of August. His later years were chiefly occupied in writing his autobiography, and he continued to work steadily although often suffering from asthma. Whilst staying at his summer residence at Beverley symptoms recurred which induced him to return to Boston. No immediate change for the worse was anticipated, and up to the last no danger was feared. He was sitting in his easy chair chatting with his son when suddenly the action of the heart ceased, and he died on October 7 without a struggle.

**Earl Grey, K.G., G.C.M.G.**—Sir Henry Grey, third Earl Grey, the eldest son of the great Whig Premier, was born at Howick on December 28, 1802, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1824. Destined to a political career he first became a candidate for Northumberland in 1846,



but he subsequently withdrew from the contest, and was returned the same year to the House of Commons (as Lord Howick) for the Cinque Port of Winchelsea, and his first speech was on parliamentary corruption as brought to light by the East Retford Disfranchisement Bill. So strongly did Lord Howick feel upon the bribery question that he brought forward a series of resolutions pledging the House to deal in a stringent measure with the practices which prevailed wholesale; but these resolutions were lost by a considerable majority. He spoke on behalf of Catholic emancipation, and paid a high compliment to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for their courage in grappling with the question. He was also heard on many occasions during the Reform Bill debates.

In 1830 Lord Howick was elected for Higham Ferrers, but at the general election in the following year he was returned for Northumberland; and, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he was elected for the northern division of that county. When Earl Grey came into office he appointed his son Under-Secretary for the Colonies. This post he held only until the year 1833, when, in consequence of a resolution of the Cabinet not to attempt the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, he resigned. Not long afterwards he was appointed to the post of Under-Secretary for Home Affairs, but this also he held for only a short period.

During this time Lord Howick was rapidly acquiring an excellent position in the House, and was grounding himself in departmental work. How largely he had succeeded in both these respects is shown by the fact that, on the formation of the Melbourne Ministry in 1835, he was appointed to the important post of Secretary for War. He thus became a Cabinet Minister at the early age of thirty-three. He now took his full share in debate, frequently rising to reply to Sir Robert Peel and other leading members of the Opposition on a variety of questions affecting home and colonial legislation. During the three years in which he had been Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office his ability in dealing with many difficult and delicate questions had called forth warm tributes even from some of his opponents. In the year 1839 changes occurred in the Melbourne Ministry, a more "Liberal" element being introduced into the Government. Lord Howick retired from the Government, and was succeeded as War Secre-

tary by Macaulay. In defending himself for this step he said that he was in favour of every practical reform, but not of violent changes in the Constitution.

An Irish franchise bill was introduced by the Government in the session of 1841, but upon the question as to the persons who were to be entitled to registration the Ministry was defeated on an amendment by Lord Howick. This was accepted, but at a later stage the Government suffered another defeat and threw up the bill. Their conduct on this occasion led to charges of irresolution and incapacity. Sir Robert Peel severely attacking Lord John Russell, the ministerial leader in the Lower House. Shortly after this the Tories again formally attacked the Government, Peel himself on this occasion moving the vote of want of confidence. He delivered a powerful speech, and the Ministry was left in a minority of one, 312 voting for the motion and 311 against it. Parliament was dissolved, and in the elections which took place many serious Liberal defeats were sustained. Lord John Russell was at the bottom of the successful candidates for the City, while Lord Morpeth lost his seat in the West Riding, and Lord Howick was defeated in Northumberland. In the following September, however, Lord Howick was returned for the borough of Sunderland. When the House re-assembled ministers were defeated by a majority of 91 on the Address, and the Melbourne Government accordingly resigned.

Sir Robert Peel now came into office, and for the next three or four years little was heard of anything save motions connected with the Corn Laws, varied by resolutions calling attention to the deplorable state of the country. On several occasions Lord Howick proved himself an inconvenient critic of the Government policy. So lamentable was the condition of the country that in the session of 1843 Lord Howick brought forward a motion for a committee of the whole House to investigate the causes of distress. In a very able speech he showed how the pressure, which was terrible amongst the poor, was beginning also to affect the middle and the wealthier classes. The arguments which he adduced were all in the direction of free trade, and went to the establishment of two important propositions—first, that we might largely increase our imports but for the obstacles imposed by the existing laws; secondly, that a large in-

crease of imports would be attended with a very great increase in the export of our manufactures. The motion was lost by a large majority, but Lord Howick's arguments had made a deep impression upon the House. At a later period of the session he supported Mr. Villiers' motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws, remarking that protection of every kind was a robbery to the community at large. He was personally not averse to a small fixed duty, but, if free trade in corn were to be the only alternative to the existing laws, he would support that alternative. Lord Howick also delivered a striking and liberal speech during the great debate on Mr. Smith O'Brien's motion for a committee on Irish grievances. He said he traced the discontent of Ireland to two great causes: first, a sense of insult and degradation connected principally with the Church, and, secondly, the laws relating to landlord and tenant, the effects of both being aggravated by the physical distress of the people. The Established Church must be reformed, and, amongst other ameliorating measures, money must be expended upon public works.

In the session of 1845 Lord Howick more than maintained his reputation as a speaker and administrator. On the question of the Corn Laws he was far in advance of Lord John Russell, and he complained of the lack of definiteness in the views of the latter. Before the year closed, however, Lord John Russell issued his famous manifesto from Edinburgh to his constituents in the City of London, from which it appeared that he had been converted to the views of the repealers pure and simple. These views Lord Howick had accepted in their entirety some time before. Indeed, Sir Robert Peel, as late as the middle of the session of 1845, made capital of the fact that there was a divergence in the opinions of the two Whig leaders, Lord Howick being against all duties whatsoever, whilst Lord John Russell supported a moderate fixed duty.

On the 17th of July, 1845, the second Earl Grey died, and Lord Howick succeeded to the title and went to the Upper House. Towards the close of the same year Sir Robert Peel became convinced, chiefly through the lamentable condition of Ireland in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, that the Corn Laws should not be maintained. His determination that they must be repealed led to dissensions in the Cabinet, and ministers tendered their resignation to the Queen. Lord

John Russell was sent for, but failed to form a Government.

Difficulties at once arose owing to the fact that Lord Grey would not work with Lord Palmerston, if the latter received the office for which he was generally designated. Lord John Russell considered the presence both of Lord Grey and of Lord Palmerston in the Cabinet to be indispensable. "But on vital questions of foreign policy these noblemen entertained the most opposite views. Lord Palmerston was ready to waive his claims to a seat in the Cabinet, but, if he joined it, he would do so only as the head of the Foreign Office. In this he was upheld by his friends, while Lord Grey adhered with equal firmness to his determination not to enter the Administration with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Minister." As these differences could not be reconciled, Lord John Russell was compelled to resign the trust committed to him. Sir Robert Peel then returned to office with a Cabinet pledged to the repeal of the Corn Laws.

When the great measure for sweeping away the obnoxious laws came before the House of Lords in the session of 1846, the ablest speech on the side of repeal was unquestionably that delivered by Earl Grey. He first endorsed Lord Brougham's statement that the Corn Laws must be considered as laying on the consumer a tax of no less than 10,000,000*l.* a year, which was double the amount of the income tax and double the malt tax. The Corn Laws inflicted a double disadvantage on the labourer; while they enhanced the price of food they depressed the rate of wages. This being so, no consideration ought to restrain them as a Christian Legislature from sweeping away these restrictions. As to the effects of the proposed bill, he had no fear of land being thrown out of cultivation, and he believed that no country would derive so much advantage from the change as Ireland. Lord Stanley had depicted the injurious effects which he alleged would ensue to the colonies from free trade; but he (Lord Grey) believed that it would prove the surest method of binding our colonies to us. The colonial policy which he deemed the wisest was that of maintaining the mutual dependence of the colonies and the mother country. It was commercial jealousy which had lost us our settlements in North America.

Sir Robert Peel carried his repeal measures, but on the very day the Corn Bill passed the Lords, ministers sus-

tained a severe defeat in the Commons on the Irish Coercion Bill. The Government resigned, and Lord John Russell again received her Majesty's commands to form a Ministry. This time he was successful, and overcame the repugnance of Lords Grey and Palmerston to serve together. When the list of the new Ministry was made known, it was found that the former had accepted the office of Colonial Secretary, Lord Palmerston being entrusted with the seals of the Foreign Office. Sir C. Wood was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Government also included the Marquess of Lansdowne, Sir George Grey, Mr. Macaulay, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Labouchere. Lord Grey now took the leading part on behalf of the Government in the debates in the House of Lords. In fact, he stood almost alone, for all his colleagues who were equal to him in ability were in the House of Commons.

The general principles which guided the new Secretary in the conduct of colonial affairs demand some attention. In the first place, he considered it to be the duty of the Government of which he was a member to maintain the policy of free trade, and to extend its application to the produce of the colonies. Protection in any form was disastrous to progress both at home and abroad. The Russell Government proceeded on the lines indicated by Lord Grey. During its tenure of office it succeeded in carrying an alteration of the duties on sugar, coffee, and timber, the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the extension of power to the local legislatures to abolish differential duties in the colonies, and provisions for placing the colonial trade on a footing free from serious objection, while the way was paved for the accomplishment of other reforms in the future. But this change in the relations previously subsisting between England and the colonies was virtually a revolution of a long-established system of policy. Instead of regarding the colonies as existing for our benefit, Earl Grey based his policy on the view that mutual benefits sprang from the union. He believed that the British colonial empire ought to be maintained, principally because the nation would not be justified in throwing off the responsibility it had incurred by the acquisition of this dominion, and because much of the power and influence of this country depended upon its having large colonial dependencies in different parts of the world; interest and duty he regarded as combined in this matter. But,

whilst strongly opposed to a policy of dismemberment, Lord Grey also held that this country had no interest whatever in exercising any greater influence in the internal affairs of the colonies than was indispensable either for the purpose of preventing any one colony from adopting measures injurious to another or to the empire at large, or else for the promotion of the internal good government of the colonies, by assisting the inhabitants to govern themselves when sufficiently advanced to do so with advantage, and by providing a just and impartial administration for those of which the population was too ignorant and unenlightened to manage its own affairs. But when England no longer attempted either to levy a commercial tribute from the colonies by a system of restriction, or to interfere needlessly in their internal affairs, she had a right to expect that they should take upon themselves a larger proportion than heretofore of the expenses incurred for their advantage.

Earl Grey had not been long in office before a warm personal discussion arose touching the administration of the Colonial Office. In the House of Commons, Lord G. Bentinck accused the Colonial Office in round terms of suppressing important information in order to keep the House and the public in the dark as to the difficulties with the colonies. Lord John Russell in the House of Commons defended his colleague with so much warmth that the debate led to a scene of unusual excitement. In the House of Lords, Earl Grey defended himself at length. The charge made against him, he said, was that, in concert with Mr. Hawes, he had endeavoured to mislead the committee of inquiry on the subject of West India distress by deliberately withholding papers which favoured the opinions of those who attributed that distress to the Sugar Duties Act of 1846. This charge involved imputations so disgraceful that, if it were maintainable, he should be unworthy of holding the office he filled. He repudiated the distinction sought to be drawn between a personal imputation and one cast upon him in his political capacity; a minister of the Crown capable of thus deceiving Parliament was personally culpable. He pledged his honour that it was owing to pure mistake, partly arising from the vast pressure of business, that one despatch by Sir C. Grey had not been placed before the committee. As to

the despatch of Governor Light, he had sufficient reasons for keeping it back, and only submitting an extract from it to the committee. But as to the facts withheld, they furnished an argument in support of his (Lord Grey's) own views, and not of the views of those who complained of the withholding of the despatch.

When the bill for the repeal of the Navigation Laws came before the House of Lords in the session of 1849, it was felt to be in peril on the second reading. The Government, however, secured a majority of ten, chiefly owing to a very elaborate and convincing speech of Earl Grey. He showed that these laws, far from being necessary in the interests of our commercial marine, were positively disadvantageous to the British shipowner.

In the same session there was considerable excitement over the affairs of Canada. Riots of a very serious character had broken out in that province, and there had been menacing demonstrations towards her Majesty's representative at Montreal. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the assent given by the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, to the Rebellion Losses Indemnity Bill. This measure provided compensation to parties whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion in 1837-8. In both Houses of the Imperial Parliament our Canadian policy was discussed, and in the Lords Lord Brougham moved resolutions condemnatory of the principle of the Indemnity Bill. Lord Grey defended Lord Elgin, who, he observed, would have acted unconstitutionally had he refused to sanction the Compensation Bill after it had been carried by a large majority in both Houses of the Legislature. He also defended the principle of responsible government, as being the only principle upon which the internal affairs of Canada could be administered under her existing Constitution. Lord Brougham's resolutions were lost by a majority of three. In the session of 1850, when the bill for conferring representative institutions upon the Australian colonies was carried, Lord Grey vindicated the principles upon which he guided colonial affairs from some severe strictures made upon them by the Bishop of Oxford. He again insisted upon the view he had always taken, that good sense and moderation on both sides would enable them to reconcile the authority of the Crown with measures necessary for the well-being of the colonies; and he affirmed that there

were no people on the face of the earth who enjoyed such unrestricted freedom as the colonists of Great Britain.

Not long afterwards Earl Grey was again put upon his defence in connection with two important questions affecting colonial policy. The first of these related to the affairs of Ceylon. In 1848 there had been a rebellion in the island, and Lord Torrington, the Governor, was charged with excessive and unnecessary severity in its repression. Lord Torrington, on his return to Europe, justified in the House of Lords his administration in Ceylon, and Earl Grey supported him, affirming that there had been gross calumnies, and that Lord Torrington's administration had been only such as redounded to his credit. The second question was still more important, and involved the whole policy of the home Government in reference to the Cape Colony. At one time it threatened to involve the existence of the Government. The Earl of Derby introduced the subject in the House of Lords, moving that the papers relative to granting representative institutions to the Cape Colony be referred to a select committee. Lord Derby spoke with much power and eloquence, reviewing the history of the colony and the recent negotiations, and expressing a hope that a bill would be at once passed that should settle this difficult and complicated subject. Lord Grey, in his reply, agreed with Lord Derby that the Crown ought to adhere to its promises, and to fulfil them with as little delay as possible, and he declared that it was the intention of the Government that the institutions should be brought into operation forthwith. He was sanguine enough to believe that with the means then at the disposal of the Governor, the Kaffir War would soon be at an end, and then the only obstacle to the completion of the Constitution would be removed. Lord Grey deprecated the delay incidental to proceeding by a select committee, and ascribed much of the bad feeling at the Cape to Lord Stanley's measure respecting the emancipation of slaves in 1833, which provoked an insurrection in 1842-3. The sending of convicts to the Cape in 1849 might, he acknowledged, have been a mistake, but the Government had been placed in extreme difficulty by the impossibility of sending convicts any longer to Van Diemen's Land. Lord Grey severely condemned the violent and unjustifiable conduct of the anti-convict party

at the Cape, to whom the success of Lord Derby's motion would operate as a direct encouragement. The motion was eventually lost by a majority of six. The Kaffirs were subsequently defeated in several sanguinary engagements, though the war was prolonged until after the resignation of the Russell Ministry. In October, 1851, Lord Grey despatched the draft of a Constitution for Cape Colony, which contained very liberal provisions, and was joyfully accepted by the colonists.

In the session of 1852 the Premier brought forward a scheme in connection with the national defences, the chief object of which was the raising of a local militia. Lord Palmerston moved to omit the word "local" from the measure, and this was carried by 135 votes to 126 against the Government. In consequence of this vote Lord John Russell not only threw up the measure but resigned office. The Earl of Derby came into power, but his Ministry was ousted in the following December by a hostile vote on Mr. Disraeli's financial proposals, Mr. Gladstone greatly distinguishing himself by his powerful onslaught upon them.

The Earl of Aberdeen was now sent for by her Majesty, and formed the famous coalition Cabinet, in which Lord Grey had no place. Soon after the new Government came into office, the subject of the Canadian clergy reserves excited warm discussions in both Houses. Ministers introduced a bill enabling the Legislature of Canada to make provision concerning the clergy reserves—surrendering, in fact, the clergy reserves to the colonial Legislature. The Earl of Derby was strongly in favour of modifying the measure, but Earl Grey eloquently warned the House against an attempt to govern Canada in spite of her Parliament and the wishes of her people, thus provoking a quarrel without a chance of success. In the course of his able speech, Lord Grey utterly denied the right of any Parliament or of any one generation to bind succeeding Parliaments or succeeding generations. The bill ultimately passed. In the same session Lord Grey, during the debates which arose in connection with transportation to the Australian colonies, defended at great length the reformatory system ending in transportation as introduced by himself.

Before the Crimean War broke out, Earl Grey warned the Government against being drawn into the quarrel, and when Great Britain had formally declared war, and Mr. Gladstone pro-

posed an increased income tax and a vote of Exchequer bills to pay the expenses of the war, he strongly objected to the Government policy. He said they were going to raise money with the obligation to pay in full at certain periods; while, if the war went on, they must suppose that the public funds would go down as they had in the last war. He did not wish to embarrass the Government; he saw much to disapprove of in their proceedings; the reckless and imprudent course they were then entering upon filled him with alarm, and he only came forward in the hope of checking a policy prejudicial to the interests of the country. The war fever which prevailed, however, may be well understood from the fact that a motion of Earl Grey's in the House of Lords, on May 25, 1855, supported by a speech remarkable for its praise of the candour and pacific spirit of the Emperor Nicholas, elicited such strong opinions from every section of the House in condemnation of a peace on such terms as Russia was alone disposed to concede, that it was not pressed to a vote.

In the session of 1857, when Lord Palmerston's Government was attacked for its Chinese policy, the English fleet having taken retaliatory measures against Canton in consequence of the Chinese having boarded the *lorcha Arrow*, Earl Grey maintained that our policy with regard to China ought to have been one of conciliation, a view which, on the motion of Mr. Cobden, was endorsed by the Commons although rejected by the Lords.

The next important question upon which Lord Grey was heard was that of the demand made by France for Savoy and Nice. The proposed annexation caused considerable excitement in England, and France was reproached for bad faith. Earl Grey delivered a powerful speech on this subject in the House of Lords. He affirmed that the annexation would be so pregnant with evil to Europe and this country, that her Majesty's Government ought to do all they could to prevent such a catastrophe.

When the Commercial Treaty with France was brought forward, although Lord Grey did not obstruct its passage, he severely condemned Mr. Gladstone's financial proposals. He described the famous Budget of 1860 as a speculative one, depending upon a variety of calculations over which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no control. No thought had been taken, he said, for a

possible bad harvest, a short supply of cotton, the payment for the State dues, or the war in New Zealand, all of which considerations destroyed his confidence in the financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That policy was full of inconsistencies, and the public had a right to expect the Government to lay down and adhere to more certain rules for the regulation of the expenditure.

The lamentable condition of Ireland in 1866, aggravated by the Fenian outbreak, rendered necessary a Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Early in the session Lord Grey, who had always taken a deep interest in Irish questions, brought forward a series of resolutions on the subject of the grievances of the sister island. He dealt ably and comprehensively with the whole question, and moved that on an early day the House should resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of Ireland. He insisted that remedial measures were necessary, and concluded by tabling his resolutions affirming the injustice of appropriating the Irish Church revenues for the exclusive benefit of a small minority; calling for an equitable distribution of these funds; asserting the advisability of repealing the enactments against the assumption of titles by Roman Catholic prelates; affirming the proposition that the occupiers of land should have security for their permanent improvements, and the further proposition that a simplification of the law of landlord and tenant was desirable. These resolutions were debated at length, and Earl Grey's motion was negatived; but shortly afterwards began Mr. Gladstone's course of remedial measures for Ireland. When the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill was brought forward Lord Grey supported it, although he had opposed the Suspensory Bill. Taxed with inconsistency, he declared there was none, because the impossibility of maintaining the Irish Church as a State Church had been irrevocably decided by the general election.

There were some questions upon which Lord Grey was opposed to the bulk of the Liberal party. Prominent amongst those was the ballot. Opposing the ministerial bill in 1872, he said the Prime Minister had warned them that the ballot was only one of three important changes that were required, the two others being a further extension of the franchise and a redistribution of seats. If a revision of our electoral system were imminent, it would be

most imprudent to make a partial change. This bill would result in a worse instead of a better House of Commons, and would be a powerful obstacle to such a reform in that House as was most urgently required. Even if the bill passed there ought to be facilities for ascertaining on a scrutiny how each elector had voted.

In May, 1878, when the news of the Anglo-Russian Treaty concluded between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff created great excitement in England, Earl Grey wrote to the *Times* to complain of the want of candour with which Lord Salisbury had lately replied to his question about an illegal agreement between England and Russia; and observed that his having thus been misled as to what was contemplated prevented him from calling the attention of the House of Lords, before the British Plenipotentiaries proceeded to the Congress, to the loss of character and of the confidence of Europe which this country must suffer from being a consenting party to the spoliation of Roumania. He strongly protested against the retrocession of Bessarabia on the grounds of "justice and political morality." In the *Times* also Lord Grey promulgated his views upon the Afghan question. Supporting Lord Lawrence's contention, he deprecated war, and denied that the refusal of the Ameer to admit our envoy should be treated as a *casus belli*, as every independent nation had a right to make such refusal. Lord Lytton, who was then Viceroy of India, went to war, and was supported by Lord Beaconsfield's Government, before the matter had been brought before Parliament, and for this the Ministry was severely censured by Lord Grey and other critics.

Notwithstanding this attitude towards the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, during the elections of 1880 Lord Grey addressed a letter to Mr. G. A. Grey (which was widely published) stating the grounds on which he dissented from and disapproved of the opposition to the return of the sitting Conservative members for the Northern Division of Northumberland, Lord Percy and Sir M. W. Ridley. He said that, although he thought the foreign policy of the Government unwise and mischievous, its colonial affairs mismanaged, and its measures deficient in energy, it was not desirable that the Administration should be overthrown. He further announced his attachment to the old Whig creed, which Mr.

Gladstone and his most active followers had utterly repudiated.

To the Home Rule policy of the Gladstonian party he adopted from the first an uncompromising opposition, and the letters which he addressed to the *Times* during 1886-7 on Irish affairs carried all the more weight from the writer's well-known sympathy with the cause of Irish reform. On many subsequent occasions, in addition to those named, Lord Grey contributed important letters to the same journal on "English Policy in Africa and Egypt," "The Housing of the Poor," "Bimetallism," "Tithes," and other subjects. The variety of the questions he dealt with, and the searching criticisms he applied to them, showed the vitality of his powers, and his continued interest in current politics. In January of this year an interesting letter in which he criticised, as a candid friend, the policy of the Opposition with regard to the poor law proposals of the Parish Councils Bill called forth a defence of that policy from Mr. Balfour, to which Lord Grey replied in a further letter restating his views. His last communication to the *Times* was an indignant protest, which he sent as recently as August, against any compromise with the Government on the Evicted Tenants Bill.

As a speaker, Lord Grey was forcible rather than eloquent. His voice was not musical, and he failed to reach the impassioned heights to which the greatest orators rise. His intellect was critical, not emotional and sympathetic. As a statesman, his critical faculty interfered somewhat with his practical usefulness, though in regard to the conduct of colonial affairs he must be said to have deserved high praise.

As a colleague, Lord Grey was somewhat difficult to work with. This was due to his independent spirit and a determination to take original—sometimes even crotchety—views of things. As a supporter of any Government he was consequently, in the party sense, not to be relied upon. Yet the Prince Consort, writing to Baron Stockmar, gave an estimate of his character, differing considerably from that generally received: "He is very positive in his views, fond of discussion, and sticks very firmly to his opinions; but he is quite open to argument, and, if worsted, is ready to own it at once, and to adopt the argument by which he is overthrown."

Earl Grey married, in 1832, Maria,

third daughter of Sir Joseph Copley, Bart., of Sprotborough, but by her had no children; and he died on October 9, at his seat, Howick, Northumberland, after an illness which had only become critical at the last.

**Sir John Astley.**—Sir John Dugdale Astley belonged to one of the oldest families of the English aristocracy, being descended from Sir Thomas de Astley, who was killed at the battle of Evesham, in 1296. He was born in 1828, and went through the usual course at Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford, where he was concerned in the famous blocking-up affair, when a number of undergraduates filled up the archway between Tom Quad and Peckwater with snow, in order to make "chapel" inaccessible. They were foiled, however, for some navvies were summoned early enough in the morning to make a free passage by chapel time. On leaving Oxford he joined the Scots Fusilier Guards, with whom he served in the Crimea, and was severely wounded at the Alma. For his share in this battle he was gazetted to a majority. But he valued his distinction as a cricketer and a runner nearly as much, perhaps, as his military laurels; and he won the hundred yards' race on the Redan, Lord Roberts being third. He retired from the army in 1873, and at the general election of 1874 he stood for North Lincolnshire, where his victory formed part of the great Conservative reaction. Though a thorough Tory at heart, he belonged to that old-fashioned school of country gentlemen among whom some distrust of Mr. Disraeli lingered to the last. In 1880 he again stood in conjunction with Mr. Winn, but Mr. R. Laycock, a Liberal, headed the poll, and Sir J. Astley lost his seat, and the result keenly disappointed him. He thought he had been deceived by those whom he had implicitly trusted, and he there and then took farewell of the constituency for ever. He was a man of the same reckless, daring, joyous temperament as the famous Marquess of Waterford. He never attempted to re-enter Parliament, and found plenty of more congenial occupation in field sports, athletics, and the turf. In his younger days he had been a patron of the ring, and had witnessed the great prize fight between Heenan and Sayers. Sir John was never one of the leaders of the turf, but he owned some fairly good horses in his day, and he has left an ample account of his racing career in the fifty years' reminiscences published a few months before his death.

Soldier, sportsman, athlete, senator, he finally appeared as an author, and many better known men have given us less amusing books. Originally Sir John owned and ran horses under the name of Mr. Thellusson, when he trained with old Richard Drewitt, at Lewes. Fordham, at that period, mostly donned the canary and green cap of the baronet, and won many important races for him. Although during his racing career Sir John Astley owned some good horses, he never won any of the chief weight-for-age classic events. His principal achievements were winning the Cambridgeshire in 1866, and the Chesterfield Cup with Ostregor, one of the best he ever owned, under an almost prohibitive weight. He was concerned in the forming of several clubs, some social, and others sporting, took a prominent part in all forms of athletic competition, and was a genial patron of field sports of all kinds.

Sir John Astley married, in 1858, Eleanor Blanche Mary, only daughter of T. E. Corbett, Esq., of Elsham Hall, Lincolnshire, and he died on October 10 quite suddenly at his town residence, Park Place, St. James', honestly regretted by a large circle of friends recruited in all classes of society.

**Right Hon. Sir Alfred Stephen, G.C.M.G., C.B.**—Alfred Stephen, third son of Hon. John Stephen, a Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, was born at St. Christopher's, West Indies, in 1802. His grandfather, James Stephen, was also the ancestor of Sir James Stephen, the historian; Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen, the judge and distinguished jurist, and of Mr. Leslie Stephen, the author. Alfred Stephen was first sent to the Charterhouse School in London, but was subsequently removed to Honiton Grammar School. He did not go to either university, but at once set himself to the study of law, and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1823, and in the following year sailed for Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania), then a convict settlement. In 1825 Mr. Stephen was appointed Solicitor-General to the colony, and after holding that post for seven years, was Attorney-General from 1832-9. In 1839 he was summoned by the Governor of New South Wales to take a seat on the Bench, and in 1844 he was promoted to be Chief Justice. When, in 1856, New South Wales became a self-governing colony, Sir Alfred Stephen was appointed President of the Legis-

lative Council for a brief but momentous period. On his retirement from the Chief Justiceship in 1873, he was immediately placed on the Legislative Council, and continued for many years to give his services to the colony. In 1875, owing to an unfortunate disagreement between Sir James Martin, his successor as Chief Justice, and the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Alfred Stephen was, by royal warrant, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, and this office he held until 1891. Outside the Supreme Court, the Legislative Council, and Government House, in each of which his name was honoured and respected and his services to the colony appreciated, Sir Alfred Stephen was a member of the Board of National Education until its dissolution in 1866, a leading member of the Senate of the University of Sydney, and a trustee of the Australian Museum and National Art Gallery, and in each position gave proof of his energetic and unselfish devotion to his colony. He was knighted in 1846, created C.B. in 1862, K.C.M.G. in 1874, G.C.M.G. in 1884, and a Privy Councillor in 1893. He married, first, 1824, Virginia, daughter of Mathew Consett, of London; and second, 1838, Eleanor, daughter of Rev. Wm. Bedford, D.D., Senior Chaplain in Tasmania; and he died at Sydney on October 15 in the almost undiminished enjoyment of his mental and bodily powers.

**Professor Froude.**—James Anthony Froude, who was born at Dartington, Devon, on April 23, 1818, was the son of the Venerable R. H. Froude, Archdeacon of Totnes; and his brothers were Richard Hurrell Froude, afterwards one of the leading spirits of the "Oxford Movement," and William Froude, afterwards F.R.S., and a very distinguished engineer. The young Froude was sent to Westminster School, and afterwards to Oriel College, then (1836-40) the very centre and hotbed of the ecclesiastical revival. He was strongly moved by it, and felt from the beginning the strength of Newman's influence. In 1840 he obtained only a second class in the final schools, a misfortune that happened to many other good scholars, such as his friend Matthew Arnold and his great antagonist E. A. Freeman. Froude regained the position lost in the schools by winning, in 1842, the Chancellor's English essay prize and a fellowship at Exeter College, the subject of the essay being "The Influence of the Science of Political



Economy on the Moral and Social Welfare of the Nation." His name frequently occurs in the records of this time kept by the leaders and followers of "the movement"; for, though he never took such an active part in it as his eager and brilliant elder brother, he for a time belonged to it in all sincerity, and worked under Newman in the preparation of those "Lives of the English Saints" which were meant to have, and had, so wide an influence upon religiously-minded people. The "Life of St. Ninian" was written by him. In 1844 Froude took deacon's orders; but very soon there came a change in his views, which rapidly became a complete revolution. Clough and other friends had observed its approach even before he became a clergyman, but it only became apparent on the publication, in 1847, of the curious and rare volume called "Shadows of the Clouds," issued under the pseudonym of "Zeta"; and the breach with the traditional religion was completed next year, when Froude published under his own name "The Nemesis of Faith," in which his views were more clearly expressed. The book attracted great attention at the time it was written, especially in Oxford, where, as was reported, Dr. William Sewell, the High Church founder of Radley School, publicly burned it in the Exeter Quadrangle.

The immediate practical effect of Froude's change of views and the publication of his book was that he resigned his fellowship, gave up the post of head master of the High School at Hobart Town, Tasmania, to which he had just been appointed, and became frankly a man of letters. For many years he supported himself almost entirely by his writings for *Fraser's*, for the *Westminster Review*, and other periodicals, where the beauty and clearness of his style soon attracted attention and marked him out as one from whom much was to be expected. The essay on "Job" appeared in 1853, that on "Spinoza" in 1854, that on "England's Forgotten Worthies" in 1852, the last being in a sense a forerunner of his "History of England." Of this great work the first two volumes appeared in 1856, at the time when Macaulay's volumes were still appearing at intervals, and when it might have been thought that a new historian, totally unlike Macaulay in method and style, would have a difficulty in finding the ear of the public. Yet the success of Froude's volumes

was indisputable from the first. People found in them a narrative power of the highest order, a style transparent as the air, a total absence of artifice, and, in addition, an originality in certain features of the history which was enough to excite either strong sympathy or strong antagonism. Amongst the several critics and opponents of his estimate of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth were Mr. Goldwin Smith and Professor Freeman—the latter of whom took the opportunity of his connection with the *Saturday Review* to continue his attacks upon Froude for more than a quarter of a century. The University of St. Andrews, on the other hand, did him the highest honour in its power by electing him Lord Rector in 1869, and Froude in his inaugural address made certain thrusts at the insincerity which, according to him, was the besetting sin of the clergy of all denominations.

The "History of England," "from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Armada," was completed by the publication of the eleventh and twelfth volumes in 1870, when the author was fifty-two years old. At once he began to put into shape another book of only second importance, also, like the "England," to a certain extent suggested by the pressing questions of the moment. The new policy towards Ireland, inaugurated in 1869, by Mr. Gladstone's Disestablishment Bill, followed by the Land Bill of the following year, suggested the direction of Mr. Froude's studies.

With a view of showing what he thought the futility of a conciliatory policy. Froude published in 1872 his "English in Ireland," a book in three volumes, dealing in a summary manner with the history of English rule and Irish resistance from 1641 to the rebellion of 1798. Naturally, the book was strongly attacked, and even Mr. Lecky, Unionist though he was, was moved to reply to many portions of it.

In 1874, at the request of Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary for the Colonies, Froude accepted a mission of inquiry to the Cape of Good Hope, at that time disturbed by those Kaffir troubles which led a few years later to the Zulu and Basuto wars. Some results of this visit, as of a later journey to the Antipodes, were included in the brilliant little volume called "Oceana" (1886), perhaps the most widely circulated of all Froude's writings. But this colonial experience was, like his "Cesar" (1879), a brilliant but imperfect study,

only an episode in Froude's "third period"; the important work of it, from the literary point of view, was what he accomplished with regard to his friend and master, Carlyle. For some ten years it had been understood that he was to be Carlyle's literary executor, and his work began, not long after the great man's death in 1881, with the publication of the two volumes of Carlyle's "Reminiscences." Carlyle himself had wished, and at first had expressed his wish with characteristic vehemence, that no Life of him should be written, and that the publication of a selection of his papers, such as these two volumes, should suffice. As his end approached, however, it was made clear to him that Lives would certainly be written, that the curiosity of mankind to know the personal facts about its teachers was too strong to be resisted, and that he had better authorise such a work from the best available sources rather than leave it to the tender mercies of the book-makers. So he consented, and gave Froude absolute discretion in the matter. The direct result was the series of volumes which followed, written or edited by Froude; the indirect results, those supplementary, controversial, deprecatory volumes which appeared afterwards from other hands, British and American, and which have hardly ceased even now. In 1882 were published Froude's first two volumes, covering the life of Carlyle down to his leaving Craigenputtock; two years later appeared the last two, dealing with the life in London; and afterwards came the three volumes of Mrs. Carlyle's letters. We have no intention of reopening the controversy that raged over these volumes, or of discussing the question how far Froude did a disservice to his master by publishing them, and whether—gravest charge of all—any personal animus of his own was there, to turn what professed to be admiration into the contrary feeling.

For a moment, some time after the publication of the "Carlyle," Froude ventured into the field of contemporary political history, and produced his brilliant little sketch of Lord Beaconsfield. Pressure was put upon him to undertake the authoritative Life, but he declined for various reasons, the chief one, he said, being that "your Dizzy lived in and by the House of Commons; and I am no great believer in Parliaments." The disciple of Carlyle, the apologist of Cæsar, and Henry, and Thomas Cromwell, could not have revealed himself more clearly.

He was, however, soon to be called to more important work. In 1892 his old antagonist, Mr. E. A. Freeman, who had been appointed Professor of Modern History by Mr. Gladstone, died; and Lord Salisbury, who was now Prime Minister, offered the chair to Froude. The appointment proved a great success; and the fears of those who imagined that Froude would not work, or would discourage historical research, or what not, were shown to be groundless. His lectures were numerous, and were attended by eager crowds. Very wisely, Froude kept principally to the century that he had studied most, and spoke of the Elizabethan navigators, and, more recently, of Erasmus—men, it may be remarked, with whom the two sides of his mind had most affinity. For, while the greater share of his admiration was awarded to action and men of action, his intellectual sympathy was given to no writer more unreservedly than to the prince of humanists—the fearless searcher after truth, the unsurpassed master of style. These lectures on Erasmus were given to the world in book form a few weeks before the author's death.

Less, perhaps, than most eminent men of letters did Froude live for books alone. His judgment in practical matters was often appealed to by practical men, as when Lord Carnarvon asked him to report on the state of South Africa; and in the relations of domestic and social life he was almost as interesting as in his literary character. To the very end he retained an extraordinary personal charm, and it used to be said, long after he ceased to be young, that he could, if he took the trouble, captivate any man or woman he chose. He was twice married. Soon after he left Oxford, and when he was depressed and unhappy with the complication of troubles in which his ordination and the reaction had involved him, Charles Kingsley introduced him to the family of Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, of Taplow House, the father of several handsome and remarkable daughters. One of them afterwards married Lord Wolverton, one "S. G. O."—the well-known Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne—and one Charles Kingsley. This last was the Honoria of "Yeast"; and a fourth sister, Charlotte, easily recognisable as the heroine Argemone, became Mrs. Froude. After about ten years of married life, this lady died in 1860. One of her sisters had married a widower, Mr. John Warre, once well known as the Whig member for Taun-

ton; and he, by a former marriage, had been the father of a daughter who is still remembered by her friends as having been one of the most delightful women of her time. Within two years of his first wife's death, Froude and Miss Warre were married, and there began for him an era of perfect happiness, which only ended with Mrs. Froude's death in 1886.

Mr. Froude would, it was hoped, continue to occupy for many years the chair he filled with conspicuous ability. He returned from Oxford to Salcombe, near Plymouth, at the end of May and again at the close of the summer term, and though he sometimes complained of feeling unwell he was able to continue his favourite amusement of yachting. After a few weeks he became decidedly worse, and from that time never rallied, the medical men coming to the conclusion that he was suffering from an internal disorder which would necessarily prove fatal. After a long period of nervous prostration he passed away on October 20 in the library of his residence, Woodcot, Salcombe, having been unconscious for thirty-six hours before his actual death.

**Lord Basing.**—George Sclater-Booth, the son of Mr. William Lutley Sclater, of Hoddington House, Hampshire, was born in London in 1826. He was educated at Winchester (gold medallist for Latin verse, 1847) and at Balliol College, and took his B.A. degree in 1847, with a second-class in classics. He was subsequently called to the Bar as a member of the Inner Temple. In 1856 he assumed the second surname of Booth, and entered the House of Commons as member for North Hampshire, in the Conservative interest. Ten years later he became Secretary to the Poor Law Board, a subordinate office, but one that derived exceptional importance from the fact that his chief, the Earl of Devon, sat in the Upper House. In the following year, on Mr. Ward Hunt's appointment to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Mr. Sclater-Booth became Secretary to the Treasury, and conducted ably much of the financial business of the House. The Government in which he served—Mr. Disraeli's—resigned in 1868, but Mr. Sclater-Booth, although now in Opposition, found plenty of work as Chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts. He returned to office in 1874, and throughout the whole period of the Conservative Government from 1874 to 1880 he presided, with great success, over the Local Government

Board. His tenure of office will be associated chiefly with the Rating Act and the Registration Act of 1874, and the Pollution of Rivers Prevention Act of 1875. After the general election of 1880, Mr. Sclater-Booth for a second time found work in Opposition as Chairman of Grand Committees, an experiment in devolution which owed something to his experience and attention. His Parliamentary life was rather useful than ambitious; solid rather than distinguished. He received a peerage, with the title of Lord Basing, in 1887, but in the Upper House he was not a prominent figure, and when the debates on the Parish Councils Bill afforded a subject on which he would have been entitled to speak with authority, he was unable to take part in the discussion. A Hampshire man and a local magnate, he had a secure seat, and held it for thirty years with no more interruption than was necessarily caused by the redistribution of seats in 1885, when his constituency became known as the Basingstoke division. His supporters had reason for their fidelity, for his local services were valuable and long continued; and it was only natural that on the formation of the Hampshire County Council he should be chosen to fill the chair. Lord Basing married, in 1857, Lydia Caroline, daughter of Major G. Birch, of Clare Park, Hants, and died at his residence, Odiham, on 22nd inst., after a brief illness.

**Professor Dr. Heinrich Rudolph Hildebrand**, the eminent linguist, was born in 1824. After taking his degree at Leipsic University, he was appointed teacher in the Thomas School in that city. That post he occupied till the end of 1868. Besides this, however, he was entrusted, in 1850, when the editing of Grimm's "Dictionary of the German Language" began, with the office of scientific reader in connection with that monumental work. He was eminently fitted for the task, as he had already been employed by various publishers as reader of German philological writings. He had obtained so wide a knowledge of the subject that it enabled him to make many and valuable contributions to the dictionary in question. On the death of the brothers Grimm, the dictionary being far from completed, Hildebrand was entrusted, in conjunction with Heyne, Weigand, and Lexer, with the task of continuing the work. This circumstance may be regarded as a turning point in Hildebrand's career. It became soon evident that the absorbing

labours connected with the dictionary could not be accomplished while his time was largely taken up with his duties as teacher at the Thomas School. The Leipsic authorities, in 1865, came to the rescue. The Town Council showed themselves imbued with German patriotism, and while continuing his salary without any reduction, relieved him of one moiety of his duties of teacher. Subsequently, in 1868, the Saxon Government went a step further to enable him to devote himself more exclusively to his collaboration in the compilation of the dictionary. He was enabled to relinquish his post of teacher, the Government having conferred upon him, in 1869, the office of extraordin-

ary Professor at the Leipsic University. Eventually, in 1874, he became ordinary Professor of German Literature and Language at the same university. This gave him sufficient leisure to devote himself to Grimm's Dictionary, and he not only wrote all the part under the letter K, but made large contributions to the letter G, and to other sections of the work. Apart, however, from his assistance in these labours, he published various books himself, including a splendid treatise on Soltau's "Deutsche historische Volkslieder, Zweites Hundert," and many others of great philological value. He died, October 28, at Leipsic, his native town.

On the 2nd, at Wells, aged 81, the **Duke of Somerset**. Algernon Percy Banks fourteen Duke of Somerset, was the youngest of three sons of the eleventh duke. Educated at Eton; entered Royal Horse Guards; succeeded his two brothers in the dukedom, 1891. Married, 1845, Horatia Isabella, daughter of John Philip Morier, sometime British Minister at Dresden. On the 2nd, at Paris, aged 62, **John Falconer Atlee, C.M.G.**, son of J. F. Atlee, of Wandsworth, Private Secretary to Earl Cowley. Ambassador to Paris, 1852-67; Registrar and Librarian of the Embassy in Paris, 1855; and Consul, 1865. On the 4th, at Westcliffe House, aged 69, **John Henry Warre**, of Cheddon, Somerset, son of John Ashley Warre. Educated at Rugby and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1847. On the 4th, at Scole, Norfolk, aged 96, **William Calverley Curteis, LL.D.**, eldest son of Rev. Samuel Curteis, of Thoby Priory, Essex. Graduated LL.B. at Trinity Hall, 1821; admitted as Proctor, 1826; practised at Doctors' Commons; and was editor of "Curteis' Reports." Married, 1838, Frances Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. William Manning, Rector of Diss, Norfolk. On the 5th, at Ennismore Gardens, London, aged 74, **Lieutenant-Colonel William Pretymman**, third son of Rev. G. T. Pretymman, Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln. Entered 38rd Foot, 1838, and after much foreign service went as captain to the Crimea, where he was in command of the most advanced picket on the night of the Russian attack at Inkerman. Of thirty-two officers of his regiment he was the only one who returned unwounded. Exchanged, 1856, to 60th Rifles, of which he commanded the 4th Battalion, 1860-5. Married, 1865, Geraldine, daughter of J. Newman of Dromore, Co. Cork. On the 6th, at Wolverhampton, aged 77, **Sir Rupert Alfred Kettle**, son of Thomas Kettle, a Birmingham manufacturer, descended from a French Huguenot named Quitel, who settled in Birmingham after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Served his articles as a solicitor; he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1845, and devoted himself especially to industrial questions, and was constantly employed as arbitrator in important trade disputes, and rendered active service to both masters and men. Judge of Worcestershire County Court, 1859-92. Married, 1851, Mary, daughter of William Cooke, of Merridale, Wolverhampton. On the 7th, at Melbourne, Victoria, aged 96, **Very Rev. Hussey Burgh Macartney**, Dean of Melbourne, son of Sir John Macartney, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. Born at Dublin; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1822, and ordained, 1823; incumbent of Creagh, Co. Cork, 1824-36; accompanied Dr. Perry, first Bishop of Melbourne, 1847; appointed Archdeacon of Geelong, 1848, and Dean of Melbourne, 1852, with the incumbency of St. James's Church attached, discharging the duties of his post with efficiency until the end. On the 8th, at Eton, aged 56, **Rev. Thomas Dalton**. Educated at Gonville and Caius College; twenty-first wrangler, 1861, and third class classical tripos. Appointed Assistant Master at Eton College, 1861, and senior Mathematical Master, 1872. Chairman of the Local Board of Health, and a County Councillor for Bucks. On the 9th, at Lichfield, aged 69, **Rev. George Herbert Curteis**, son of George Curteis, of Canterbury. Educated at University College, Oxford; B.A., 1846; second class classics; Fellow of Exeter, 1847; Principal of Lichfield Theological College, 1857-77; Bampton Lecturer, 1871; Canon of Lichfield, 1873; Professor of New Testament at King's College, London, 1882; Chaplain of the Savoy, 1890. Author of the "Life of Bishop Selwyn," 1888. On the 10th, at

Brussels, aged 29, **Augusta de Grasse Stevens**, a talented authoress, daughter of the Hon. Samuel Stevens, great-granddaughter of the French Admiral de Grasse, and god-daughter of Washington Irving. Born at Albany, New York, U.S.A., authoress of "Old Boston," "Weighed in the Balance," "The Lost Dauphin," "Miss Hildreth," etc. On the 11th, at Edinburgh, aged 83, **Admiral Thomas Wilson, C.B.** Entered the Royal Navy, 1826; served in the Chinese Wars of 1840 and 1856. Married, 1859, Isabella, daughter of Captain Charles Kinloch, of Gourdie, Perthshire. On the 11th, at Wroxton, Oxon., aged 90, **Colonel the Rt. Hon. John Sidney North**, son of Sir Charles William Doyle, C.B., G.C.H. Born at Alnwick; educated at Royal Military College, Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1821. Married, 1835, Lady Susan North, daughter of third Earl of Guildford, who became Baroness North, 1841; took the surname of North, 1838, by royal licence. Sat as a Conservative for Oxfordshire, 1852-85; created a Privy Councillor, 1886. On the 11th, at Kensington, aged 77, **George Bullen, C.B.**, son of Walter Bullen, of Clonakilty, Co. Cork. Educated at St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark, and for a short time was Assistant Master at St. Olave's School, Southwark. Entered the British Museum as Supernumerary Assistant in the Printed Book Department, 1838; Assistant Keeper and Superintendent of the Reading Rooms, 1866-75; and Keeper, 1875-90. Was the author of several works of bibliography, and the compiler of catalogues of several public libraries. On the 12th, at Kensington, aged 61, **John Nichol, LL.D.**, Emeritus Professor, son of Professor Nichol, the Astronomer of Glasgow University. Educated at Glasgow, 1848-55, and at Balliol College, Oxford, 1855-9; B.A., 1859; first-class in classics, and fourth in Mathematics. Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow, 1861-89. The author of several works on history and literature. On the 16th, in Hyde Park Square, aged 63, **Charles Marshall Griffith, Q.C.**, of Lwyndaris, Cardigan, Chairman of Cardiganshire Quarter Sessions, son of Rev. C. Griffith, of Worthing. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford; B.A., 1852; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1855; Q.C., 1877; Chairman of Quarter Sessions, 1870. Married, 1858, Sarah Anna, daughter of Hugh Ingram, of Steyning, Sussex. On the 16th, at Sunningdale, Berks, aged 82, **General Sir David Edward Wood, G.C.B.**, Colonel-Commandant R.H.A., fourth son of Colonel Thomas Wood, of Littleton, Middlesex. Educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; entered the Royal Artillery, 1829; served in the Kaffir War, 1842; commanded Artillery of the 4th Division during the Crimean War, 1854-5; and the Horse Artillery during the Indian Mutiny, 1856-7; Commandant at Woolwich, 1866-74; K.C.B., 1859; G.C.B., 1877. Married, 1861, Hon. Maria Isabella, eldest daughter of second Lord Ravensworth (first Earl). On the 16th, at Würzburg, aged 65, **Johanna Jackmann-Wagner**, a famous singer and tragedian, daughter of Albert Wagner, chief stage manager at Berlin, and a niece of Richard Wagner, the composer. Born at Hanover; made her *début* as a singer at Dresden, in 1844; studied under Madame Schroder-Devrient and Madame Viardot Garcia; engaged as principal singer at Hamburg, 1849; and at Berlin, 1850-62, having had the title of *Kammersängerinn* conferred on her, 1853; appeared as a tragic actress at Berlin, 1863-9. Married, 1859, Provincial-Councillor Jackmann. On the 18th, at Quantock Lodge, Bridgwater, aged 27, **Viscount Drumlanrig**, Francis Archibald, eldest son of the Marquess of Queensberry. Educated at Harrow and Sandhurst; lieutenant in Coldstream Guards, 1887; Lord-in-Waiting, 1892; and Assistant Private Secretary to the Earl of Rosebery, when Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1892-4; created Lord Kelhead, 1893. On the 18th, at South Hampstead, aged 60, **Colonel Charles Harding**, manager of the Accident Insurance Company, son of William Harding, of Ottery St. Mary, Devon. Began life as a journalist, and produced various comedies, 1853-64; joined the Horse Artillery Company, 1864; Hon. Colonel, 4th V.B. of the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment; Master of the Needle Makers' Company, 1881. On the 19th, at Paris, aged 35, **James Darmestetter**, Professor at the College de France. Born at Château Salins, in Alsace; educated in Paris, and under the direction of MM. Bréal and Bergaigne, devoted himself to philosophy; appointed assistant Professor of Zend at the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes, 1877; and Professor of Persian at the College de France, 1885; was the author of "Etudes Iraniques," 1883; "Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam," 1885; "Lettres sur l'Inde," 1889; "Les Prophètes d'Israel," 1892; and above all, a translation of the Zend Avesta. Married, 1890, Mary, daughter of George T. Robinson, of Kensington, whose poems he had previously translated into French. On the 20th, in Wimpole Street, aged 83, **William Henry Cooke, Q.C., F.S.A.**, Recorder of Oxford, son of Rev. W. Cooke, Vicar of Bromyard, Hereford. Educated at

Brasenose College, Oxford; B.A., 1834; called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, 1837; Q.C., 1863; appointed County Court Judge for Oxfordshire, 1868-88; Recorder of Oxford, 1868; was a distinguished antiquarian, and completed Duncomb's "History of Herefordshire." Married, 1865, Annie, daughter of J. Greateorex, of London. On the 21st, at Berkeley Square, W., aged 61, **Robert Smith**, of Goldings, Herts, second son of Abel Smith, M.P., of Wardhall Park. Educated at Harrow, and Trinity College, Cambridge; partner in the banking firm of Smith, Payne & Smitz, London; Samuel Smith & Co., Nottingham; and Smith, Ellison, & Co., Lincoln. Married, 1857, Isabel Adeane, daughter of Henry J. Adeane, M.P., of Babraham, Cambridge. On the 22nd, at Marlow, aged 80, **Edwin Clark, M.I.C.E.**, educated as a civil engineer, and was the pupil and assistant of Robert Stephenson. As resident engineer, had the control of the construction of the Britannia Tubular Bridge, after which he was for many years chief engineer to the Electric Telegraph Company; patented the hydraulic graving dock and the hydraulic canal lift; was the inventor of the block system of railway signalling, and the constructor of the Callao Harbour (Peru), and many other important works in various parts of the world, before his final retirement in 1876. On the 23rd, at Duke Street, St. James's, aged 82, **Lieutenant-General Robert John Eagar, C.B.**, son of Major Francis Russell Eagar. Entered the army, 1830, 81st Foot; served through the Afghan War, 1842; Crimean Campaign, 1855-6; China War, 1860; and in command of his regiment against the Taeping rebels, 1862. On the 24th, at Scargill Lodge, Barnard Castle, aged 66, **Sir Frederick Augustus Clifford-Constable**, third baronet, son of Sir Thomas Clifford-Constable. Born at Brighton; Major, East York Militia, 1853-61. Married, 1856, Mary Ann, daughter of William Herring, of St. Mary's, Scilly Isles. On the 27th, at Copenhagen, aged 81, **Carl Plong**, a distinguished poet, politician, and newspaper editor, who, under the name of "Paul Rytter," defended in *Fädreland*, championed the cause of Scandinavian Unity. On the 25th, at Wellingborough, aged 69, **John Arkham**, "the Northamptonshire poet"; for the greater part of his life was a working shoemaker. Published his first volume of sonnets, 1863; subsequent volumes of poetry appearing in 1866, 1870, and 1875. On the 29th, at Bovey-Tracey, Devon, aged 78, **Rev. the Hon. Charles Leslie Courtenay**, third son of William, eleventh Earl of Devon. Graduated B.A. at Christ Church, Oxford, 1837; domestic chaplain to the Queen, 1843-9; Vicar of Bovey-Tracey and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, 1849; Canon of Windsor, 1859. Married, 1849, Lady Carolina Margaret, daughter of second Earl Somers, many years a maid of honour to the Queen, who survived him less than three weeks, aged 77. On the 29th, at Hangerund, Norway, aged 53, **Cæsar Richard Hawkins, B.C.S.**, only surviving son of Dr. Edward Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church College, Oxford; entered Bengal Civil Service, 1861, and served in the judicial branch until 1884. Married, 1867, Alice, daughter of Major-General E. N. Perkins, B.S.C. On the 29th, at Homme House, Herefordshire, aged 82, **Lieutenant-Colonel John Ernie Money-Kyrle**, third son of Rev. Wm. Money. Educated at Winchester; joined 32nd Regiment, 1832; served in the Canadian Rebellion, 1836-8, and Adjutant of the Herefordshire Militia, 1846-68. Married first, 1842, Harriet Louisa, eldest daughter of William Sutton, of Hertingfordbury, Herts, and second, 1865, Ada Frances, daughter of John Simons. On the 30th, at Abergele, aged 95 (less one month), **Olwdfardd**, the Welsh Archdruid. Won numerous medals for composition, and since 1889 had been in receipt of a pension from the Royal Bounty in recognition of his services to literature. He was a local preacher of the Wesleyan denomination, and at the age of eighty-four had ascended Snowdon. On the 30th, at Montreal, aged 54, **Hon. Honoré Mercier**. Born at St. Athanase, Lower Canada; educated at St. Mary's College, Montreal; and was called to the Bar, 1863; was editor of *Le Courier de l'Hyacinthe*, 1863-7; when he took up practice at the Bar, and was elected to the Quebec House of Assembly, 1872-4; was Solicitor-General in the Liberal Ministry of M. Joly, 1879-83. After a short period of Opposition, during which he endeavoured to combat political corruption, he returned to power on French-Canadian indignation as Premier of Quebec, 1889; introduced the famous Jesuit Act endowing the Catholic Church with 80,000*l.*, and was created by the Pope Count and Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, 1891; but was dismissed with his Ministry the same year on charges of corruption, of which he was subsequently acquitted, although his party was hopelessly beaten at the poll.

## NOVEMBER.

**The Czar.**—Alexander III. was born on March 10, 1845, the second son of the Grand Duke Alexander, afterwards Alexander II., and Maria, daughter of Ludwig II., Grand Duke of Hesse, and aunt of Ludwig IV., husband of the late Princess Alice. In his youth there was no prospect of his ascending the throne, and his education was therefore directed rather to military than to State affairs; but in April, 1865, he became heir-apparent by the death of his elder brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, from consumption; and in November of the following year he married Dagmar, daughter of the King of Denmark, and sister of the Princess of Wales and the King of Greece. The Princess had formerly been betrothed to the Grand Duke Nicholas, and it was understood that his dying wish was that his bride should marry his brother. When he became Csesarewitch, though he did not overtly oppose his father's policy, it was seen that he inclined to the Old Russian party, who held that Western influences were only pernicious to Russia. He felt special antagonism to the German elements, which had been so prominent in the administration since the time of Peter the Great, and his sympathies in the war of 1870 were entirely with the French, though they were said to have been afterwards greatly checked by the excesses of the Commune. The great losses suffered by Russia in the war with Turkey in 1877 filled Alexander II. with detestation of war, and this feeling was held even more strongly by his son, who had served through the war, and he showed his appreciation of peace when power came into his own hands. Towards the end of his reign Alexander II. was desirous of giving the great work of the early part of his reign, the emancipation of the serfs, a complement in the shape of a constitution and an elementary form of a representative Government. The proclamation which was to grant this is said to have been already in type when he was assassinated on March 13, 1881. Alexander III. is said to have at first intended to carry out his father's intentions. He called, however, a council, to which the measure was submitted, and the result was that he gave up a policy to which he attributed his father's murder, and his proclamation declared that he would uphold the autocratic authority of the

Crown against all attacks. Loris Melikoff, the late Emperor's minister, retired, and Count Ignatieff was appointed Minister of the Interior, General Vannousky was appointed Minister of War, and M. Pobodonostzeff Procurator of the Holy Synod. In 1882 Prince Gortschakoff retired, and his place as Chancellor was not filled up. M. de Giers held the post of Foreign Minister ever since, but the direction of foreign affairs was kept by the Czar in his own hands. His influence was steadily exercised for peace, and in Europe the Russian frontiers remained the same, though extension, possibly unavoidable, went on in Asia. The forcible removal of Prince Alexander of Battenberg from Bulgaria, which he permitted, if he did not order, was explained on the ground that he regarded the Prince as a traitor in giving up the policy which he professed of devotion to Russian interests. At home his policy was above all things Russian, with, in religious matters, profound devotion to the interests of the Orthodox Church, to which may be referred the charges of persecution against the Jews and the Stundists, both of whom, in common with most Russians, he regarded as foreign elements. All through his reign, of course, there was a ceaseless struggle against Nihilist elements, and although the danger had no effect on his purpose, there was a ceaseless strain, which greatly contributed to develop the disease to which he at length fell a victim, and from which he could only get free during his long annual visits to the Danish Court, where he could give himself up to the pleasures of family life. The most cruel trial to which he was put was in the terrible accident at Borki, whether it was, according to the official explanation, the result of excessive speed over a railway which criminal neglect had rendered insecure, or, as was currently believed, of a Nihilist bomb thrown by one of the cooks in the kitchen accompanying the train. The effect of the shock was intensified by the fact that his family were with him at the time, and some saw in this the actual origin of the fatal illness, against which he manfully struggled for many months. The first intimation of his illness was the announcement that an attack of influenza prevented him from attending the annual ceremony of blessing the waters of the

Neva in the early part of the year. He seemed to recover from this attack, but was urged by his medical attendants to abstain from all sorts of work. This he found impossible, or was unwilling to do. After the close of the summer a relapse occurred, and the Court removed to Spala, and later on to Livadia, in the hope of the curative effects of a milder climate. This hope proved illusory, and after a desperate struggle he at length succumbed on November 1, at his palace at Livadia in the presence of his family. The official account was as follows:—

"The death of the Emperor was that of an upright man, just as his life, which was inspired by faith, love and humility, was a life of uprightness. For some days before his end his Majesty felt that death was approaching, and prepared himself for it as a true Christian, without, however, relaxing his solicitude for the affairs of the State. On two occasions, on the 21st and on the 29th, the Emperor received the Holy Sacrament. After passing an entirely sleepless night, his Majesty said to the Empress on the morning of the 1st inst.: 'I feel the end approaching; be calm! I am quite calm.' All the members of his family having assembled around him, the Czar sent for his confessor, and received the Holy Communion with great fervour, sitting in his armchair and repeating aloud the customary prayers. During the whole time the Emperor did not lose consciousness for a single moment. After morning prayer his Majesty sent for the priest, Ivan Sergief, and prayed with him. Half an hour later he again asked for the priest, who engaged in prayer with the Czar and administered the last sacraments, remaining with him till he passed away. At two o'clock the Emperor's pulse became more rapid, and his eyes appeared to brighten. A quarter of an hour later, however, he closed his eyes, leaned back his head, and commended his soul to God, leaving as a legacy to his people the blessings of peace and the bright example of a noble life."

**John Walter**, the third of the name and grandson of the original founder of the *Times*, was born in Printing House Square, in 1818, and in due course was sent to Eton, where he was captain of the Oppidans, and in the eleven. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, and graduated B.A. in 1840, having obtained a second-class in classics, in which Mr. (afterwards

Sir George) Dasent, Mr. T. H. Farrer (afterwards Lord Farrer), and Mr. Froude, the historian, were also placed. During his Oxford career he fell under the influence of Newman and Pusey, and on coming to London to take his place in the management of the *Times*, a serious difference with his father, on the attitude to be adopted by the paper, led to his temporary withdrawal from its counsel. The principal cause was the overtures made by him to Newman to become a contributor to the paper. These overtures, however, came to nothing, although they probably brought about the introduction of Mr. Thomas Mozley, Newman's brother-in-law, whose connection with the *Times* lasted for many years. In 1843 he contested Nottingham unsuccessfully as a Free Trader, but in 1847 he was placed at the head of the poll with Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader, as his colleague, defeating the two Liberal candidates, Mr. T. Gisborne and Sir J. C. Hobhouse. Having been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1846, in the following year John Walter succeeded, on the death of his father, to the sole management of the *Times*. He was elected for Nottingham again in 1851, and in 1857, as a Liberal-Conservative, and sat until 1859, when he was returned as a Liberal for Berkshire. In 1865 he was defeated for that county, but was returned again in 1868, and retained the seat until 1885, when he finally retired from Parliament. He was offered a peerage by Lord Beaconsfield, but declined the honour. He rarely spoke in Parliament, but his addresses to his constituents were marked by solid reasoning and strong common-sense. In 1860 he defended the independence of the Press in the House of Commons, against some strictures made by Mr. Horsman and his speech on that occasion was regarded as a masterly vindication of his order. The policy of the Gladstone Government in the Parliament of 1880-5 loosened his ties with the Liberal party, and in the following year he definitely broke with Mr. Gladstone's party. He devoted much energy and capital to housing the *Times* in fitting offices, and erected the present spacious buildings which replace the old office in Printing House Square. His father had been the first to introduce printing by steam, and the son followed this up by the introduction of the printing press which bears his name. He further showed his architectural capacity in building his magnificent house at Bearwood, Berks, which was erected wholly from



his own designs. Mr. Walter married first, in 1842, Emily Frances, daughter of Major Henry Court, of Castlemons, Berks, who died in 1858, and secondly, in 1861, Flora, daughter of James Munro Macnabb of Highfield Park, Berks. He died at Bearwood, on November 3, after a short illness, having survived his eldest son John, who was unfortunately drowned on Christmas Eve, 1870, in his efforts to rescue his brother and a cousin who had fallen through the ice while skating.

**Philip Gilbert Hamerton.**—Philip Gilbert Hamerton was born at Lane-side, near Shaw, Lancashire, on September 10, 1834. He was educated at Burnley and Doncaster Grammar Schools. Though intended for a university career his taste for the fine arts led him to study landscape painting, and in 1855 he went to Paris to study painting and French literature. After a two years' sojourn in Paris he settled at Loch Awe, but in 1861 he returned to France, and took up his residence at Sens, where he devoted himself to painting. About this time, however, he became a contributor to the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* and to the *Fortnightly*, and in 1866 he was appointed art critic to the *Saturday Review*, though he only retained the post for two years. In 1868 he published "Etching and Etchers," and an essay entitled "Contemporary French Painters," and in the following year another essay on "Painting in France after the Decline of Classicism." In 1869 his first novel, "Wanderholme," appeared, together with a periodical called the *Portfolio*. In 1873, his work, "The Intellectual Life," was published, and of his other works, "Round My House" was produced in 1876; "Marmorne," a novel, anonymously in 1878; "Modern Frenchmen," in 1878; "The Graphic Arts, a treatise on the varieties of drawing, painting, and engraving, in comparison with each other and with nature," in 1882; a volume of essays under the title "Human Intercourse," in 1884; and a work on "Landscape," in 1885. A collected edition of Mr. Hamerton's works in ten volumes was published at Boston in 1882. Mr. Hamerton was a *membre protecteur* of the Belgian Etching Club, and an honorary member of the Society of Painter-Etchers, and in 1882 the Government of France conferred upon him the university decoration of an *Officier de l'Académie*. Having traversed the whole of the navigable length of the River Saône in 1886, he

published a richly illustrated description of that river in 1887, and this was followed in the same year by a treatise on "Imagination in Landscape Painting." "Portfolio Papers," issued in 1888; "French and English: a comparison," and a biography of Turner in French, are the chief of Mr. Hamerton's later works. He married, in 1872, the daughter of a French gentleman, and for many years resided near Antrim, but subsequently removed to Boulogne-sur-Seine, a suburb of Paris, where he died on November 5, after a very short illness.

**The Bishop of Colchester.**—The Right Rev. Alfred Blomfield, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Colchester, was the youngest son of Dr. Blomfield, who from 1828 to 1856 was Bishop of London. He was educated at Harrow and at Balliol College, Oxford, of which society he was a scholar. While at the University he gained the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse, and in 1855 was placed in the first class of the Final School of *Literæ Humaniores*, being elected a Fellow of All Souls in the following year. In 1857 he was ordained as curate to the late Bishop Claughton, then Vicar of Kidderminster. In 1862 he became Perpetual Curate of St. Philip's, Stepney, and in 1865 Vicar of St. Matthew's, City Road, where he did good work in the earlier days of the Evangelisation of the East End. In 1871 he accepted the All Souls' living of Barking, in Essex, and spent eleven years of active parochial work in that rapidly growing district. In 1878 his old vicar, Dr. Claughton, then Bishop of St. Albans, appointed him Archdeacon of Essex; and in 1882 he was transferred to the archdeaconry of Colchester, and consecrated Bishop Suffragan of the diocese, with the title of Bishop of Colchester. During the last two years of Bishop Claughton's episcopate the burden of diocesan work fell mainly on Bishop Blomfield. He inherited from his father not only an inexhaustible fund of good-natured and felicitous humour, but a capacity for business and a sagacious judgment of men, which stood him in good stead in the administration of his suffragan diocese, and won the esteem alike of clergy and laity. His busy life left little leisure for authorship, his only published works being "Memoirs of Bishop Blomfield" (1863), "Sermons in Town and Country" (1871), and "The Old Testament and the New Criticism," an expansion of two articles which appeared in the *Contemporary*

*Review* (1893). He married in 1868 the eldest daughter of Captain W. E. F. Barnes, and died on Nov. 5 at Park House, Brentwood, Essex.

**Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, G.C.B.**

—Thomas Matthew Charles Symonds, second son of Sir William Symonds, who died a rear-admiral in 1856, was born on July 15, 1813. Sir William Symonds was himself a distinguished naval officer, having filled from 1832 to 1847 the office of Surveyor to the Navy. In the early part of the present reign his ships were by all nations regarded as triumphs of naval construction, and served as types of vessels which long remained favourites for their sailing qualities and seaworthiness. His son, Thomas Matthew Charles, entered the Navy in 1825, passed his examination in 1831, and was made a lieutenant on Nov. 5, 1832. In the following year he was attached successively to the *Vestal*, 26, and *Endymion*, 50; and in 1834 to the *Britannia*, 120, and *Rattlesnake*, 28; and during this period served in the Mediterranean and East Indies. Being promoted to the rank of commander on Oct. 21, 1837, he returned home, and was put on half-pay until 1838, when he obtained command of the *Rover*, 18, on the North America and West Indies station. Further promotion to post rank on February 22, 1841, brought him home again, and condemned him once more to half-pay; nor did he obtain another ship until, in 1846, he was appointed to the *Spartan*, 26, in the Mediterranean. During his inactivity he married, in 1845, Anna Maria, daughter of the late Captain Edmund Heywood, R.N. His next ship was the *Arethusa*, which he commissioned in 1850 for particular service and which for a time formed part of the Western Squadron. She proceeded in 1853 to the Mediterranean, where, in October, Captain Symonds left her for a space in order to become Flag-Captain to Sir Edmund Lyons in the *Agamemnon*, 91. He resumed command of the *Arethusa* in July, 1854. While in the *Agamemnon* he took part in the attack on and capture of Redout Kaleh, and was mentioned in despatches. While in the *Arethusa* he was present at the surrender of Eupatoria, at the disembarkation of the Allies, and at the defence of Eupatoria. He also shared in the bombardment of Fort Constantine in October, when his ship suffered so severely as to be obliged to go to Constantinople for repairs. Indeed, she and the *Albion* suffered more than

any other vessels. Captain Symonds next commanded the *Conqueror*, 101, and was in this ship at the Spithead Review in 1856. He had, in the meantime, been rewarded for his services with a C.B., conferred in 1855, and with the Crimean and Turkish medals and Sebastopol clasp, as well as with the Medjidieh of the third class. In 1857 he further received a captain's good service pension. On November 1, 1860, he became a Rear-Admiral, and in 1862 was made Admiral-Superintendent at Devonport, with his flag in the *Indus*, and with the late Admiral Sir A. Cooper Key as his flag-captain. In 1867 he was made a K.C.B., having in the previous year risen to Vice-Admiral's rank; and in 1868 he was given command of the Channel Squadron, and hoisted his flag in the ironclad *Minotaur*, whose captain afterwards became Commodore James G. Goodenough. His last command was as Port-Admiral at Devonport, where he served from 1875 to 1878, with his flag in the *Royal Adelaide*. Seven months after relinquishing this office Sir Thomas was, on June 15, 1879, promoted to be Admiral of the fleet; and less than a year later he was made a G.C.B. He died at Torquay on November 14 after a lingering illness.

**Anton Gregorievitch Rubinstein** was born in November, 1829, of Jewish parents, at Wichwotinetz, in Volhynia, near the Austrian frontier. After the elementary teaching he had from his mother, he received instructions on the pianoforte from a Moscow musician named Villoing, with whom he worked from the age of eight to that of thirteen. Beyond this Rubinstein asserted that he had no other teaching on the piano. His first public appearance took place in Moscow, on July 11, 1839, in an allegro from a concerto by Hummel, and pieces by Thalberg, Liszt, and Henselt. Shortly afterwards he journeyed to Paris with his teacher, with the intention of entering the Conservatoire. This purpose was not fulfilled, but he made the acquaintance of Liszt, and subsequently made a tour in England, Holland, and Sweden, finally settling in Berlin, with his mother, his sister, and his brother Nicholas, in order to study composition with Dehn. In 1846 he went to Vienna, where he was mainly employed in teaching, often subject to many privations, which Liszt, with characteristic generosity, attempted to relieve. In 1848 he was again at Berlin, but the political troubles of the time made it im-

possible to gain a living there, and he went to St. Petersburg, where, after some three years, he was appointed Court pianist to the Grand Duchess Helen. In 1852, his first opera, "Dmitri Donskoi," was produced in St. Petersburg; at first, at all events, it was not successful, and the prejudice against the Russian language as a vehicle for dramatic music induced him in later life to write his operas to German or Italian libretti. Three short Russian operas—"Hadji Abrek," "The Siberian Huntsman," and "Thomas the Fool"—date from this period of his career. Between 1854 and 1858, Rubinstein made an extended tour in Germany, France, and England, spending six months at Weimar. He appeared in London for the first time on May 18, 1857, at a Philharmonic concert, when he played his own Concerto in G. In the following year he again came to London, appearing at the Philharmonic and the Musical Union.

The Conservatoire of St. Petersburg was founded in 1862, solely by his activity and eagerness to advance musical education in Russia, and Rubinstein was its principal until 1867, when a disagreement with some of his professors led to his resignation. In 1865 he married Mdlle. Viera Tchequanov, and after the termination of his engagement as head of the Conservatoire, he undertook a concert tour lasting until 1870, when he accepted directorial duties in connection with concerts in Vienna. In 1871 he wrote the only opera, "The Demon" (produced at Covent Garden in June, 1881), and from that time composition, and especially dramatic composition, occupied his attention ever more and more. "The Maccabees" followed it in 1877, having been written from 1873 to 1875. "Nero" was produced at Hamburg, and another attempt to vivify national opera was made in 1880, when his "Merchant Kalashnikov" was played twice and then mysteriously withdrawn. A biblical opera, "Sulamith," was produced at Hamburg in 1883, and a couple of comic operas in 1883 and 1884.

In 1885-6 he undertook the famous series of farewell recitals in the chief cities of Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England. These were arranged on a chronological plan, and it may fairly be said that his scheme embraced the entire literature of the pianoforte. A failure of nerve, resulting in a continual apprehension lest his prodigious memory should at length give way, was the chief cause of

his final retirement, but an affection of the eyesight had no doubt something to do with the decision. In 1887 he resumed the management of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, and two years afterwards his artistic jubilee was celebrated with much circumstance. He retained his post and his faculties to the last, and died suddenly at St. Petersburg, on November 20, from heart disease.

**Sir C. T. Newton, K.C.B., D.C.L.**—Charles Thomas Newton, the son of Rev. D. N. H. Newton, Vicar of Bredwardine, Herefordshire, was born in 1816, and passed through Shrewsbury School to Oxford, where he graduated in 1837, taking a second class in *Literæ Humaniores*. Three years later he joined the British Museum, and worked twelve years in the Greek and Roman departments, becoming a master of his subject, so far as the knowledge then available permitted him. In 1852 he went out to Mitylene as Vice-Consul, retaining some connection with the Museum, and devoting himself to the explorations which he afterwards (1865) described under the name "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant." His great achievement at this time was the discovery, at the place now called Budrun, of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the most important fragments of which he secured for the British Museum, where they now are. It must be remembered that Layard's great discoveries at Nineveh were at that moment fresh in the public mind, and that his example fired a good many explorers, while as yet the Turkish Government put no obstacle in the way of Western nations anxious to carry away and preserve the fruits of their investigations. Newton's researches were described in the book which, in conjunction with Mr. R. P. Pullan, he published in 1862. By that time he had long left the Levant; in 1860 he became British Consul at Rome; and in 1861 he obtained the post which he had most desired, and for which he was best fitted, that of Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. It was in this post that he impressed himself upon his generation, and by work of every kind, by administration, by writing, and by example, he did much to put the study of archaeology upon a sound basis and to promote its interests in England. During his keepership the Museum collections were enriched not only by the acquisition of many sculptured and inscribed remains, but by

such collections as those of the Duc de Blacas (gems) and Signor Alessandro Castellani (bronzes, vases, etc.). The large sum — about 48,000*l.* — required for the purchase of the former was promptly granted by Mr. Disraeli, who never grudged money for the acquisition of really fine works of art. In 1866 Newton suffered a terrible bereavement in the loss of his wife, Mary, a daughter of Joseph Severn, of Rome, whom he had married in 1861.

The Universities and other learned bodies gave Newton every mark of honour. Oxford made him a D.C.L. in 1875, Cambridge an LL.D. in 1879, and Worcester College an Honorary Fellow in 1874. He also held the coveted position of Corresponding Member of the French Institute, and was Antiquary to the Royal Academy. In 1880 he was elected to be the first holder of the Chair of Archæology in University College, London, and lectured during several sessions to large classes. In the same year he brought out his "Essays in Art and Archæology," written during a period of thirty years, and reaching from times before his own explorations down to the new era opened by Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ. In 1885 he resigned his post at the British Museum, and soon afterwards his Professorship at University College, and he died at Westgate-on-Sea on November 28 after some years of failing health.

**Viscount Monck.**—Charles Stanley, Viscount Monck, P.C., G.C.M.G., was born in Dublin in 1819, and succeeded to the title, of which he was the fourth holder, in 1849. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and joined the Irish Bar in 1841. In 1848 he unsuccessfully contested the County of Wicklow as a Liberal, and in 1852 was returned for Portsmouth in the same interest, which he represented up to 1857. His first official appointment was that of a Lord of the Treasury, from 1855 to 1858. From 1861 to 1867 he held the office of Governor-General of Canada. During his *régime* the Constitutional change which resulted in the formation of the Federal Union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, took place, and he became the first Viceroy of the Dominion. It was during his term of office in Canada that he was created Baron Monck in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He returned to Ireland in 1868; and in the following year, after the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, he was

appointed with the late Mr. Justice Lawson Commissioner of Church Temporalities, a position which he held until 1881. The administrative qualities which he had shown in an office of considerable difficulty, when his acts were subjected to keen and jealous criticism, and his general acquaintance with agricultural affairs, in which he always took a practical interest, seemed to fit him for the difficult task of carrying out the Irish Land Act; appointed in 1882 a joint commissioner with the late Mr. Justice John O'Hagan and the late Mr. Litton, Q.C., holding the post for two years. In 1844 he married his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Louisa Mary Monck, the daughter of the first Earl of Rathdowne, who died in 1892. Although a supporter of Mr. Gladstone's previous measures, Lord Monck did not concur with his Home Rule policy; but he took no active interest in any recent political movement, and enjoyed the respect and friendship of all parties. He died on November 29 at Charleville, Enniskerry, where he had resided for several years.

**Lord Swansea.**—Hussey Vivian was the eldest son of Mr. John Henry Vivian, once member for Swansea, the great copper smelter. Born in 1821, and educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge, he studied metallurgy on the Continent and then returned to Swansea to take control of the large works of Vivian & Sons. His metallurgic knowledge was of such advantage to him that under his management the works went on extending until about 5,000 men were employed and about 7,000*l.* paid weekly in wages. By the adoption of the latest inventions, the variety of metals dealt with was largely increased, and the works soon became known all over the world. Sir Hussey Vivian sat in the House of Commons for forty years. In 1852 he was returned for Truro, and after representing this constituency for five years, he successfully contested the county of Glamorganshire in the Liberal interest, and held this seat until the redistribution. From 1885 he sat as member for the Swansea district until he was elevated to the peerage in 1893. He had been made a baronet when he entertained the Prince and Princess of Wales at Swansea in 1882. Lord Swansea was to the last a hard worker. He always controlled his vast works, and, not content with this, he undertook in his declining years the position of Chairman of the Glamorganshire County Council, which he

filled with conspicuous success. In 1893 he refused the position of Mayor of Swansea, but he was a very active member of the Board of Directors of the Rhondda and Swansea Bay Railway, a member of the Swansea Harbour Trust, a member of the Technical Educational Committee of Swansea and Glamorganshire, a trustee of the Swansea Savings Bank, and, indeed, an active supporter of every movement for the benefit of the town and the district. Lord Swansea was married three times. First, in 1847, to a daughter of Mr. Ambrose Goddard, M.P.; secondly, in 1853, to a daughter of

Sir Montagu Cholmeley, M.P.; and thirdly, in 1870, to a daughter of Captain Beaumont, R.N. After the rising of Parliament he had paid a visit to Canada, but a week after his return he had a slight indisposition, of which he took no notice. On November 26 he went up to London on business, returning to Singleton Abbey, near Swansea, on the evening of the 28th, and went to bed as usual. Soon after midnight he became restless, and after a while motionless, and on the arrival of medical aid, it was found that the heart had ceased to act.

On the 1st, at Hinchinbrook House, Huntingdon, aged 57, **Lieutenant-General Philip Smith, C.B.**, third son of Abel Smith, M.P., of Woodhall Park, Herts. Entered Grenadier Guards, 1855; served in the Egyptian Campaign, 1882; Brigadier-General of the 2nd Infantry Brigade at Aldershot, 1879-89; in command of Home District, 1889-92. On the 1st, at Windlesham, Surrey, aged 82, **Admiral James Newburgh Strange**, son of Sir T. Strange, Chief Justice of Madras. Entered the Navy, 1827; served in the Niger Expedition, 1840-2. On the 1st, at Coombe, aged 87, **Captain Edward Foley, R.N.**, youngest son of Major-General Richard Harry Foley, of Shalsley, Worcestershire. Educated at Eton; entered the Royal Navy, 1822; distinguished himself when in command of H.M.S. *Primrose* on the West Coast of Africa, 1830-1. Married, 1855, Elizabeth, daughter of John Cumming, of Dublin. On the 2nd, at Delvin, Glasnevin, Dublin, aged 68, **Rt. Hon. Sir Patrick Keenan, C.B., K.C.M.G.**, President of the Board of Education, Ireland, son of John Keenan, of Philsborough. Appointed Inspector of National Education, 1848; Chief Inspector, 1854; Chief Inspector for the Education Department, 1859; and Chief Commissioner, 1871. Appointed to inquire into the state of education in Trinidad, 1869; and in Malta, 1878; senator of the Royal University of Ireland. Married, 1860, Elizabeth Agnes, daughter of Michael Quin, of Waterville, Co. Limerick. On the 2nd, at Widworthy Rectory, aged 90, **Rev. Marwood Tucker**, of Conyton Park. Educated at Ottery School, and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1825; third-class classics; Fellow of Exeter, 1830-1; Rector of St. Martin's, Exeter, 1852-62; Widworthy, 1862. Married, first, Anne Crammer Nagle, granddaughter of John Beauchamp, of Pengreek and Trevine, Cornwall, and second, 1840, Francis, daughter of J. Baring Short, of Bickham House, Devon. On the 2nd, at Brighton, aged 69, **Thomas Cave**, son of George Cave, of Bodicott, once a merchant in London. Sat as a Liberal for Barnstaple, 1865-80; Sheriff of London, 1864. Married, 1849, Elizabeth, daughter of Shalecross. On the 2nd, at Algiers, aged 61, **Edward Johnson**, of Old Ferry House, Chelsea, youngest son of John Johnston, of St. Osyth's Priory, Colchester. Educated at King's College, London; a merchant; sat as a Liberal for Exeter, 1880-5. Married, 1855, Eliza Matilda, daughter of Philip Pellier. On the 2nd, at Hurstpierpoint, aged 73, **Sir Daniel Adolphus Lange**, son of John William Lange. Director in England of the Suez Canal, 1858-76, of which work he claimed also to have been the original founder; contested Midhurst as a Liberal unsuccessfully, 1868. Married, 1880, Beatrice Emily, daughter of Aug. F. R. Frinneby, of Streatham. On the 3rd, killed in action, in the Wano Valley, N.W.P., aged 27, **Lieutenant Percy John Frederick Macaulay, R.E.**, son of Colonel C. E. Macaulay, B.S.C. Educated at Marlborough College, and at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; appointed to the Royal Engineers, 1886; attached to the Public Works Department in the Punjab, 1889; and engaged in frontier work and survey, and was employed on the delimitation of the Indo-Afghan frontier, when his party was attacked by a tribe of fanatical Waziris. On the 5th, at Notting Hill, aged 82, **Rev. William Chalmers, D.D.**, the son of a medical officer of H.E.I.C.S. Born at Malacca; educated at Edinburgh; appointed Minister at Aberdeen, 1835, and Dailly, 1838, in Ayrshire; declining an invitation to Regent's Square Church, London, 1842; he threw himself into the disruption movement, 1843, and for some time was engaged in the United States in obtaining funds for the Free Church. Appointed Minister of Marylebone Church, London, 1845-68, when he was appointed Professor, and afterwards Principal of the Presbyterian College, London.

On the 5th, at St. George's Square, London, aged 65, **Major-General Reginald Curtis, R.A.**, third son of C. B. Curtis. Educated at the Military Academy; entered the Royal Artillery, 1847; served through the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5; Brigade-Major in the School of Gunnery, Shoeburyness, 1864-9; chief instructor, 1875-80. Married, 1863, Marianne, daughter of James Salmond, of Waterfort, Cumberland. On the 6th, at Sussex Square, London, aged 82, **Lady Mellor**, Elizabeth, daughter of William Moseley, of Peckham Rye. Married, 1833, John Mellor, afterwards Sir John Mellor, Judge of the Queen's Bench Court, 1861-79. On the 7th, at Larton Hall, Northants, aged 75, **Lord Carbery**, William Charles Evans-Freke, eighth baron. One time Captain, Rutland Militia. Married, first, 1840, Lady Sophia Sherard, daughter of fifth Earl of Harborough, widow of Sir Thomas Whichcote; and second, 1867, Lady Victoria, daughter of Marquess of Exeter. On the 7th, at Swillington House, Leeds, aged 91, **Sir Charles Hugh Lowther**, third baronet, for many years completely blind. Married, 1834, Isabella, daughter of Rev. R. Morehead, D.D., Rector of Easington. On the 9th, at Sydenham, aged 86, **Rev. James Eliss**. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford; B.A., 1830; first class, *Literæ Humaniores*; a fellow-resident at Oxford with Newman, was a frequent contributor to Anglo-Catholic literature; Vicar of Osbourne, St. Andrew's, Wilts, 1842-58; St. James's, Plymouth, 1850-72; and of Manningford Bruce, Wilts, 1888-92. On the 9th, at Norwood, aged 73, **Dr. Walter Dickson, R.N.** (Graduated at Edinburgh University, 1841; appointed surgeon, Hasler Hospital; was in charge of H.M.S. *Pagoda* in the Antarctic Expedition, 1844-5; saw much service on the West Coast of Africa, 1847-50; in the Baltic, 1854-5; the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; and the Chinese War, 1859-60; appointed Medical Inspector of the Customs, 1861. On the 10th, at Thurlestone Rectory, Devon, aged 84, **Rev. Peregrine Arthur Ilbert**, son of Captain Courtney Ilbert, R.A. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford; B.A., 1832; Rector of Thurlestone, 1839. Married, 1840, Rose Anne, daughter of George Welsh Owen, of Lourn Green, Tiverton, Devon. On the 11th, at Cowley Grove, Uxbridge, aged 77, **Lady Frances Margaret Howard**, daughter of sixteenth Earl of Suffolk, Lady of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent. On the 12th, at Paris, aged 75, **Louis Figuier**. Born at Montpellier; the author of several popular works on science, and especially on astronomy. On the 14th, at Bellarena, Co. Londonderry, aged 72, **Sir Frederick William Heygate**, second baronet. Educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1844; High Sheriff for Londonderry, 1855, and for Co. Donegal, 1857; sat as a Conservative for Co. Londonderry, 1859-74. Married, 1851, Marianne, only daughter and heir of Conolly Gaze of Bellarena. On the 14th, at Edinburgh, aged 75, **Surgeon-General John Fraser, M.D., C.B.**, son of Rev. Simon Fraser, of Stornoway. Educated at Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh; M.D., 1840; entered Army Medical Department, 1841; served throughout Crimean Campaign and the Indian Mutiny with great distinction. Married, 1857, Emma Caroline, daughter of Rev. M. Cooper, of Southampton. On the 16th, at Belgrave Square, aged 76, the **Dowager Duchess of Montrose**, Caroline Agnes, youngest daughter of second Lord Decie. Married, first, 1836, fourth Duke of Montrose; second, 1876, William Steward Stirling Crawford, of Milton Park, Lanarkshire, a well-known owner of racehorses; and third, 1888, Marcus Henry Milner, of West Retford, Notts. After the death of Mr. Stirling Crawford in 1883, she continued to run horses under the name of "Mr. Manton." She had also a fine collection of orchids, in addition to her stables at Newmarket. On the 16th, at Whippingham Rectory, I.W., aged 72, **Rev. George Prothero**, son of Thomas Prothero, of Malpas, Monmouthshire. Educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; B.A., 1843; Curate of Whippingham, 1853-7; Rector, 1857; Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, 1866; Canon of Westminster, 1869. Married, 1846, Emma, daughter of Rev. William Money-Kyrle, of Homme House, Hereford. On the 16th, at Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., aged 83, **Dr. James M'Cosh**. Born at Carrochloch, Ayrshire; educated at Glasgow University, 1824-9, and at Edinburgh, 1829-34, where he was the pupil of Thomas Chalmers; ordained Minister of Church of Scotland, at Arbroath, 1835-9; at Brechin, 1839-52, where he took an active part in the organisation of the Free Church, and also published his "Method of Divine Government; the Supernatural in the relation to the Natural"; appointed Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Queen's College, Belfast; and in 1868 was appointed President of Princeton College, a post he held till 1887, but remaining Professor of Philosophy until 1891; and was the author of several important works on that subject. On the 16th, at Boston, U.S.A., aged 85, **Robert Charles Winthrop**. Graduated at Harvard University, 1828; studied law under Daniel Webster, and admitted to the Bar, 1831; entered political life as a "Henry Clay" Whig;

member of the Massachusetts Legislature, 1834-40; and a member of Congress, 1840-50; and Speaker of the House, 1847-9; appointed Senator to fill Daniel Webster's vacancy, 1850, but in consequence of his extreme views on the Slavery question, was defeated, in 1851, by a combination of Democrats and Free Settlers. He was President of the Massachusetts Historical Society for thirty years. On the 17th, at Gratz, aged 58, **Princess Claudine of Teck**, daughter of Duke Alexander of Württemberg (uncle of William I.) and Claudine, Countess of Hohenstein, *née* Countess Rhedey, elder sister of the Duke of Teck. On the 18th, at Paris, aged 56, **François Magnard**, a distinguished French journalist. Born in Brussels of French parents; educated in Paris at Le Petit Séminaire, and originally intended for the Church; was appointed to a subordinate post in the Treasury, but soon attracted the attention of M. de Villemessant, who first attached him to the *Figaro*, and in 1876 made him its chief editor. On the 20th, at Cape St. Martin, aged 50, **Charles Augustus**, hereditary Duke of Saxe-Weimar, a General in the Prussian and Saxon Armies. Married, 1878, Princess Pauline of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. On the 20th, at Setif, Algiers, aged 54, **John Edward Hilary Skinner**, elder son of Allan Maclean Skinner, Q.C. Educated at London University; LL.B., 1859; called to the Bar, 1862; was war correspondent of the *Daily News* in Denmark, Crete, and Egypt, and through the Franco-Prussian War; was the author of several books of travel and experience. Married, 1869, Julia, daughter of T. H. Chaplin. On the 22nd, at Baltimore, U.S.A., aged 74, **William Thomas Walters**. Born in Pennsylvania; educated at Philadelphia as a civil engineer, and at an early age was placed by his father in charge of large smelting works. In 1841 he removed to Baltimore, and was engaged in numerous commercial undertakings. He was a liberal and judicious patron of art and artists. He formed noteworthy collections of French pictures, Japanese porcelain, and other objects, and was interested in the introduction of the Percheron breed of horses into the United States, and presented Baltimore with four large bronzes, besides taking an active part in various benevolent and artistic societies. On the 22nd, at Hamburg, aged 83, **Professor Ludwig Herbot**, a distinguished Greek scholar. Born at Hamburg; educated at the Johanneum, Göttingen, and Berlin; appointed teacher at the Johanneum, 1835; transferred to the Realschule, 1836-51; Professor of Greek at the Johanneum, 1851-76; wrote several critical books on Thucydides, etc. On the 22nd, at Windsor, aged 89, **Hon. Lawrence Parsons**, third son of second Earl of Rosse. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; Lieutenant-Colonel, King's College Militia, 1847-55. Married, first, 1836, Lady Elizabeth Toler, daughter of second Earl of Norbury; and second, 1849, Hon. Jane Duncombe, daughter of second Baron Feversham. On the 23rd, at Farnham Royal, Bucks, aged 65, **Dowager Countess of Portarlington**, Harriet Lydia, daughter of sixth Baron Rokeby. Married, 1855, fourth Earl of Portarlington. On the 23rd, at Toulon, aged 63, **General Thaddeus Phelps Mott**, of the United States Army. Born in New York and educated at the New York University; went to sea before the mast, 1848; became chief mate, 1855; afterwards took part in the Mexican Campaign, and in the Civil War was Colonel of 14th New York Cavalry, and commander of outposts in the Gulf Department; appointed Major-General in the Egyptian Army, 1869; Aide-de-Camp to the Khedive, 1870-4; served in the Turkish Army in the Servian and Russo-Turkish Wars; and amongst his other distinctions was the holder of the war medal, the "Croissant rouge nominatif," of which the Sultan only awarded eighteen. On the 24th, at London, aged 67, **Henry Roe**, the head of a large firm of distillers in Dublin. Restored the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, and subsequently built a synod house for the Protestant clergy at a cost of 200,000/. On the 24th, at Paris, aged 83, **Victor Duruy**, a distinguished historian, and member of the French Academy, son of a working man employed at Gobelins Tapestry Manufactory. Educated at the College St. Barbe, Paris, and afterwards at the École Normale Supérieure. Professor of History in the College Henri IV., 1833, and afterwards at the École Polytechnique; Inspector of the University, and Minister of Education, 1863-8, during which time he reorganised public instruction in France; created a Senator, 1869; elected to succeed to the chair of Mignet in the French Academy, 1884. Author of Greek and Roman histories and other works. On the 25th, at Lincoln, aged 74, **James Stephen, LL.D.** Judge of the Lincoln County Court district, only son of Mr. Sergt. Stephen. Called to the bar, at the Middle Temple, 1846; Recorder of Poole, 1861-4; Professor of Law at King's College, London, 1864-71; Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy, 1869-71; when he was made County Court Judge. Married Caroline Neville, daughter of Henry Davies, M.D. Edited "Stephen's New Commentaries" and other legal textbooks. On the 25th, at Weston Hall, Shipnall, aged 75, the **Countess of Bradford**,

Selina Louisa, youngest daughter of the first Lord Forester. Married, 1844, third Earl of Bradford. On the 25th, at Towcester, aged 72, **Lady Eleanor Closely Clifton**, daughter of Henry Cecil Lowther, M.P. for Westmoreland. Raised to rank of an earl's daughter on her brother's succession to the title. Married, 1844, John Talbot Clifton, of Lytham Hall, Lancashire. On the 25th, at Paris, aged 72, **John Chapman, M.D.** Born in Nottingham; apprenticed to a watch-maker at Worksop; ran away to Edinburgh, and afterwards went to Adelaide, South Australia, with watches, and realised a considerable sum of money, which he lost by shipwreck on his voyage home; entered as a medical student at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and during this period wrote a book, "Human Nature" (1844), which caused him to join partnership with John Green, of Newgate Street, soon afterwards removed to King William Street, Strand; was agent for several American publishers. In 1854 became editor and afterwards proprietor of the *Westminster Review*; was the intimate friend of George Eliot, when she first came to London, and other leaders of advanced Liberal thought. On the 25th, at Bournemouth, aged 82, **Rev. Solomon Caesar Malan, D.D.**, eldest son of Dr. Caesar Malan, of Geneva, where he was born. Educated at Vandoeuvres, afterwards came to England, matriculated at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, 1833; Boden Sanscrit Scholar, 1834; Pusey and Ellerton Scholar, and graduated B.A., second class *Lit. Hum.*, 1837, English being almost wholly unknown to him; Senior Classical Professor at Bishops College, Calcutta, 1837-40; admitted member of Balliol College, 1843; Rector of Broadwindsor, Dorsetshire, 1845-85; visited Nineveh with Sir Henry Layard, where he gave remarkable proof of his familiarity with Eastern languages and dialects. He was a voluminous writer on linguistic subjects, an accomplished artist, and an ardent lover of natural history. On the 27th, at Varzin, aged 70, **Princess Bismarck, Johanna**, eldest daughter of Henrich von Pultkammer, a Silesian landowner. Married, 1847, Otto von Bismarck, afterwards maker and Chancellor of the German Empire. On the 27th, at Southsea, aged 67, **Major-General Charles Armstrong, B.Sc.**, son of James Armstrong, of the Bengal Civil Service. Entered the Army, 1845; served with the Turkish contingent in the Crimean Campaign; attached to the Rifle Brigade during the Indian Mutiny; severely wounded at Cawnpore, 1857; second in command of 14th Bengal Native Infantry, during the Umbeyle Campaign. On the 28th, at Kingston Hill, aged 75, **General Sir Patrick MacDougall, K.C.M.G.**, son of Colonel Sir Duncan MacDougall, K.C.S.I., of Sorota, Argyllshire. Born at Boulogne-sur-Mer; educated at Military College, Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1836; on Q.M.G.'s Staff during the Crimean Campaign; Superintendent of Students at Military College, 1854-7; Commandant of Staff College, 1857-61; Adjutant-General of Militia of Canada, 1865-9; Deputy-Inspector-General of Volunteers, 1871-3; and D.Q.M.G., 1873-8; Colonel of 2nd West India Regiment, 1882, and of the Leinster Regiment, 1891. Author of several important military works. Married first, 1844, Louisa, daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir William F. P. Napier, K.C.B., and second, 1860, Adelaide Marianne, daughter of Philip J. Miles, of Leigh Court, Somerset. On the 29th, at Madrid, aged 63, **Cardinal Ceferino Gonzales**. Born at Orviedo; entered the Missionary College at Oceana, 1844; joined the Order of Preaching Friars, 1851, and spent fourteen years in the Philippine Islands; returned to Spain, 1867, and became Professor of Theology, and wrote several articles in Spanish reviews; refused the Bishopric of Malaga and Astorga; Bishop of Cardova, 1875-83; Archbishop of Seville, 1883-6; of Toledo, 1886-9; when he retired to a Dominican Monastery. On the 29th, at Itzehoe, aged 74, **Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg-Glücksburg**, daughter of William, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and sister of Christian, King of Denmark. Elected, 1860, Abbess of the Convent of Noble Ladies at Itzehoe. On the 30th, at Coker Court, Somerset, aged 59, **William Edward Hall**, son of Dr. William Hall, of Leatherhead. Educated privately, and at University College, Oxford; B.A., 1856; first class Law and Modern History; Chancellor's Prize, 1859; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1861; took part as a Volunteer in the Danish War, and in the operations before Suakim, and was a great traveller. Author of "Rights and Duties of Neutrals," 1874, and "International Law," 1880. Married first, 1866, Imogen, daughter of Lord Justice Grove, and second, 1891, Alice C., daughter of Colonel Hill, of Court of Hill, Salop.



## DECEMBER.

**R. L. Stevenson.**—Robert Louis Balfour Stevenson, the son of Thomas Stevenson, secretary to the Commissioners of Northern Lights, was born at Edinburgh, November 13, 1850, and educated there at private schools and afterwards at the Edinburgh University. He served his apprenticeship to a Writer to the Signet, and was subsequently called to the Bar, but beyond holding two briefs in unimportant questions he never practised in his profession. A roving spirit, combined with delicate health, prevented his settling for any length of time in Scotland, and by degrees the need of a warmer climate became paramount. In 1866 he published his first work, only twenty-two pages in length, "The Pentland Rising, a Page of History, 1666," and from this time onward his pen was constantly occupied with "Rathillet," "The King's Pardon," "Edward Daven," "A Country Dance," "An Inland Voyage" (1878), "A Vendetta in the West" (1879)—a succession of literary failures unbroken up to the age of twenty-nine. A few articles in the *Cornhill Magazine* and elsewhere had, however, revealed to some that there was an essayist of keen power of observation and great delicacy of style writing under the initials R.L.S. In his "Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes" Stevenson first succeeded in calling attention to himself, and although the number of his admirers was even then few his subsequent career was assured. His essays were collected under the title "Virginibus Puerisque" (1881), and these were followed by the "New Arabian Nights" (1882), and by "Treasure Island" (1883), which firmly established him as a popular author. Stevenson was now a copious writer, and his works were eagerly demanded by the publishers. "The Suicide Club" (1885), "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" (1886), revealed another side of his genius. Among his other works were "Kidnapped" (1886), "The Black Arrow" (1888), "The Master of Ballantrae" (1888), "The Wrecker" (1891), "Catriona" (1892), and "The Wreckers" (1894). Stevenson also wrote several volumes of verse, including "A Child's Garden of Verses" (1885), "Underwoods" (1887), and "Ballads" (1891).

After much wandering in America, Australia, and elsewhere, Stevenson eventually settled at Samoa, of which

the climate suited him better than any other place. He purchased an estate of about 400 acres, and took a keen interest in the politics of the island, often standing between the mild islanders and the harsh authorities, and bringing the latter to the bar of European public opinion by his scathing letters. In 1888 he married a lady of American birth but Dutch extraction, Mrs. Osbourne, the widow of Mr. Samuel Osbourne, a Californian landowner, in conjunction with whose son, Mr. Lloyd Osbourne, Mr. Stevenson's last work, "The Ebb Tide," was written. Robert Stevenson died suddenly of apoplexy on December 3 in Apia, and was buried at the summit of the Pala Mountain, 1,300 feet above the sea.

**M. de Lesseps.**—Ferdinand de Lesseps, who came of a family which for many generations had been in the public service, was the son of Matthieu de Lesseps, a distinguished diplomatist, whose services gave his son Ferdinand, born November 19, 1805, an education at the expense of the State, at Lycée Napoléon, subsequently known as the Collège Henri IV. He went in 1825 as *attaché* to the French Consulate at Lisbon, and after serving in Tunis and Egypt became Consul at Cairo in 1833. He remained in the consular service at various places, till in 1848 he was appointed Ambassador at Madrid, and in 1849 to the Roman Republic. When, however, the French occupation was decided upon he had to resign. In 1841 the memoirs of Lepère, Bonaparte's chief engineer in the Egyptian expedition, had given him the idea of the Suez Canal, and in 1854 it took practical shape during a visit he paid to Said Pasha, then Viceroy. He found, however, much difficulty in getting the possibility of the scheme admitted—the chief objection being a supposed difference in the water-level of the two seas. He was unwearied in winning supporters to his cause, though English opinion pronounced against it, Lord Palmerston being specially strong in opposition, partly no doubt from political considerations. M. de Lesseps drew, however, his strongest support from the savings of the small French capitalists, and in 1859 the works were begun. The Viceroy took a large number of shares, and granted the company the right to employ native labourers.

A canal, with sufficient water to ad-

nuit of the passage of steamboats, was opened on August 15, 1865. The channel was widened and deepened by special machinery, and in March, 1867, small ships were able to make use of the canal. The waters of the Mediterranean mingled with those of the Red Sea in the Bitter Lakes on August 15, 1869, and the event was commemorated by grand *fêtes* at Suez. On the 20th of the following November the canal was formally opened at Port Said amid a series of brilliant festivities; the final dimensions of the canal being about 100 miles long, with a bottom width of upwards of 200 feet, and a depth of 28 or 29 feet.

Honours poured in upon M. de Lesseps after the successful opening of the canal. In February, 1870, the Geographical Society of Paris awarded him the Empress's new prize of 10,000*f*. He gave it as a contribution to the society's projected expedition to Equatorial Africa. He was appointed to the rank of Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and received the cordon of the Italian Order of St. Maurice. The honorary freedom of the City of London was presented to him on July 30, 1870, and on August 19 following Queen Victoria created him an honorary Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India. In July, 1873, the Paris Academy of Sciences elected M. de Lesseps a member, in the place of the late M. de Verneuil. In 1875 he published his "*Lettres, Journal, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Canal de Suez.*" For this work the French Academy awarded him the Marcelin Guérin prize of 5,000*f*. In June, 1881, he was elected President of the French Geographical Society, in the place of Admiral de la Roncière-le-Noury. The Broad Riband of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun was presented to him in 1883.

M. de Lesseps promoted the project of the Corinth Canal, and made a journey in Algeria and Tunis to study the scheme of Commandant Roudaire for the creation of an inland sea in Africa—a scheme of which he formed a favourable opinion. Gradually, however, he became wholly absorbed in the fatal undertaking which was to prove his ruin—the Panama Canal. The idea was not a new one. America was discovered in 1492, Balboa ascertained the existence of the Pacific Ocean in 1513; and in 1514 the Spanish adventurers conceived the project of uniting the two oceans by cutting a canal through the spurs of the Cordilleras. The later waterway designed

by M. de Lesseps was intended to connect the Atlantic Ocean at Aspinwall (or Colon) with the Pacific at the capital city of Panama—the oldest existing European settlement in the whole of America. His plan was to follow the course of the railway already connecting the two cities, except in certain places, where the line of the river Chagres was to be more closely adhered to. The whole length, from entrance to exit, was calculated at fifty-four miles; and the two chief difficulties were recognised in the flood waters of the river, and in the fact that the Cordilleras had to be cut through. It was necessary to cross the river bed several times, and M. de Lesseps decided to cut through the Culebra Col, in the Cordilleras, which at the point chosen meant the excavation of a lengthy ravine about 350 feet deep. The increased cost of the work, however, and the difficulty of raising sufficient additional capital, compelled the projector to reduce the amount of cutting by resorting to a locked canal, a system which originally he had rejected as inadequate for the anticipated traffic. The canal was to be 72 feet wide at the bottom, with side slopes of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, and a depth of water of 27 feet, except through the rock cutting of the Culebra, where the depth and width were to be increased.

In 1879 De Lesseps began to take active measures towards the accomplishment of his project, and although in the outset American opposition endangered the prospects of success, a company was formed and operations begun on February 1, 1881. But for the next six years the work was only fitfully continued, and attacks upon its alleged chimerical nature and the enormous expense involved, as well as upon the serious loss of life which the climate entailed amongst the labourers, were constantly made in the New York Press. At length, in 1888, a lottery loan was issued, with the understanding that 400,000 bonds must be applied for. M. de Lesseps himself wrote a letter in which he appealed to French patriotism for support.

The appeal was in vain, for the requisite 400,000 out of the 1,000,000 obligations were not taken up, and the subscription was annulled. On December 13 the Panama Canal Company suspended payment, and the greatest excitement prevailed throughout Paris and the provinces. A special meeting of the French Cabinet was at once held, and, to prevent speculation on the Bourse, its decision—to propose

a three months' suspension of payments—was placarded. A bill was brought into the Chamber to this effect, and urgency was carried by 333 to 155 votes. In the evening of the same day it was announced that M. de Lesseps and his colleagues had resigned their posts as administrators of the company, and that at their request the Tribunal of the Seine had appointed three judicial liquidators. On December 15, however, the Chamber rejected the bill by 256 to 181, the committee having reported against it on the ground that it was for the tribunals to grant or refuse a postponement of payments. A great gathering of shareholders was held at Paris on December 27, when a resolution was adopted declaring confidence in M. de Lesseps, resolving to cease to claim payment of coupons and annuities till the canal was opened, and agreeing that it was desirable at once to raise the necessary capital to complete the work. At the close of the year 9,000 men were being employed on the canal. In January, 1889, General Boulanger gave his support to the scheme, and M. de Lesseps was offered the chairmanship of a new company, with a capital of 25,000,000*f.* to complete the work. But America was still hostile to the canal, and at Washington, on January 7, the Senate passed a resolution by forty-nine votes to three, in secret session, disapproving of any connection of any European Government with the construction or control of any ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien, and the President was requested to communicate this resolution to the Governments of Europe. M. Floquet, the French Premier, sympathised with the canal bondholders, and as the result of further steps, by the close of January the prospectus was issued of the Panama Canal Completion Company, 60,000 shares at 500*f.* each being issued at par, and payable in three instalments. On February 4, the Civil Tribunal at Paris gave judgment in favour of the winding up of the Panama Canal Company, with power to the liquidator to enter into arrangements with any new company. But on the 9th, M. de Lesseps had to announce that he was not in a position to constitute the new company; it would, therefore, be necessary to leave the matter in the hands of the liquidator. M. Brunet, the liquidator, made great efforts to save the company. He reduced the outlay at the works from 16,000,000*f.* to about 2,000,000*f.*, and reported that he could save the canal

if he were allowed to dispose of the unissued bonds at less than 800*f.*; but the Government saw no prospect of Parliament agreeing to such a bill. Finally, to facilitate the formation of a company which should complete the canal and take over the plant, M. Brunet appointed an independent commission to investigate the condition and prospects of the scheme, consisting of an Englishman, a Dutchman, and a Belgian.

The commissioners went out to Panama, examined the works, and made their report in May, 1890. They gave it as their opinion that the canal might be constructed on the lock system for 19,400,000*l.*, but additions brought up the total estimated cost of completion to 30,000,000*l.* As the amount of the original capital, and the money actually received from loans, represented a sum of 50,000,000*l.*, already incurred, this, with the additional 30,000,000*l.*, swelled the actual estimated cost of the cutting to 80,000,000*l.*, instead of 20,000,000*l.*, as originally estimated by M. de Lesseps.

In April, 1891, M. Bonaparte Wysz returned to Paris with a new concession, and an effort was made to establish a new company. But the feeling in France was now very bitter against the directors of the old company. Out of some 53,000,000*l.* sunk in the Panama project only 783,000,000*f.*—or between half and two-thirds of the entire amount—had been spent on the works of the isthmus, the rest being frittered away in France. The company's 500*f.* shares were quoted at 27*½**f.* A syndicate was formed to take over the existing assets, and to make a return to the old company, but by this time the public indignation had reached such a pitch that on the recommendation of the Public Prosecutor it was determined to institute an official inquiry into the action of M. de Lesseps and his colleagues. The inquiry was concluded on November 15, 1892, and the world was startled by the announcement that the legal advisers of the Government had decided to institute a prosecution against M. de Lesseps and his co-directors for breach of trust and malversation of funds. The five persons proceeded against were M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, M. Charles de Lesseps, Baron Cottu, M. Marius Fontane, and M. Eiffel. To these Baron Jacques Reinach was subsequently added by the Procureur-Général, but the baron's sudden death under suspicious circumstances prevented his trial as a co-

defendant. Few really believed that M. Ferdinand de Lesseps was guilty of anything more than a reckless disregard for the practical difficulties, economical and engineering, of the Panama Canal scheme, while to many it seemed that the prosecution ought to have been instituted when the company stopped payment four years before.

The trial of the Panama directors began on January 10, 1893, in the Paris Court of Appeal. MM. Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps and Baron Cottu were charged conjointly with having, within three years from the commencement of the legal proceedings, "employed fraudulent manoeuvres to induce belief in unreal schemes, and to raise imaginary hopes of the realisation of a chimerical event, with the object of obtaining from various persons subscriptions, followed by the payment of money on the occasion of the issue of bonds made on June 26, 1888, and by those means having embezzled a portion or all of the fortune of third parties."

The Court passed judgment on February 9, and all the sentences were unexpectedly severe. M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and to the payment of a fine of 3,000*fr.* (120*l.*). M. Charles de Lesseps received a similar sentence. The defendants were made jointly responsible for the payment of fines and costs; and the sentences did not prevent any civil actions for the recovery of moneys squandered within a period of five years. The judgment declared that it was illusory to maintain that the canal would be completed by 1890, that the outlay would not exceed 600,000,000*fr.*, and that the immediate traffic would amount to 7,000,000 tons. From the very outset the defendants had constantly swelled or reduced the figures so as to justify the documents on which they appealed for subscriptions. The judgment produced a great sensation. A telegram was sent to La Chesnaye informing Mme. de Lesseps of the result of the trial, but the distressing news was kept from her aged husband. Some days afterwards M. Charles de Lesseps was allowed to visit his father, when a painful and affecting interview took place. After his son's departure, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps relapsed into his old state of stupor and semi-insensibility, and so far as he was personally concerned the sentence of imprisonment was never carried out,

and by degrees the public were satisfied that M. de Lesseps's blind confidence in his scheme, to which he had sacrificed the whole of his own and his wife's fortunes, was the source of his difficulties. The trial, moreover, was known to have been brought about for political reasons, and sympathy for the old "Frenchman" revived. M. de Lesseps was elected a member of the French Academy in 1894 in succession to the historian, Henri Martin. He was twice married, and died after a long felt general decay on December 7 at his country house, La Chesnaye, once the house of M. H. Lacordaire.

**Rt. Hon. Sir John Thompson, P.C., K.C.M.G.**—John Sparrow David Thompson was the son of John Sparrow Thompson, who had emigrated from Waterford, and settled at Halifax, Nova Scotia, where his son was born, in 1844, and educated at the Public School, and afterwards at the Free Church Academy. He began life in a lawyer's office, and became official reporter to the Provincial House of Assembly, and held the post of reporter-in-chief, 1868-72, having already been called to the Bar, 1866, and entered upon practice. In 1877 he was elected member for Antigonish in the Nova Scotia Legislature, and in the following year was appointed Attorney-General, and in 1882 succeeded to the Premiership. A few months later he withdrew from political life, and was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. In 1885, at the urgent request of Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Premier, Sir John Thompson accepted the post of Minister of Justice to the Dominion Cabinet, notwithstanding the protests of the Orange party, raised in consequence of the minister having in 1871 joined the Roman Catholic Church. He made a great mark in the Canadian Parliament, and in 1887 accompanied Sir Charles Tupper to Washington to discuss the Fishery Treaty. In 1891 he was again returned to represent his old constituency in the Dominion House, and on the death of Sir John Macdonald was invited to form a Ministry; he however stood aside for a time, but in November, 1892, became Prime Minister of the Dominion, supported by the Conservative majority of the House. He came to England to discuss questions with the Colonial Office, and was commanded to attend at Windsor Castle, to be sworn in as a Member of the Privy Council, on December 12. A few minutes after

leaving the Council Chamber, he was seized by faintness, and died in a few minutes from failure of the heart's action. In 1870, Sir J. Thompson married Annie E., daughter of Captain Affleck.

**M. Burdeau.**—Auguste Burdeau, President of the Chamber of Deputies, was a self-made man. He was born at Lyons on September 10, 1851, his father, who had been a messenger at the veterinary school of that town, having died in the previous month. His mother worked hard as a dress-maker to support her four children. Auguste, the youngest, was first sent to the public free school and was afterwards apprenticed to a weaver. But, eager after knowledge, Auguste studied alone during his leisure hours, and thus was soon able to pass the necessary examination to obtain a free education at the Lyons Lycée. Subsequently he was admitted under the same conditions to the St. Barbe College in Paris, and distinguished himself there by carrying off the prize of honour for philosophy in 1870. He took part in the campaign with the Army of the East of France, was wounded, and made prisoner. On his return to France he was rewarded for his courageous conduct by the Cross of the Legion of Honour. He soon obtained his degree as Professor of Philosophy, and was successively attached in that capacity to the Lycées of St. Etienne, Nancy, and St. Louis, in Paris. In 1879, on the occasion of the elections for the Superior Council of Public Instruction, he and a few colleagues founded a review, which contributed considerably to the election of Liberal candidates as members of that Superior Council.

In 1881, M. Paul Bert, having accepted the portfolio of the Department of Public Instruction in the Gambetta Ministry, made M. Burdeau his Chef de Cabinet. At the general elections of 1885 he was returned to the Chamber as Deputies for the Department of the Rhone, and soon showed his competence, especially in financial questions. In March, 1890, M. Burdeau was, with MM. Jules Simon, Linder, and Delahaye, charged by the French Government to represent France at the Berlin Congress, convoked by the Emperor William, to study the demands of the workmen's party. Two years later, on July 12, 1892, M. Burdeau was made Minister of the Marine, and held that portfolio until January 11, 1893. On the formation

of the Casimir-Périer Ministry in December, 1893, M. Burdeau became Finance Minister. He was elected President of the Chamber when M. Casimir-Périer vacated that post for the Presidency of the Republic. Among M. Burdeau's literary productions is a remarkable translation of Herbert Spencer's works. He presided over the Chamber on its re-assembling after the recess, and only vacated the chair a few days before his death on December 12, after a short but serious pulmonary disease. He was given a public funeral, and a pension of 12,000*fr.* accorded to his widow and children.

**Bishop of Hereford.**—Right Rev. James Atlay, D.D., born July 3, 1817, was the son of the Rev. Henry Atlay, a Lincolnshire rector, and, after being privately educated, entered St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1837 he gained the Bell University Scholarship, and in 1840 took his degree with honours as a Senior Optime in Mathematics, and as ninth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Turton) in 1842, and priest by the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Kaye) in the following year. After serving as Curate of Warsop, Nottinghamshire, for four years, Mr. Atlay returned to Cambridge and resumed his official connection with St. John's College, of which he had been elected a Fellow in 1842. From 1846 to 1859 he was Tutor of St. John's, and between 1847 and 1852 he also held the vicarage of Madingley, a small village three or four miles from Cambridge. In 1856 he became University Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and after his two years' tenure, was appointed Select Preacher before the University, a position which he held for three subsequent terms of office. On the appointment of Dr. Hook to the deanery of Chichester in 1859 Dr. Atlay was chosen by the trustees of the advowson to succeed him in the vicarage of Leeds, and in 1861 he was appointed by Bishop Bickersteth to a residentiary canonry of Ripon Cathedral. In 1868, on the death of Bishop Hampden, Canon Atlay was nominated by Mr. Disraeli to the bishopric of Hereford, and was consecrated in Westminster Abbey by Archbishop Longley and Bishops Harold Browne and Ellicott as the ninety-fifth occupant of that see.

Bishop Atlay found himself in possession of a see where the total population of its 373 benefices was not as

numerous as that of the great Yorkshire town of which he had held the pastoral charge. At least 110 parishes had a population of under 200, and of these thirty or more did not number 100 souls. There were only five parishes in the whole diocese where the whole population was over 5,000 persons. The non-residence of the clergy was a considerable source of weakness, and there were over 100 parishes without a parsonage house or with, at best, a cottage for the residence of the clergyman. He set to work to make himself acquainted with the detailed deficiencies of his see, promoting to such extent as was possible the union of small benefices, and personally instituting all new incumbents. His rule soon came to be felt, and the Church wants of the See of Hereford were as fully met as was possible in a scattered and thinly-populated agricultural community.

Bishop Atlay married, in 1859, Frances Turner, daughter of Major Martin, of the Bengal Army, and died at the Palace, Hereford, on December 24, after a somewhat protracted illness which his friends hoped to avert by rest and change. After a few months' absence he returned to his work, and the result was fatal.

**The ex-King of Naples.**—Francis Maria Leopold, of the House of Bourbon, was born in 1836. His mother was Princess Christiana Maria of Savoy, the first wife of his father, the notorious Ferdinand II., whose cruel bombardment of Messina in the course of the sanguinary suppression of the revolt in Sicily in 1848 earned him the *sobriquet* of "Bomba," or "Ré Bomba," a nickname which in after years the son inherited in the diminutive form "Bombalino," in consequence of his attempted bombardment of Palermo, in 1860. As a youth, Prince Francis compared unfavourably in mental endowments with his half brothers, Counts Trani, Caserta, and Bara. His education by the Jesuits predisposed him to anti-Liberal views and to an Absolutist policy. In 1859, he married Princess Marie, daughter of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, and sister of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria. His father, Ferdinand II., died on May 22, 1859, a very critical time, leaving the throne to Prince Francis, who was ill-prepared to cope with the coming storm.

He followed the fatal example of his father, and, keeping the old Camarilla, with the widowed Queen at their head,

in power, opposed all attempts at reform. Even after the outbreak of the war between Austria and Sardinia, he continued to rule Naples and Sicily with such cruelty and tyranny that the foreign diplomatists at his court could not forbear urging him to concede certain reforms, and especially to cease throwing people into prison on mere suspicion. When Victor Emmanuel invited Francis to assist in the war against Austria, the request was rejected. But, on April 4, 1860, a revolution broke out. Palermo gave the signal for revolt. Garibaldi and his Volunteer Army landed on May 11, at Marsala, and the King at length agreed to grant his subjects constitutional government. But it was already too late. Garibaldi, after capturing Palermo and Messina, crossed over to the mainland, and marched on Naples. The King dismissed his ministers on June 25, called in Spanelli and other constitutional ministers and announced a general amnesty, but the royal promises had been so often broken that no one trusted them this time. The troops of the Royal Army deserted and joined the Garibaldians, and the King's cause was virtually lost. However, he and his brave wife, with a small force, threw themselves into the Fortress of Gaeta, where they maintained a gallant defence for several months, the Queen performing acts of bravery which excited the admiration of all Europe. But in the end they were compelled to capitulate (February 13, 1861), and the King and Queen retired to Rome. In 1870 the King was obliged by the Italian authorities to leave Rome, and after living for some time in Bavaria, he removed to Paris, where he subsequently spent much of each year. He died at the Archduke Albert's Villa at Arco, in the Austrian Tyrol, on December 27, having nearly completed his fifty-ninth year, and sat on the throne for about sixteen months.

**Christina Georgina Rossetti** was the youngest of a family all of whose members attained distinction in literature. Her father, Gabriel Rossetti, an Italian poet, critic, and man of letters, was born at Vasto, in the Abruzzo—then forming part of the kingdom of Naples—in 1783, and died in London in 1854. He had escaped to England after the constitutional struggle with Ferdinand in 1821. Settling down in London, he published various original works as well as critical dissertations on Dante, and he also

taught the Italian language and literature. His wife (who died in 1886) was Frances Mary Lavinia Polidori, sister of Byron's travelling physician. The Rossettis had four children—namely, Maria Francesca, author of "A Shadow of Dante," etc., born in 1827 and died in 1876; Gabriel Charles Dante, the famous poet and artist, born in 1828 and died in 1882; William Michael, the critical writer and editor of *Shelley*, born in 1829; and Christina Georgina.

Miss Rossetti was born in Charlotte Street, Portland Place, London, on December 5, 1830. She was educated at home, and early became a member of the Church of England. It is stated that while still quite a child she wrote verses, "remarkable not only for sweetness and purity of feeling, but also for genuine singing impulse and a keen sense of fitness in the means of expression." Before she was seventeen a little volume of her poetry, entitled "Verses by Christina G. Rossetti, dedicated to her Mother," was privately printed by her maternal grandfather, Gaetano Polidori, who kept a printing press for his own convenience at his residence in London. In 1850, under the *nom de plume* of "Ellen Alleyne," she contributed to the *Germ*, the well-known but short-lived organ of the Pre-Raphaelites. She also contributed fugitive poems to various other magazines. Her first published work in book form, "Goblin Market and other Poems," appeared in 1862, and it immediately established her reputation as one of the most promising poets of the day. It was followed in 1866 by "The Prince's Progress and other Poems." The poem which gave the title to this volume was, perhaps, the most important and ambitious of her lengthier efforts. Her next venture was in prose. It appeared in 1870, and was entitled "Commonplace, and other

Short Stories." "Sing-Song, a Nursery Rhyme Book," was published in 1872, and "Speaking Likenesses"—couched in quasi-allegorical prose—in 1874. Both these volumes were illustrated by Mr. Arthur Hughes, and were specially written for children. The devotional element had been conspicuous in Miss Rossetti's earliest poetical works, and it was further exemplified in 1874 by a work exclusively devotional, "Annus Domini; a Prayer for each day of the year, founded on a text of Holy Scripture." A collected edition of her poems, which included besides a considerable number of new compositions, was brought out in 1875. Then came two religious works in prose—"Seek and Find," and a double series of "Short Studies of the Benedicite"—issued in 1879. In 1881 appeared "A Pageant and other Poems," and the same year also witnessed the production of another prose work, "Called to the Saints; the Minor Festivals Devotionally Studied." In 1883 appeared "Notes on the Commandments," and two years later a work of a similar kind, but in alternate prose and verse, entitled, "Time Flies; a Reading Diary." A new edition of the "Goblin Market, the Prince's Progress, and other Poems," was published in 1884; and again in 1890 the majority of Miss Rossetti's poems were re-issued in a collected form. Her last volume, "The Face of the Deep; a Devotional Commentary on the Apocalypse," published in 1892, was peculiarly characteristic of her later religious views. She was for some time a great invalid, and in 1892 underwent an operation for cancer, from which she never wholly recovered. She died at her residence in Torrington Square, London, on December 29, passing away in her sleep.

On the 2nd, at Rawul Pindee, aged 46, **Colonel Edgar William Wallace Denny**. Educated at Sandhurst; entered 25th Foot, 1868; Captain, King's Own Borderers, 1879; Adjutant, 2nd V.B. Royal Fusiliers, Westminster, 1886-91; Colonel, 2nd Battalion King's Own Borderers. On the 5th, at Delafné Abbey, Northants, aged 58, **John Augustus Shiel Bouverie**, son of Francis Kenelm Bouverie, Major in the Derbyshire Militia. Married, 1860, Jane, daughter of S. Grey. On the 6th, at Cavendish Square, W., aged 81, **Earl of Orford**. Horatio William, fourth Earl of Orford, educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge; sat as a Conservative for Norfolk, 1835-7. Married, 1841, Harriet Bettina Frances, daughter of Hon. Sir Fleetwood B. Pellett. On the 6th, at Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, aged 76, **Alexander Redgrave, C.B.**, son of William Redgrave, of Pimlico. Entered Criminal Registry Department, Home Office, 1834; Clerk to Inspectors of Factories, 1844; Clerk of Arraignment, Oxford Circuit, 1846-7; Sub-Inspector of Factories, 1848; and retired as Chief Inspector, 1891. Married, 1845, Mary Anne, daughter of George Hodgkinson, of York Terrace, Regent's Park. On the 7th, at Fallowfield, Manchester, aged 84, **Alexander Ireland**. Born and educated at Edinburgh, and at an early age devoted himself to literary pursuits; was con-

nected with the *Manchester Examiner*, 1843-83; was one of the originators of the Manchester Public Schools Association, 1846, Manchester Free Library, 1857; entertained Emerson, Kossuth, and many others on their visits to England; was the friend of Leigh Hunt, J. Campbell, Froude, Carlyle, etc., and of some of whom he wrote biographies. On the 7th, at Bournemouth, aged 69, **Rev. Charles Brodrick Scott, D.D.** Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; Senior Classics and 22nd Wrangler, 1848; Pitt Scholar, Chancellor Medallist, Le Bas Prizeman, etc.; Fellow of Trinity, 1849-55; Headmaster of Westminster School, 1855-83; Prebendary of St. Paul's, 1873; and Hon. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1875; joint editor with the Dean of Christ Church, of Liddell & Scott's Greek Lexicon, etc. On the 7th, at Blount's Farm, Sawbridgeworth, Herts, aged 84, **John Prout.** Born at South Petherwin, Cornwall; educated as a farmer, emigrated to Canada, 1832, and for ten years farmed successfully at Pickering, Ontario. Returning to England in 1842, he devoted himself to mercantile pursuits, and in 1861 bought Blount's Farm, consisting of 450 acres of heavy clay in poor condition. In 1881 he published "Profitable Clay Farming under Tenant Right," a book which was largely sold in this country, and translated into French and German. On the 10th, at Cornwall Gardens, S.W., aged 84, **General Sir Edward Cooper Hodge, G.C.B.**, son of Major Edward Hodge, 7th Hussars, who was killed at Waterloo. Educated at Eton; entered 4th Dragoon Guards, 1826; commanding the regiment throughout the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5; commanded the Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot, 1862-7; Colonel, 18th Hussars, 1870-4; when he was made Colonel, 4th Dragoon Guards. Married, 1860, Lucy Anne, daughter of James Rimington, of Broomhead Hall, Yorkshire. On the 10th, at Fir Grove, Farnham, aged 69, **Admiral Sir Thomas Brandreth, K.C.B.**, son of Thomas Shaw Brandreth, of Liverpool. Educated at Eton; entered the Navy, 1838; served in the Baltic, 1854-5; Superintendent at Sheerness, 1875-7, and at Chatham, 1879-81; Controller of the Navy, 1881-2, and Naval Lord of the Admiralty, 1882-5; President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, 1885-8. Married, 1866, Madeline, daughter of Alexander Colvin. On the 13th, at Florence, aged 64, **Lady Westbury**, Eleanor Margaret, daughter of Henry Tennant, of Cadoxton, Glamorgan. Married, 1873, Richard, first Baron Westbury, sometime Lord Chancellor of England. On the 13th, at Brighton, aged 87, **Frederick Henry Fletcher Vane**, second son of Sir F. Fletcher Vane, second baronet. Educated at Eton; entered 12th Lancers; took part in the Expeditionary force sent to Portugal, 1827; served afterwards in the Consular Service in South and North America. Married, 1859, Rosa Linda, daughter of John Moore, of Prospect House, Co. Galway. On the 14th, at Ladbroke Grove, London, aged 71, **Sir Oswald Walters Brierly, R.W.S.**, son of Thomas Brierly, of Chester. At an early period he settled in Australia, after which he began a roving life, making sketches in all parts of the world. He was present during the Russian War in the Baltic and in the Black Sea; went round the world in H.M.S. *Galatea* with the Duke of Edinburgh, 1867; elected a member of the Royal Water Colour Society, 1872; Marine Painter to the Queen, 1874; Curator of the Painters' Hall, Greenwich, 1881. Married, first, 1851, Sarah, daughter of Edward Fry, of the Society of Friends; and second, 1872, Louise Marie, daughter of Louis Huard, of Onslow Square and Brussels. On the 15th, at Moor Court, Stroud, aged 81, **Lord Charles Pelham Pelham-Clinton**, second son of the fourth Duke of Newcastle. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford; entered 1st Life Guards; sat as a Conservative for Sandwich, 1852-7. Married, 1848, Elizabeth, daughter of William Grant of Congleton. On the 15th, at Bloomsbury, aged 51, **Arthur Cowper Ranyard, F.R.A.S.**, son of Mrs. Ranyard ("L.N.R."), the author of "The Book and its Story." Educated at Cambridge; elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, 1865; joint secretary and one of the founders of the London Mathematical Society; despatched to Sicily to observe the total eclipse of the sun, 1870; that at Colorado, 1878; and that in Upper Egypt, 1882; was appointed editor of *Knowledge*, 1888; and made a series of important experiments in radiation and other matters connected with photography; elected a member of the London County Council, 1891. On the 16th, at Sharavogue, King's Co., aged 47, **The Dowager Countess of Huntingdon**, Mary Anne Wilmot, only daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. J. C. Westman. Married, 1867, thirteenth Earl of Huntingdon. On the 16th, at St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A., aged 65, **James Gilfillan**, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Minnesota. Born at Bannockburn, Scotland; educated in New York State; admitted to the Bar, 1850; settled in Minnesota, 1857; joined the United States Army in the war against the Sioux Indians, 1862-3; and afterwards served in the Federal



Army during the Civil War; appointed Chief Justice, 1870. On the 18th, at Pershore, aged 68, **Sir Edmund Anthony Harley Lechmere, M.P.**, third baronet. Educated at Charterhouse, and Christ Church, Oxford; sat as a Conservative for Tewkesbury, 1866-8; West Worcestershire, 1876-85; Worcestershire (Bewdley), 1885-92; and Worcestershire (Evesham), 1892-4; Secretary General and Chancellor of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; was knight of several foreign orders. Married, 1858, Louisa Kathleen, daughter of John Haigh, of Whitwell Hall, Yorks. He died quite suddenly, when he was about to address a meeting of his constituents. On the 20th, at Rawal Pindi, aged 47, **Lieutenant-Colonel Ernie Edmund Money**. Entered the Army, 12th Foot, 1867; transferred to Bengal Staff Corps, 1871; Lieutenant-Colonel commanding 7th Bengal Cavalry, 1878; served in the Afghan War and Hazara Expedition, 1887-8; he was shot by a non-commissioned officer of his own regiment. On the 20th, at Alwalton, Peterborough, aged 68, **Hon. Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam**, second son of fifth Earl Fitzwilliam. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; Attaché at Vienna Embassy, 1846; sat as a Liberal for Malton, 1852-85; was for many years Master of the Fitzwilliam Foxhounds. Married, 1854, Anne, daughter of Rev. the Hon. Thomas Lawrence Dundas. On the 21st, at Kineton House, Warwickshire, aged 47, **Lady Willoughby de Broke**, Geraldine, eldest daughter of James H. Smith-Barry, of Marbury Hall, Cheshire. Married, 1867, Henry Verney, first Baron Willoughby de Broke. On the 21st, at Lucknow, aged 45, **Major William Christopher James**, son of Lord Justice James. Educated at Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1874; served with 17th Lancers in Zulu War, 1879; in the Egyptian War, 1882; and in the expedition to the Soudan, 1885; on all occasions with distinction. Married, 1885, Effie, eldest daughter of Sir John Millais, Bart., R.A. On the 22nd, at Ribston Hall, Knaresborough, aged 68, **John Dent Dent**, son of John Dent, of Ribstin. Educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1848; called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1851; Captain in Yorkshire Hussars; sat as a Liberal for Knaresborough, 1852-7, and for Scarborough, 1857-74; Chairman of the North Eastern Railway, 1880. Married, 1855, May Hebdon, daughter of John Woodal, of Scarborough. On the 22nd, at Clieveden, Maidenhead, aged 36, **Mrs. William Astor**, Mary Paul, daughter of Wm. H. Paul, of Philadelphia, U.S.A. Married, 1886, William Waldorf Astor, of New York. On the 23rd, at Upton, Oxford, aged 79, **Rev. Richard Hooper**. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1844. Edited Chapman's translation of Homer, Drayton's works, and biographies of eighteenth century poets. On the 23rd, at Brompton Square, S.W., aged 79, **Lieutenant-General Francis Locke Whitmore**, son of General Sir George Whitmore, R.E., of Lower Slaughter, Gloucestershire. Entered Royal Scots Regiment, 1835; served through the Crimean War, 1854-5; and was appointed Commandant, St. George's Monastery, Crimea; was Commandant of the Royal Military School of Music, Kneller Hall, 1857-80. On the 24th, at Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, aged 97, **William Hunter Baillie**, of Duntisbourne, Gloucestershire, and Long Calderwood, N.B., only son of Matthew Baillie, M.D., medical attendant of George III., nephew of Joanna Baillie, and of Lord Justice Denman. Educated at Westminster and Balliol College, Oxford; called to the Bar, 1820, but did not practice. Married, 1835, Henrietta, daughter of Rev. Dr. Duff, of St. Andrews, N.B. On the 24th, at Regent's Park, London, aged 67, **Frances Mary Buss**, eldest daughter of R. W. Buss, one of the illustrators of "Pickwick." Educated in a private school in Camden Town, and afterwards joined her mother in establishing a school in Kentish Town. In 1850 the school was removed to Camden Street, and became known as the North London Collegiate School for Ladies, and she thus became one of the pioneers in the higher education of girls. She subsequently obtained for her school endowments from the Brewers and Clothworkers' Companies, and her pupils distinguished themselves at Girton, London University, and other examinations. On the 24th, at Eaton Hall, Cheshire, aged 34, **Lady Henry Grosvenor**, Dora Mina Katharine, daughter of James Hay Erskine Wemyss, M.P. Married, 1887, Lord Henry George Grosvenor, third son of first Duke of Westminster. On the 25th, at Belgrave Square, aged 75, **Lord Trevor**. Arthur Edwin Hill Trevor, first Baron Trevor, third son of third Marquess of Downshire, was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1843; sat as a Conservative for Co. Down, 1845-80; assumed the additional name of Trevor, 1862; in succeeding to the estates of Viscount Dungannon, raised to the peerage, 1880. Married, first, 1840, Mary Emily, daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, Bart.; and second, 1858, Hon. Mary Catherine Curzon, sister of fourth Lord Scarsdale. On the 26th, at Hammer-smith, aged 45, **Sir George Augustus Leeds**, fourth baronet, for some time a clerk

in the Bank of England. Married, 1871, Caroline Amelia, daughter of James Page. On the 26th, at Beyrout, aged 76, **Anthony H. Salmone**, a distinguished orientalist and traveller. Was mainly instrumental in bringing to public knowledge the massacres of the Christians in Syria, 1860. On the 27th, at Calcutta, aged 31, **The Maharajah of Mysore**, Sir Chama Rajendra Wodeyar, G.S.I., an enlightened ruler during whose reign the riches of the State were widely developed. On the 29th, at Torquay, aged 88, **Lieutenant-Colonel Lothian Sheffield Dickson**. Educated at Sandhurst; joined 2nd Royals, and afterwards in 51st, 25th, and 77th Regiments as aide-de-camp to Sir L. Smith. In 1885 he enrolled 1,000 Irishmen who volunteered for service in Spain against Don Carlos; Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Cape of Good Hope; unsuccessfully contested first as a Conservative Free Trader, Norwich, Marylebone, and Hackney. Married, 1840, Henrietta, daughter of William Richardson, of Leatherhead. On the 29th, at Sevenoaks, aged 66, **James Long**, a member of the Society of Friends, greatly distinguished by his philanthropy in England, France (1875), and Bulgaria (1876), where he personally distributed large funds to the sufferers. Born at Londonderry; educated at Foyle College and afterwards at Glasgow and Cambridge. On the 30th, at Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., aged 59, **John Fitzgerald**, for many years President of the Irish National League of America. He was a man of great wealth and liberality. On the 30th, at Ramsgate, aged 80, **Rev. David Thomas, D.D.**, the son of a Welsh minister. Born in Pembrokeshire; educated at Newport Pagnel for the ministry; came to London, 1844, as minister of the Independent Church at Stockwell; remained until 1877, during which period he was the founder and editor of *The Homilist* and *The Dial* newspapers; was one of the founders of the University College of Wales at Aberystwith; and the compiler of a "Biblical Liturgy" and "The Augustine Hymn Book." On the 31st, at New York, aged 79, **Susan Fenimore Cooper**, the daughter of the celebrated novelist. Herself the author of "Rural Hours" (1850), "Rhyme and Reason of Country Life" (1854), and several other popular works. On the 31st, at Oxford, aged 82, **Rev. Hon. Henry William Bertie, D.D.**, Senior Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and third son of fifth Earl of Abingdon. Educated at Eton and Christ Church; B.A., 1833; elected Fellow of All Souls', 1836; and Rector of Great Ilford, Essex, 1845-80. On the 31st, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, U.S.A., aged 76, **Mrs. Amelia J. Bloomer**, the advocate of the "Bloomer" costume. Amelia Jenks, born at Homer, N.Y., married, 1840, Dexter Bloomer, Postmaster at Seneca Falls; became interested in questions of temperance and women's rights; contributed papers to various magazines, and edited the *Lily*. In 1857 the Turkish costume for women was advocated as sensible in the *Seneca County Courier*, and was adopted by Mrs. Smith Miller and Mrs. Cady Stanton, and subsequently by Mrs. Bloomer, who made the *Lily* the organ of the new movement. The attempt at dress reform was abandoned about seven years later by its advocates; and Mrs. Bloomer, who was an eloquent speaker and graceful writer, noted for her many unostentatious charities, devoted herself to many useful works, adopting numerous children whom she started in the world.



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April, 1895.

# A Classified Catalogue OF WORKS IN GENERAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

AND 15 EAST 16TH STREET, NEW YORK.

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